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SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy of America

The Season of 1929

EXCEPT for a trial pit on the site of the tenth-century abbey church, the work of the Mediaeval Academy expedition to Cluny in 1929 was only a continuation of that of 1928. The same area and the same problems were concerned, but the season was somewhat longer (June 24 to September 7), the number of pits was treble, the expenditures (about three thousand dollars) were larger, and the personnel was more numerous. In addition to the director, his staff assistant M. René Folcher, and the staff photographer M. Marcel Loury, there was in 1929 a staff architect, Mr Frédéric Palmer, of Harvard University. Mr Bernard C. Heyl and Mr Richard W. Lloyd of Princeton University, Miss Julia Y. Atkinson, Mrs Kenneth J. Conant and Mrs Horatio W. Lloyd gave their services to the expedition. Many thanks are due to Miss Atkinson and Mr Lloyd who, by taking charge of and classifying the finds of 1928 and 1929, did, and did admirably, an essential task, leaving the director free to prosecute the more active work of excavation and measuring. Mr Lloyd, Miss Atkinson, and M. Folcher were able to fit a considerable number of broken fragments together, especially fragments of the personages believed to come from the lintel of the Great Portal as well as parts of its architectural decoration, although no complete reconstitutions were possible.

An arrangement was made whereby fragments found in the government Stallion Depot (the site of Pits III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII,

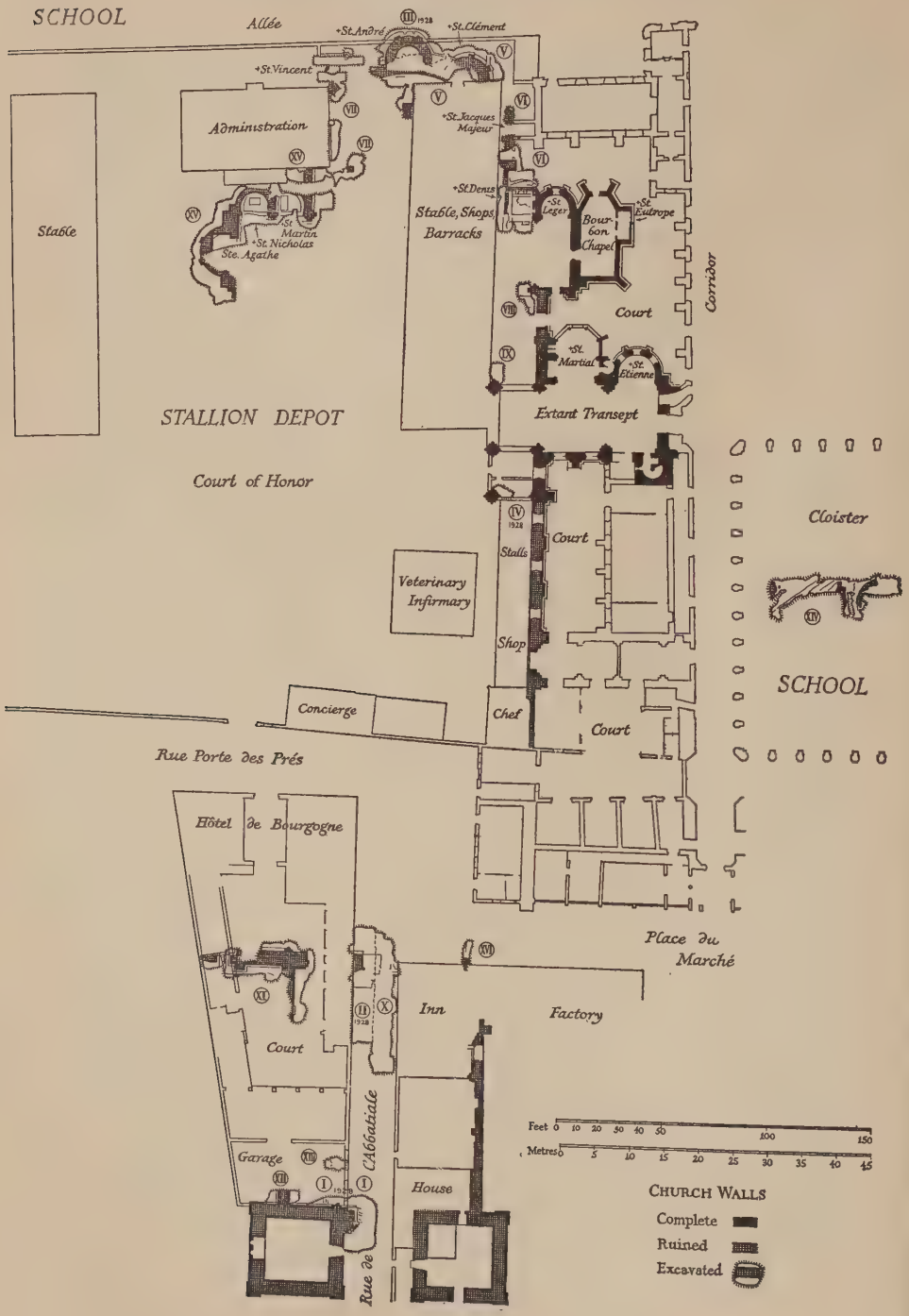


FIGURE 1

GENERAL PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT CLUNY, 1928-29

IX, XV) were deposited provisionally in the municipal museum of Cluny. They are specially marked to prevent the confusion of state with municipal property. A few of the most interesting finds from all the pits are on view in the museum galleries; the remainder are packed away in the basement, awaiting detailed study.

The series of drawings of the pits at scale $\frac{3}{4}'' = 1' - 0''$ (1:16) was continued, and a beginning was made on the series of general plans at $1/8'' = 1' - 0''$ (1:96) which are to serve as the basis of the final presentation drawings embodying the results of the Academy's work at Cluny. In addition, the technical studies of the project were advanced, but need not concern this article, since the important results have already been published in SPECULUM V (1930), 77, 278.

The following enumeration takes up, pit by pit, the results of the 1929 campaign which are as yet unpublished. The accompanying plan will make the locations clear.

PIT I—IN THE RUE DE L'ABBATIALE, AT THE WEST END OF THE CHURCH (1928)

Here the retaining wall toward which the Academy contributed five thousand francs (in order that the interesting jamb of the narthex portal uncovered in 1928 might remain visible) was completed to the satisfaction of all concerned. In addition, M. François Martin of Cluny, whose interest in the old church led him to preserve some portal shafts which came into his possession, gladly and generously gave these shafts when it was found that they fitted the bases in Pit I. They were installed with government and municipal approval, and add greatly to the interest of the portal. That portion of Pit I in the garage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne was left unchanged pending the decision of the proprietor and lessee as to its preservation.

PIT II—IN THE RUE DE L'ABBATIALE, NORTHERN HALF, AT THE GREAT PORTAL (1928)

This pit was continued as Pit X, a parallel excavation in the south half of the street.

Pit III—At the Eastern Extremity of the Church (1928)

The finds of 1928 were transferred, like those of Pit III, to the museum. This pit was continued as Pit V.

Pit IV—In the Extant Bay of the South Aisle of the Nave (1928)

No further work was done here, but the fragments found in 1928 were transferred to the basement of the municipal museum.

Pit V—At the Chapels of St André and St Clément

This pit revealed essential data for the reconstruction of the two chapels and of the ambulatory. At one point the old construction is but eight inches (0 m. 20) below the present surface. Only a few courses of the superstructure are preserved, but they suffice. A trial pit for foundation depth was carried down ten feet (3 m. 05) in the ambulatory, as a check on the observation of 1928 in Pit III. The foundations prove to be amazingly solid, a good six feet (1 m. 83) in thickness, and carried through a stratum of clay to gravel well below the old surface. In addition a small part of the foundation of the ambulatory columns was uncovered, and the excavation was carried as far east as the substructure of the tomb of St Hugh.

The most important fragment turned up here was the block numbered 517 (Plate IA). It is about $1'-4\frac{1}{4}''$ (0 m. 41) in length, and has a large egg moulding. There is no doubt (on the analogy of Paray-le-Monial) that this is a part of the arcade immediately above the celebrated ambulatory capitals. Among the other finds of interest were a tiny head [521; Plate IIB; $1\frac{7}{8}''$ (0 m. 048) high] and a delicately worked fragment of capital [522; Plate IB; about 6″ (0 m. 152) high]. This suggests that there were elaborately-worked figure capitals at the entrances to the radiating chapels, like those to be seen at Santiago de Compostela (1077). The head is in the style of those on the great capitals. Bits of the apsidal fresco and of the mosaic pavement and a small silver coin (528) came to light

among the débris of the foundations of the ambulatory, as well as fragments of a Gothic canopy.

Revised measurements in this pit bring the total length of the church at the ground line to 616 feet (187 m. 76). The interior length of the church from the west wall of the narthex to the east wall of the Chapel of St André was 567′–1½″ (172 m. 86).

Pit VI—At the Chapels of St Denis and St Jacques Majeur

The court here was encumbered until 1913 with small storerooms. Their slight foundations were easily distinguished. Here a beautifully-worked small torso [603, not illustrated; 6⅛″ (0 m. 156) high] was recovered, probably a portion of a small capital. More important, a fragment (611) of the only remaining volute of the ambulatory capital of the last four Tones of Plainsong (capital 8) was found, recognized, and attached to the original in the museum. The piece was found not far from the location of column 8. The most important work in Pit VI, however, was the uncovering of a small stretch of wall between the Chapel of St Denis and the exterior buttress marking the chord of the apse. This wall was found to be slightly inclined to the main axis of the church. The consesequence is that the westernmost bays of ambulatory vaulting must have been triangular, and the others quadrangular, as shown in the restored plan published in Speculum V (1930), opposite p. 278. This knowledge makes it possible in turn to work out the spacing of the ambulatory columns with certainty, and from that, the spacing of the windows in the apse clearstory.

Pit VI, after revealing the buried square east end of the Gothic Chapel of St Denis, was carried down to gravel and ground water in front of the rounded foundation of the earlier Romanesque chapel. Interments had been made at the base of the east wall of the chapel. The base of the foundation was found at 17′–4″ (5 m. 28) below the present surface, or 14′–10″ (4 m. 52) below the pavement of the adjoining court of the Bourbon Chapel.

A chain-wall foundation was found on the chord of the apse. A

few slabs of the pavement of the Chapel of St Denis were found about 2′–4″ (0 m.71) below the surface. Scanty remains of a masonry altar base appeared in the chapel. In the space adjoining the outer wall of this chapel and also that of St Jacques Majeur, remains of parasite constructions came to light.

Pit VII—At the Chapels of St Vincent and SS Nazaire et Celse

This pit yielded essential measurements. A few courses of the Chapel of St Vincent are still in place. A part of the foundation of the north-easternmost pier of the church came to light. A capital (759, not illustrated), obviously from the triforium of the nave, was found built into the foundation of the administration building. It was removed to the museum. As in Pit v, bits of the vast apsidal fresco and of the mosaic sanctuary pavement set in red mortar were found in the ambulatory area.

Pit VIII—In the South Minor Transept

The pit was undertaken in order to get data on the pier-base, but brought to light a fragment (814, Plate IIIa) which must be identified as a portion of an impost block for one of the great ambulatory capitals. Subsequent studies with full-size plaster casts make it clear that the tentative restoration published in Speculum v (1930) opposite p. 86, shows the block too small. Fragment 814 has leafage, like the impost blocks of the ambulatory of the cathedral of Langres.

A nineteenth century cesspool was found at the west in Pit viii.

Pit IX—Beside a Pier of the South Choir Aisle and Great Transept

The buried base of the pier in question was found in excellent preservation, measured, and photographed. Traces of the adjacent pavement were found 4′–5″ (1 m. 35) below the present surface, but the slabs here, as generally elsewhere, had been taken up.

Pit X—In the Rue de l'Abbatiale, Southern Half, at the Great Portal

The excavation here was an extension of Pit II, dug in 1928. Work was impeded by a drain near the gutter line, but by working progressively a width of about ten feet (practically 3 m.) over a length of sixty-seven and one-half feet (20 m. 57), this area was investigated to a depth of from eight and one-half to eleven feet (2 m. 59 to 3 m. 35), the greater depth being at the west. The strategraphy confirmed the idea that the débris of the façade after the explosion of 1810 was roughly piled up and then spread indiscriminately over the surrounding streets in order to raise their level. A small portion of the pavement of the Great Portal was found, but it proved impossible to locate the south jamb of the portal, as had been hoped. Many interesting fragments were found, among them the following:

1. A companion head (1050) to that numbered 245 [Speculum IV (1929), 14, and Plate IVA]. Head 1050 is in soft stone and polychromed like the other, and is illustrated here in Plate IIc. It measures about $7\frac{13}{16}''$ (0 m. 198) in height. Given this companion piece, there is no longer any possibility that head 245 is the Christ of the tympanum. Both heads probably come from the spandrels above.

2. A companion head (1028) to that numbered 222 [Speculum IV (1929), 15, and Plate IVB]. The new head, not illustrated here, is turned in the opposite direction from the other. It is about $5\frac{1}{4}''$ (0 m. 133) high, in hard stone, unpainted.

3. A beautiful head of a sleeping warrior [1035, 7″ (0 m. 18) high; Plate II A]. It is in hard stone, and is painted.

4. Many fragments, most of them polychrome, of the minor decorative features of the portal, including a few pieces of figure sculpture.

5. Fragments of the jamb of the Great Portal, including two with evident blow holes made for the explosion which brought down the façade in 1810.

6. Three large painted blocks with half-arches cut on them, pos-

sibly from the band of nine arches across the front of the Chapel of St Michel or from the triforium of the narthex.

7. A small bronze coin (1027), perhaps ancient.

8. A large block of hard stone, obviously from the tympanum of the Great Portal (1033, Plate IVB), found only 2′–3″ (0 m. 69) below the surface of the street. It is polychromed, and measures about 2′–0″ (0 m. 61) across. As will be seen, it is not interesting for itself, but rather for the clues it gives to the scale and arrangement of the whole tympanum. The tympanum was fairly well known from a pre-explosion description and drawings [SPECULUM III (1928), 401 ff.; IV (1929), 12], but a fragment like this one is essential for any real understanding. It seems hardly necessary to say that the broad band is a part of the lower right-hand side of the mandorla of the central Christ, and that the conventional cloud carries a foot belonging to one of the upper pair of attendant angels. It is regrettable that no trace of the other pair survives. They may have been seraphim rather than angels.

9. One limb of the cruciform halo of the Christ in Glory of the tympanum was found (1044, Plate IVA). It measures about 6½ (0 m. 165) across.

There are doubtless some fragments of interest in the unexcavated part of the street to the west of Pit II/X, and many more to the east, under the pavement of the Route Nationale. Owing to the importance of this communication and the awkward blind double bend which it makes here, excavation to the east will be hazardous and perhaps impossible.

PIT XI—THE NORTHERN PART OF THE ORIGINAL WEST FAÇADE; IN THE COURT OF THE HÔTEL DE BOURGOGNE

This excavation (Plate VA), inconvenient on account of traffic in the hotel court, revealed the north-west corner of the abbey church and a part of the north minor portal, and made it possible to calculate the interior width of the church provisionally at about 125′–10″ (38 m. 35). In his well-known manuscript description of the abbey, dated 1792 (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds*

français des nouvelles acquisitions 4336), Philibert Bouché de la Bertillière gives 118 old French feet, or about 126′–8″ English (38m. 61). The discrepancy probably arises from an overlarge pier measurement used by Bouché. He seems to have added several dimensions to get his result. In calculating his interior length of the church he added the length of the narthex (100 o.F. ft.) to that of the church (415$\frac{5}{6}$ o.F. ft.), quite forgetting the thickness of the Great Portal, so that we have reason to suspect his arithmetic, though the values given are very close to the new measurements made by the Academy's expedition.

The exterior corner of the church proved to be made by two adjacent spur buttresses, and not as shown in the preliminary restoration published in SPECULUM IV, 12. Careful calculation shows also that the minor portals were smaller than was conjectured. One jamb of the portal was uncovered, with a long stretch of the adjacent narthex wall, as appears in Plate VA of this article. No carved objects of interest were found in this pit beyond a warrier in classical costume (1132, Plate IIIB). The fragment is about 1′–3″ (0 m. 38) high. The excavation was about 9′–6″ (2 m. 90) at its deepest, and was made progressively. It is a pleasure here to report with gratitude, the forbearance and good will of M. and Mme. R. Marconnet, operators of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, for without their consent the pit could not have been dug.

PIT XII—AT THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE NARTHEX

This pit was carried down about 5′–7″ (1 m.70). No fragments of interest came to light, but the corner pier, the water table, and the junction with the north-western tower were laid bare. The towers are a later addition to the façade, and are in cut stone, whereas the wall surfaces of the narthex are in trimmed stone finished with a pick, precisely like those of the Romanesque houses of Cluny which were built after a conflagration of 1159. The cut stone of the north tower does not extend as far down as the water table of the narthex—an evident sign of later date.

Pit XIII—On the Site of the Western Pier of the Northern Nave Arcade of the Narthex

Beyond a fragment of a warrior in classic costume recalling fragment 1132, nothing of interest was found in this pit. Only the foundation of the pier remained, at a depth of 8′–4½″ (2 m. 55) below the pavement of the garage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

Pit XIV—In the Cloister of the School of Arts and Trades

In preparation for further study of the tenth-century church of Cluny, the site of which was known to be in the north half of the present cloister, a trial trench was run. The old church was demolished, except the apse ('St Pierre le Vieux') by the Abbot Pontius (1109–22). Several previous levels of the cloister were indicated in the stratification of the ground; a layer of powdered white stone seems to represent the mediaeval level, about three feet (0 m. 92) below the grade of the existing cloister walk. A specimen of this was taken (1416.1). Two formless lines of foundation were found at a depth of about three feet at the north and four feet at the south (about 0 m. 90 and 1 m. 20 respectively). They clearly represent the nave of the old church, which would seem to have had a width of about 31 feet (9 m. 45) from centre to centre of the piers. Part at least of this foundation is set in a red mortar. Cutting across the foundation was found a subterranean drain, now entirely filled.

South of the church foundation, a curved wall set in red mortar came to light at a depth of about 5′–4″ (1 m. 63) below the modern surface. Its purpose is not understood. It may belong to a very old drain or water conduit, for the excavation had to be halted on account of infiltration here.

No interesting carved stones were turned up in Pit xiv. Bones were found near the church foundation. A few broken pieces of old black pottery appeared; on the upper levels a wire finger-ring (1416) and three comparatively recent coins were found. Two of the coins were doubtless lost after the cloister had been turned over to commerce: one (1403) dates from 1792, the other (1402) from 'l'An 8' of the Republic.

Pit XV—At the Eastern Side of the North Minor Transept

This largest of the excavations (Plate V B) was merely a continuation of Pits III, V, VI and VII. The pit was carried to the depth of the old ground level (here about 6′–3″ (1 m. 90) below the present surface), or, inside, to the old pavement and its bed, at three feet odd (about a metre). The walls extend a course or two above the pavement.

Very fortunately, the short offset wall at the chord of the apse was found to the east of the Chapel of St Martin. Traces of both the Gothic and the Romanesque forms of this chapel came to light—including a portion of the original Romanesque hard red mortar pavement. A cut-stone burial vault was found and opened with as little disturbance as possible. The body, crumbled and covered with the collapsed coffin, was identified by a poorly carved slate placque which was photographed, but not removed—

+En lan de Grace Mil · six cens trante-|troys · Reverend · P · en Dieu · D · Claude de Marcheseul · relig: de ceste sainte|et celebre abbaye de Cluny · an-|cien relig: de liii: ans agé · de · 60-|vi · ans officier pbr̃e: et c/ · a fai-|ct · batir et faire ce pv̄t tombeaul en |la Chapelle S^{t}· Martin ou · il a · ob-|tenu sa sepulture et a delivré cō-|tant huict cens cinquante livres |entre les mains de messieurs du couvand |pour une fondation doffice a tout jamais |pour le remede de son ame et des trepasses

The vault was closed and reburied immediately. No objects accompanied the burial.

In the Chapel of St Nicholas the masonry base of the original altar was identified. Its foundation, surrounded by a fill of cutting-yard chips, goes down to the platter of stones which apparently underlies these chapels at about five feet (1 m. 52) below the old pavement levels.

The Chapel of Ste Agathe revealed its original semicircular plan. It was made over to serve as the sarcophagus chamber of a family tomb by the abbot Emmanuel-Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne, Cardinal de Bouillon, which was to have had an elaborate architectural frontispiece occupying the whole end wall of the transept.

The abbot displeased Louis XIV, who forbade him to erect the tomb. Its sculptures, after remaining under seal for a long time, were divided between the municipal museum and the local hospital, where they may now be seen.

Among the finds of Pit XV may be mentioned the head of a demolisher's pick, a cuff-link with the head of Napoleon I, (1515.4) and fragments of capitals. One of these (1528) is almost Gothic in form and comes evidently from one of the transeptal towers. The other débris of capitals, acanthus and figures, resemble the ambulatory capitals. A mediaeval warrior with a coat of mail, a shield, and a pyramidal helmet with nose-piece was picked up (1509, 1509.1). Thus, including the warrior Prudence, remains of five fighting gentry are on hand. They call to mind the Charlemagne legend and the crusade in Spain, encouraged by the Cluniacs.

Pit XVI—In the Place du Marché

This pit was made by an outsider in order to run a water supply pipe. It showed, at a depth of only 1′–3″ (0 m. 38) the old façade wall of the church. No fragments were found here.

The Seasons of 1930, 1931, 1932, and 1933

During the winter of 1929–30 a very careful plan of the excavations at scale 1/8″ = 1′–0″ (1:96) was prepared. A new scheme for the Cluny project calls for a continuation of this work over the remainder of the site. There are two staff architects for 1930. Excavations are scheduled to begin again in the spring of 1931. A munificent additional guarantee of $13,000 for the work has been received, and arrangements with Harvard University have been made, so that the director may work at Cluny from February to September in the years 1931, 1932, and 1933. The months of inclement weather will be spent in examining the fragments stored in the museum basement and in architectural studies. The campaigns of excavation will be about five months in length. It is hoped that the monograph on the site can be published in 1938, the eight hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the church of St Hugh.

Harvard University

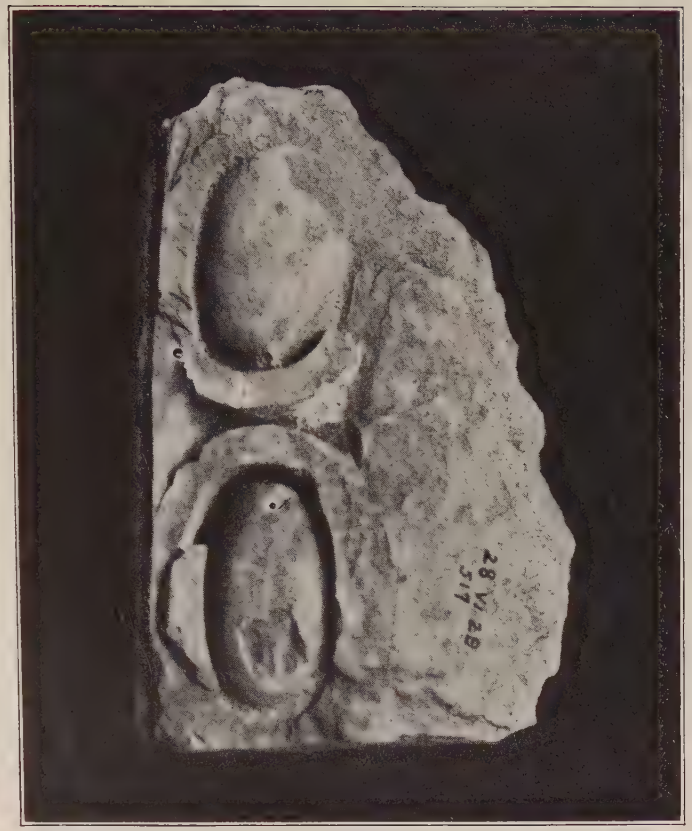


Plate Ia

Fragment Numbered 517
from the Ambulatory Arcade

Plate Ib

Fragment Numbered 522
from the Ambulatory

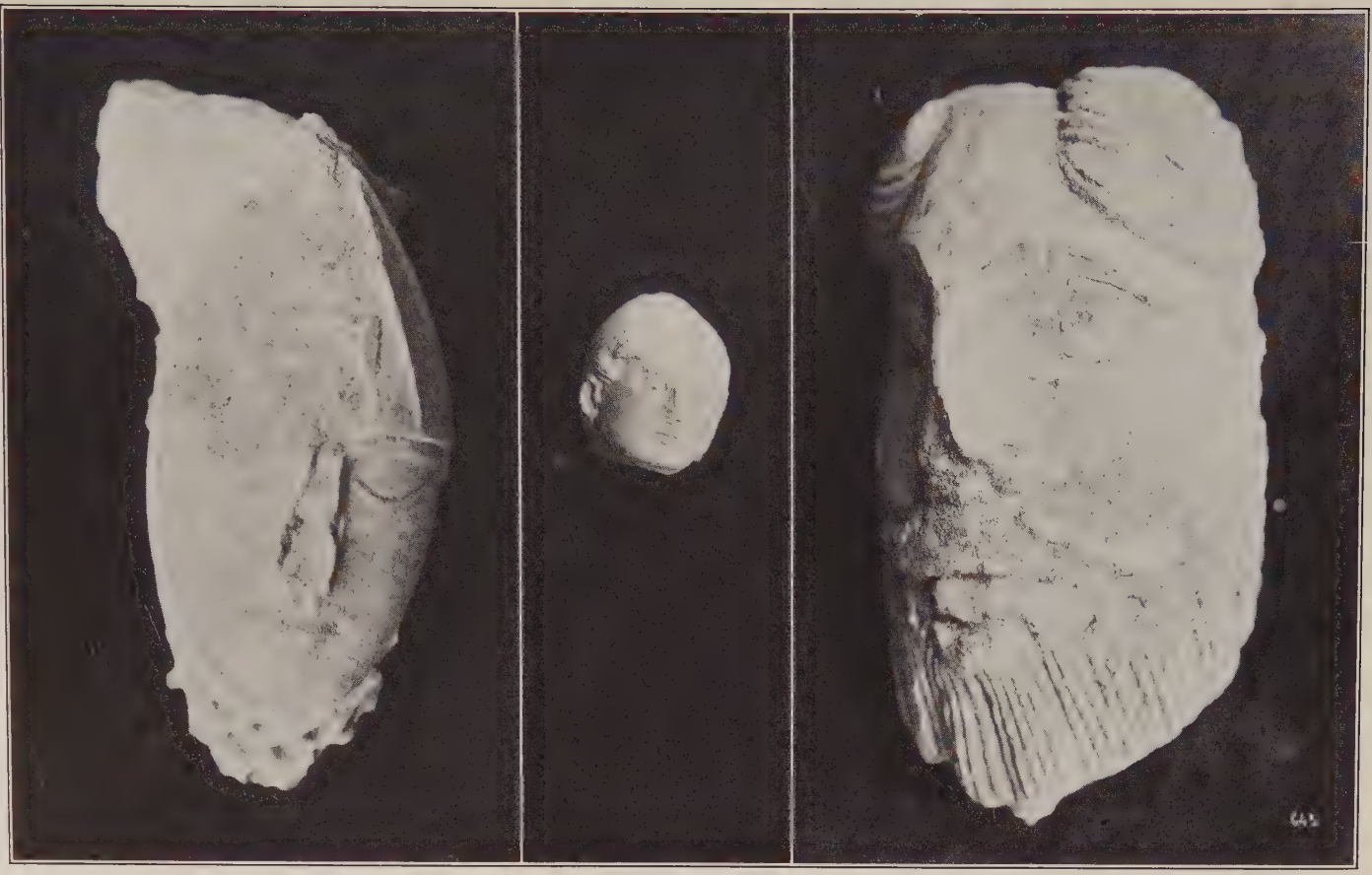


Plate II

A
Fragment Numbered 1035
From the Great Portal

B
Fragment Numbered 521
From the Ambulatory

C
Fragment Numbered 1050
From the Great Portal

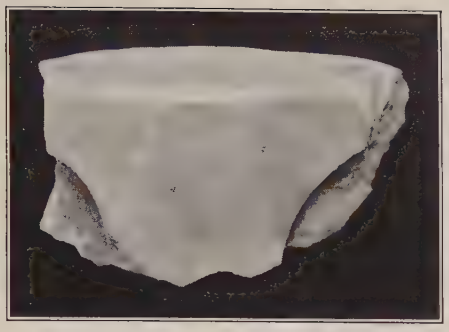
Plate IIIa

Fragment Numbered 814
From the Impost of an
Ambulatory Column

Plate IIIb

Fragment Numbered 1132
Found Near the North Minor
Portal of the Façade

Plate IVa
Fragment
Numbered
1044



Part of Halo
of Christ
From the
Great Portal

Plate IVb
Fragment Numbered 1033
Part of Tympanum of Great Portal

Plate Va
Excavation at the North Minor Portal of the Façade, Pit XI

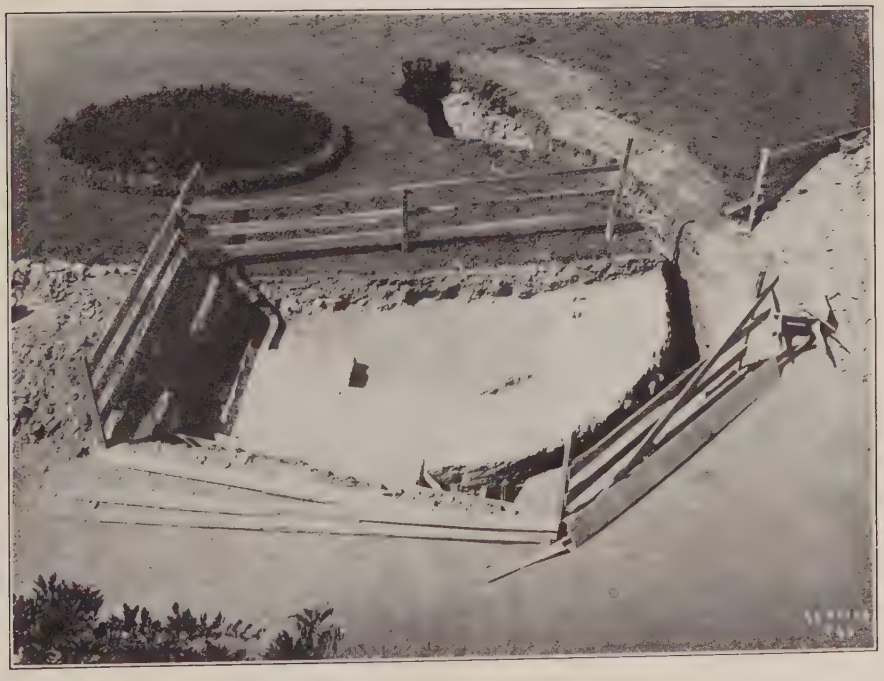


Plate Vb
Excavation of the North Minor Transept, Pit XV

MICHELINO'S DANTE[1]

By RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

THE subject of this paper concerns in general the inter-relations between Italian art and literature, and in particular the picture painted by Domenico di Michelino, which is in Florence, in the north nave of the Cathedral. In this picture (Plate I) the artist carried out a decidedly large and difficult task, that of representing in a fairly small canvas (m. 2.92×2.325), Dante, Florence and the *Divine Comedy*. By observing minutely the method and craftsmanship of this artist in the solution of such a vast problem of pictorial representation and condensation, and by endeavoring to appraise this interpretation of Dante, his city, and his supreme work, we may perhaps get an insight into those artistic processes which, be they applied to painting or to poetry, are necessarily akin, even when, as in this case, poetry is represented by a superb masterpiece, and painting by a mediocre picture.

The subject naturally divides itself into seven parts: I, Story of the picture; II, Dante; III, Florence; IV, The *Inferno*; V. The *Purgatorio*; VI, The *Paradiso*; VII, The Inscription at the bottom of the picture. It is strange to note that, in spite of the immense bibliography we have on almost all that even remotely concerns Dante and Florence, this picture, though frequently mentioned, has remained, so far as I am able to ascertain, unexploited.

In dealing with details that concern primarily the technique of painting, I shall, since this subject is not in my province, quote experts, when possible, or give merely cautious personal impressions.

I

Story of the Picture

We know first of all that this was not the first picture to hang on the north wall of Santa Maria del Fiore, on this same spot. In fact

[1] A paper first read at the Annual Meeting of the Dante Society, in Cambridge, May 15, 1928, and then expanded into this article. I wish to thank my old friends, Dr E. H. Wilkins, who first suggested the subject to me, and Professors Grandgent, Ford, and Weston for their various kindnesses.

a picture ordered by one Frate Antonio of Arezzo, a Franciscan, was painted, we do not know by whom, and set in this place, probably between 1413 and 1430. In fact, Brother Antonio 'frate minore,' was giving Dante readings in that Church probably before 1428 and then again in 1432.[1]

The first picture was, we are told,[2] probably painted on canvas stretched on wood and represented Dante standing in a street in Florence, and above him Brunelleschi's dome, not yet crowned with its lantern. At a gate of the city stood an old man, facing outward with a scroll upon which were the following lines:

La Mano
Onorate l'altissimo Poeta[3]
Che nostro è, e tienlosi Ravenna
Perchè di Lui non è chi n'abbia pieta.

Dante
Se l'alto posse, che dispone il tutto,
Fiorenza, volse, che ti fossi luce,
Perchè tua grazia in ver di me non luce,
Che del tuo ventre so' maturo frutto?

Il Vecchio
O lasso vecchio, omè! quanto ho cupito
La tua virtù sì alta esser famata,
Per degno segno nel fiorente sito!
Ma or da' cieli veggo nunziata
Mia giusta voglia en cielo redimito,
Ch'ancora in marmo la farà traslata.

Bartolommeo Ceffoni, who first mentioned these verses and the original picture,[4] added: 'questi tredici versi qui di sopra, sono quelli, che sono dipinti e scritti nella dipintura, dov'è dipinto Dante in Santa Liperata, o ver Santa Maria del Fiore, dove si legge al presente il Dante per Maestro Antonio Frate di San Francesco, 1430. Il detto Maestro Antonio fece fare la detta dipintura, per ricordare

[1] Jo. Lamio, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum . . . Bibliothecae Riccardianae* (Leghorn, 1756), *sub* Ceffoni, p. 119; Richard T. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raphael* (New York, 1911), pp. 172 ff.; V. Rossi, in review of G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Althertums . . .* in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XXIV, 250–255, esp. p. 253. See below my note 4.

[2] C. G. [Cesare Guasti] *L'effigie di Dante in Santa Maria del Fiore*, in *La rosa di ogni mese—Calendario Fiorentino* (Florence, 1865), pp. 147–9.

[3] Line taken from *Inferno*, IV, 80.

[4] MS. *Riccardiano 1036*, a.c. 180 recto.

a' Cittadini, che facciano arrecare l'ossa di Dante a Firenze, e fargli onore, come e' meriterebbe, in degno luogo.'[1]

This first picture, apparently removed when Michelino's painting was substituted for it, disappeared. The author of *La Metropolitana Fiorentina*[2] *Illustrata* makes two mistakes when he asserts that Follini had seen the original picture and that it had subsequently been destroyed. Follini actually says he has *not* seen it, and there is no record in the archives of the Opera del Duomo, to prove that the picture was destroyed. That the picture has vanished is a true and unfortunate fact.[3]

For the present study, however, the importance of this first picture lies only in the fact that it was, judging from the meagre description we have of it, sufficiently similar to Michelino's to be considered, at least to some extent, its source.[4] The two pictures have at least four things in common: Dante, a gate of Florence, the Cathedral and inscriptions. We may even plausibly conjecture that, with the Duomo, the first picture very probably included other monumental details. With such meagre information about this picture and none about its author, and regretting the fact that this first painting should have vanished so completely, we now pass to the story of Michelino's work.

[1] C. G., *op. cit.* p. 147; Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 172; *Firenze antica e moderna illustrata* [the text is by Abate Vincenzo Follini up to all of second volume, then probably completed by Giov. Bat. Cleon. Nelli], (Florence: Allegrini, 1789), Vol. II, 296; G. Lami, [Lamio], *op. cit.*, p. 119; S. Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana* (Rome, 1900) p. 31. For the text of these verses see also Carlo Del Balzo, *Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri* (Rome, 1891), Vol. III, p. 430. These works do not always give the three groups of verses in the same order or with the same spelling. [C. G.], for instance, gives them exactly in reversed order. The above is an exact transcription made by me from the MS.

[2] Edited by G. Molini (Florence, 1820). See also *L'Osservatore Fiorentino* (Florence, 1821), Vol. VI, 124.

[3] C. G. *op. cit.*, p. 147, says: 'Si conservava tuttora nel secolo scorso,' and Cesare Guasti was the curator of the Opera.

It is well known that particularly in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries there was great indifference about antiques. Dr Robert Davidsohn thinks the picture may even have been ruthlessly destroyed as worthless; Mr Bernard Berenson is inclined to think, instead, that it may still exist and might possibly turn up some day from some unexpected quarter. There is no record of its disappearance, except its silent absence. I also consulted Comm. G. Poggi, Superintendent of Fine Arts for Tuscany, who, though perfectly familiar with the Museum, had never found any trace of the picture in question.

[4] Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

The picture which is still in the Florentine Duomo was first generally attributed to Orcagna. But to which Orcagna? It was argued long ago[1] that since Andrea Orcagna died in 1368[2] and his brother Bernardo shortly after, neither could have done it. Possibly Mariotto Orcagna might have between 1420–1430.[3] All these conjectures, however, were definitely set aside by Gaye who discovered and published in 1840 the actual contract made between the *operai* of the Duomo and Domenico di Michelino assigning to him the task of painting this picture. The contract was dated January 30, 1465;[4] the picture was completed and full payment of Lire 155 was made on June 19 of the same year.[5] Since Gaye's transcription of the documents was not complete, I give here a transcription made by Comm. G. Poggi in 1906, and revised in my presence for this study. The contracts, written by a fairly illiterate clerk and in a hand very difficult to decipher, are in *Bastardello di Deliberazioni e Stanziamenti*, Segn. I, 1 Mar. 1463-Giu. 1466, in the Opera del Duomo. A transcription was made, but not published, apparently by Cesare Guasti, former curator of the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, and is in manuscript in the Archives of the Museum. The following transcription is as exact as possible.[6]

[c. 92 R] MCCCCLXV. 30 Gennaio

Prefati operarii simul congreghati in loco eorum solite residentie servatis servandis intexo che nella chiesa di Sancta Maria del Fiore di Firenze è una fighura [here words: *di Dante*, can-

[1] *Firenze antica . . .*, p. 296; Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI* (Florence, 1840), Vol. II, p. VII. G. Poggi, *I ricordi di Alesso Baldovinetti* (Florence, 1909), p 4.

[2] Milanesi, in his edition of *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari* (Florence, 1878); *sub* Orcagna, gives the date as 1368; *Firenze antica . . .* gives 1375.

[3] *Firenze antica . . .* p. 299.

[4] Not 1466, as the date is erroneously given by Milanesi, *op. cit.*, II, 521, and by G. L. Passerini, *Pel ritratto di Dante* (Florence, 1903) p. 15.

[5] Gaye, *op. cit.*, p. v. A translation of the contract published by Gaye may be found in Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[6] No liberties have been taken with the text, which appears with the usual peculiar spelling and lack of punctuation. Doubtful letters are italicised; doubtful words are followed by [?]; all remarks of transcriber are in square brackets; end of MS. page is marked with vertical line, and numeration of following page is indicated in the margin. The cancellations in the MS. are all in ink.

celled] dipinta la quale è in forma di Dante la quale vi fu posta più tenpo fa per exaltare la fama di detto poeta: la quale vi si pose per bulettino della singnioria Et intexo veduto et chonsiderato e detti operai [two cancelled, unreadable words] et anchora chonsiderato la fama e gloria che detto poeta a dato a questa ecelxa citta E veduto e considerato quello che da vedere e considerare fu, e bene examinato per exal*u*tatione [*eccele*, cancelled] ecellentia et fama di detto poeta et perchè quanto detta fighura si vede per alchuno |forestiero o di nazione[?]

[c. 93 R] che si congnosca l'opere ello intendimento di quello e a ciò che si possa intendere e congnoscere la eloquentia poesia rettoricha filosofia arismetricha geometria [*axstronomia*, cancelled] et astronomia di quello. . . . [at this point Gaye's transcription begins] alloghorono a Domenicho di Michelino dipintore presente consenziente et conducente a fare una fighura in forma et a ghuisa del poeta Dante la quale debbe fare dipinta et colorire di buoni colori et oro mescolato e altri ornamenti come apare per modello dato per Alexo Baldovinetti dipintore el quale modello è apresso a detti operai la quale debbe dipingnere in sununo [sic] telo di panno lino et achoncare e porre a ongni sue spese la quale sia a pore nel lugo ove e quella che è in Santa Maria del Fiore: della quale debbe avere per suo maesterio l. C e debbela fare per tenpo e termine di mesi due

[c. 93 V] cominciando |detto di e finit come segue. E di poi sarà fatta detta fighura per gli operai che pe tenpi saranno si debba fare vedere e bene examinare se merita el pregio di dette lire cento la quale examina si debbe farla per loro e per chi alloro parra E stimata e veduta sarà se l'avessi facta in modo che meritasse più pregio gli se gli possa dare per gli operai che pe' tenpi saranno l. 120. per acrescimento di dette l. 100 ciò per insino alla somma di l. 120 e non più nè meno [in margin additional sentence from *E chosi* to *meno*] E chosì se l'avessi stimata meno si deba dare quel meno agravando le loro coscienze [?] della quale quantità e somma gli debba prestare a ongni sua richiesta per insino in l. cinque larghi e non più e non si gli possa dare nè paghare più alchuno danaro se noñe quando ara finita e compiuta detta fighura; la quale alloghagione letta e examinata a detto Domenicho promisse fare quanto in essa si contiene e percio a quella notificho e a sua preghi stette malevadore Alexo Badovinetti dipintore

[c 111 R] MCCCCLXV. 19 Giugno.

Prefati operarii intexo una alloghagione fatta più tenpo fa a Domenicho di [*Francesco,* written above line] Michelino dipintore d'una fighura a forma del poeta Dante per porre nella chiesa di santa maria del fiore in quello lugho dove e anchora una fighura di detto poeta la quale gli fu alloghata con certi patti e modi come in quella si contiene e di sotto si dira e vedututo [sic] et intexo detta fighura esser compiuta e fornita e in perfetione e piu che perfetione assai secondo il modello allui dato el quale modello fe alexo baldovinetti ed e apresso degl' operai et perchè el danaro et premio d'essa fighura si possa paghare sanza ungnuna [?] eceptione s'e fatto stimare detta fighura per Alexo detto e Neri di Bicci tutti a due dipintori eletti e deputati a fare detta stima per detti operai e veduto et intexo il raporto fatto per detti di detta |fighura in questo
[c. 111 V] modo e forma col che qualunque de detti a raportato insiene e ongniuno di per se che la verità è questa che detto Domenicho a fatto detta fighura secondo detto modello in quanto alle storia [sic] ma a agunto fori di detto modello molte cose le quali nonne aveva a fare che sono di grande difichultà e fuori di detto disengno le quali a fatte per adornezza e belezza di detta fighura e dipintura, che a lui sono state di grande tedio spesa e deficulta E veduto e considerato tutte le dette e predette cose di detti stimatori et agunte fatte E anchora veduto et considerato quello che fu da vedere e considerare messo fatto e celebrato tra loro solenne e segreto scruptino a fave nere e bianche et obtenuto el partito secondo la forma degli ordinamenti del comune di firenze et veduta [?] [from *deliberaverunt* to *ogni,* words cancelled] deliberaverunt che per ongni et qualunque agiente et maesteri fatte in detta fighura oltre alla alloghagione allui fatta la quale parla in questo modo coè che detto Domenicho
[c. 112 R] —[sic] deve |avere per sua faticha e maesterio di detta fighura di Dante con tutti sua fornimenti ecepto che le cornice in uno a detta fighura l. cento con questo patto che detta fighura s'abbia dipoi l'arà fatta stimare come è deto di sopra se sara meglio si gli possa dare per insino in l. Venti oltre a dette l. 100 E veduto anchora e considerato che assai più fu stimata per detti stimatori che al pregio gli fu alloghata deliberono che si gli dia per detta fighura e per ongni agunta la quale avessi fatta in quella abbi in tutto la suma e quantità di l. 155 e cosi si gli possa dare e paghare Item stantiarono dette l. 155 che il camarglengho [?] gli possa dare e paghare. . . . l. 155.[1]

[1] I want to thank Comm. Poggi particularly for having allowed me to use his transcription.

There is, therefore, no question about the authorship of this picture or about the date. Let us note at once concerning the date that the year 1465 marked the second centenary of Dante's birth, and that it was very probably for the purpose of celebrating this anniversary that the Florentine authorities ordered this picture, as well as to urge the Florentines to bestir themselves, claim Dante's remains from Ravenna, and honor their greatest poet at last, since they had failed to do so during his life.

But who was this Domenico di Francesco di Michelino? Very little is known about him. He was born in 1417 and died on April 18, 1491. Vasari says that he was a pupil of Fra Angelico,[1] and attributes to him some merely decorative things, cassoni, etc. He was certainly a mediocre painter, mostly a decorator. Why such a mediocre artist should have been selected to paint this important Dante picture we do not know. It may have been due to favoritism, to the support given him by Baldovinetti,—a support suggested by the very wording of the contract, or, as Mr Berenson suggested, by the fact that Michelino did not follow the hated Giottesque tradition. The strict terms of the contract also suggest that those who entrusted this painting to him had not complete confidence in him.

Certain critics of art may find vague similarities of style between Michelino and masters whom he may have imitated, such as Fra Angelico, Masolino, and Filippo Lippi, and also between his Dante picture and other anonymous paintings which, consequently, they venture to attribute to him,[2] but such considerations are often conjectural and give no sound historical data. We do know, however, that his Dante is the *only* picture positively attributable to Michelino.[3] We know, moreover, that in painting it Michelino was follow-

[1] Vasari-Milanesi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 521, and notes. In Sir Dominic Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London (1928), Michelino is not included, and in P. A. Corna, *Dizionario della storia dell'arte* (Piacenza, 1930), the picture in question,— the only one which may definitely be attributed to Michelino, is not mentioned! See, however, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Storia della pittura italiana*, Ed. 1898, Vol. VIII, p. 138, who consider Michelino "un continuatore di Masolino e dell' Angelico;" see also Thieme und Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1913). Vol. IX, p. 406.

[2] Anna Maria Ciaranfi, 'Domenico di Michelino' in *Dedalo*, VI, Jan. 1926, pp. 522–537. Mr Berenson does not agree with Miss Ciaranfi's attributions.

[3] In Mr Berenson's forthcoming *Lists of Italian Painters, sub* Michelino, will appear:

ing a model furnished by Alesso Baldovinetti. Judging from the wording of the contract, it seems likely that Baldovinetti furnished the model only for the figure of Dante;[1] but there seem to remain in the later picture a few echoes of the former. For instance, Michelino also has his Dante standing, though not exactly in a street of Florence, and near him, if not above him, Brunelleschi's dome, this time crowned with its lantern; he also shows us a gate of the city, but has eliminated the old man with the written scrolls. He may well have considered the old man superfluous, and have wished our attention centered in Dante. Furthermore, wishing to include in one canvas much of Florence and the three realms of after-life, the artist was forced to eliminate less pertinent material. We may say then in conclusion, that Michelino's picture very probably derives to some extent from its predecessor and also from Baldovinetti's model.

As Michelino's picture has grown dark with age, photographic reproductions of it do not show all details. For this reason I present a photograph of a print (Plate II) which appears in *La Metropolitana Fiorentina illustrata*, and which, though inexact, is helpful.

It is interesting also to compare with Michelino's picture, a very early print, which is attached to the inner binding of an old Laurentian manuscript volume[2] (Plate III). This print, undated, was

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'Florentine 1417–1491. Follower of Fra Angelico, influenced by Baldovinetti and Pesellino His only certain work is the "Dante" in the Florence Cathedral. The others here catalogued seem to be by the same hand, and probably his.' I am glad to thank Mr Berenson for his expert advice, his kindness, and also for allowing me to quote his book from the manuscript.

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, thought that Michelino had endeavored to follow, so far as possible, the 'drawing' furnished by Baldovinetti. Miss Ciaranfi, *op. cit.*, thinks, on the contrary, but with very slight foundation, that Baldovinetti's influence is chiefly in the nudes. Far more interesting is Maud Cruttwell's remark, in *A Guide to the Paintings in the Churches and Minor Museums of Florence* (London, 1908), p. 118: 'In the collection of Christ Church, Oxford, is a pen drawing of the figure, wrongly attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo. It seems too strong to be by Domenico himself, and may possibly have been drawn from the model furnished by Alesso Baldovinetti mentioned in the document.' Mr Berenson, on the contrary, positively identified the Christ Church drawing as Pollaiuolesque. It may be seen in his *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (London, 1903), Plate XXII, 1948.

[2] Strozziano, 148. See Aug. Mar., Bandinius, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* (Florence, 1774) Suppl. II, col. 546 ff. The inscription in this volume is as follows: 'Questo libro fu di Giovanni di Lorenzo di Bivigliano per anzi; è comprato da Francesco d'Andrea Cambi suo cognato, insoma d'altri libri, come masserizie come appare al

probably made between 1470 and 1480.[1] Since this print is obviously a very free and awkward copy of our Michelino, and since I present a reproduction of it, I do not think it relevant to examine it in detail now. I may refer to it later, in connection with the rendering of special points. Let me note, however, that this Laurentian print is colored, and in a manner quite different from the coloring of the Vienna print. It is touched up, in fact, in only two main colors, brown and blue; Dante's garments, except foot-ware, are in tempera, as well as the mantle of the angel; all the rest is in a wash or water color, roughly daubed. Dante's face is completely modelled, probably by pen and considerably later.[2] On the mat of the picture, in pencil and in a modern hand, is written: 'Pellegrino di L. Davide' or 'S. Danide' [?].

I now pass to a minute examination of the six parts of Michelino's Dante.[3]

II

Dante

In studying Michelino's figure of Dante (Plate IV) I must base my conclusions on studies made by experts on the iconography of Dante, chief among them Professor Holbrook, who says, concerning

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suo libro debitori, e creditori, ecc.' And on Col. 548, describing this print and the way in which it is attached to the volume: 'nec non interiori Codicis tegumento adglutinatum visitur extypon Orgagnae Picturae, quae in Ecclesia Florentina adservatur, aeri haud ineleganter in primis artis incunabulis incisum.' The card describing the MS. volume, which is on exhibition, says: 'Cod. cartac. della fine del secolo XIV, con iniz. min., già di Francesco d'Andrea Cambi. Con un' antica incisione che ritrae il "Dante", cioè la pittura di Domenico di Michelino nel Duomo di Firenze.'

[1] For these dates I take the judgment given to me by three experts: Bernard Berenson, A. M. Hind, curator of prints in the British Museum, and W. Ivins, curator of Prints in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. For reproductions of this print see F. von Bartsch, *Kupferstich—Sammlung der K. K. Hofbibl.* (Vienna, 1854), p. 18. No. 96; Passavant, *Peintre Graveur*, Vol. v. p. 43, No. 101; *Chalc. Soc.* 1889, No. 7., A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings . . .* in British Museum (London, 1910), Illustr. D. I. 19. Vol. II.

[2] For these technical details I am indebted to Professor George H. Edgell, who examined the print with me.

[3] For this study I examined not merely the photographs, but the picture itself, with flash-light and magnifying glass. I am greatly indebted to Marchese Roberto Ginori Venturi, President of the Opera del Duomo, who most kindly provided a scaffolding for this examination.

possible sources:[1] 'Michelino assuredly had at his disposal Giotto's fresco, Taddeo Gaddi's group in Santa Croce, Orcagna's fresco (which he certainly did not use to any appreciable extent), Boccaccio's description, the old painting in Santa Maria del Fiore, Baldovinetti's model, Andrea dal Castagno's portrait, and probably various other sources. Precisely what model, source or sources, influenced Michelino (and Baldovinetti) we do not know. The most plausible prototype now extant is the portrait by Andrea dal Castagno. Various striking similarities—not only in the whole make up of each figure, but in several important details,' Professor Holbrook points out in his treatment of Andrea dal Castagno's Dante, which he judges to have been painted, probably, between 1435 and 1457.[2] The 'superficial resemblance' between these two renderings of Dante, Professor Holbrook sets forth thus: 'The costume, except the *mazzocchio*, is almost identical, and the two figures differ but little in their pose. Both are looking off to the left at the same angle, and both have a didactic air. Michelino's Dante is holding out his *Commedia*, in his left hand, so that all may know his greatest work, while with his right hand he seems to be corroborating his story with the visible evidence that rises behind him to the right; . . . the heads have similar proportions, and were the expression of Andrea's Dante not quite so sinister and fierce (characteristics by which this painter was well known in his own time, or at least in Vasari's), and were the lines, especially those of the nose and mouth, somewhat less sharp, the resemblance would be still more apparent.'[3] He then adds, in conclusion, about Michelino's Dante: 'As a type, it seems to be akin, though vaguely, to three well-known presentments—Giotto's fresco, for pose and attire (including the colors); the miniature Codex Palatinus 320, for maturity and heaviness of expression; the Naples bust, for the heavy cheekbones and the wreath.[4]

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 172–181, for treatment of Michelino; p. 176, for this quotation. See also his Bibliography, pp. 245 ff. See also Passerini, *op. cit.*, p. 15 etc.

[2] Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[3] Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[4] Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Passerini, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Professor Holbrook adds another interesting observation:[1] 'Now if Vasari is right, Andrea dal Castagno worked both in Santa Croce and in Santa Maria del Fiore . . . ; it is therefore credible that he knew Taddeo Gaddi's Dante, and that the model which Alesso Baldovinetti (who had been an assistant to Andrea) gave to Domenico di Michelino about 1465 was either executed by Andrea dal Castagno or bore some genetic relation to the present work, which may be merely an adaptation of the original portrait of Dante in Santa Maria del Fiore (about 1430 and later). That Andrea copied Michelino is of course impossible.'

In short, we may say that Michelino's Dante comes, with no particular originality, within the usual 'grim tradition,' as Professor Holbrook calls it, which probably had its prototype in that painting by Gaddi, formerly in Santa Croce,[2] then unfortunately destroyed by that arch-destroyer Vasari. It is, fortunately, preserved for us, at least indirectly, by the portrait in the Palatine *MS. 320.* Owing to the fact that real portraiture was quite undeveloped in Giotto's and Gaddi's times,[3] the fact that both these painters had very probably seen Dante loses much of its value, and the loss is reflected in any picture that may have its source in theirs. Nevertheless, the relation of Michelino's Dante to Taddeo Gaddi's standard portrait and the fact that Michelino's and the Riccardian *1040* images belong to about the same period, are important facts in favor of Michelino's iconographic value.

As to colors, let us note that the crimson robe was of course the traditional garb of poets, just as the laurel wreath was their traditional symbol, and that Michelino's Dante, like Giotto's in the Maddalena Chapel, was barbarously touched up during the last century by that extremely mediocre dauber Marini under orders from the Austrian authorities, then in possession of Tuscany, who considered the combination of red, white and green (the Italian colors) very dangerous,—the very colors that are traditionally

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[2] See also E. G. Gardner, *The Story of Florence* (London, 1903), p. 277.

[3] This is not my assertion, but one made to me by Mr Berenson.

connected with the garb of Dante.[1] About 1840, therefore, Marini changed the green to blue. But the picture may have been touched up much earlier. Mr Berenson, who examined the painting with me, asserted that Dante's face and hand had certainly been touched up, but that probably the iconographic value of the picture had not been appreciably altered. Professor Mather thinks that the head was revised before the middle of the XVIth century by a painter of talent, possibly Bronzino.[2]

The interesting thing for us is to see how the traditional figure and even the pose of Dante fit into this composition by Michelino. That his Dante should hold in his hand an open book, though this is a conventional pose often found in pictures of saints, seems particularly apt when we consider that probably this painting was suggested, as we have said, by the Dante readings given by Fra Antonio; that this open book should radiate light, is also significant of the new veneration which Fra Antonio and others were trying to inculcate in the people of Florence for their greatest poet; and finally, that Dante should turn his face to the left toward his beloved native city, and should, hating and despising its citizens as he did, point with his right hand to the torments of hell,—this is both apt and new, for nobody before Michelino had represented Dante, Florence, and the Inferno in the same canvas. That Dante should have been represented in his maturity is logical both because only in his maturity did he write his greatest work and also because Dante was already mature—beyond the 'mid-path of life'—in 1302, when the Florentines so unjustly thrust him out of their city. And Michelino placed him significantly outside the city gate. Added to the description (probably known by Michelino) which Boccaccio left us of Dante, these facts might well account for the 'grim tradition.' Michelino's Dante has not, of course, the potent magnificent grimness of the famous Naples bust or of the Torrigiani mask.[3] We may perhaps more logically blame the weakness of Michelino if his Dante, rather than grim, is merely pensively melancholy. Michelino did

[1] This is a very well known fact, but see Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[2] F. J. Mather, *The Portraits of Dante . . .* (Princeton, 1921), p. 48.

[3] Holbrook, *op. cit.*, ill. facing p. 58, in which the three renderings are compared.

emphasize in the face the lines of age and tribulation, especially in the forehead, just as we find them emphasized in the illumination in the Riccardian *MS. 1040*,[1] but was, apparently, unable to put into Dante's face that unique tremendous power which was only achieved much later by the unknown author of the Naples bust.

In the book held open by Dante with his left hand in such a way as to be readable not to him, but to those who look at the picture (also a conventional pose), are shown, quite naturally, the first lines of his *Comedia:* to be precise, the first six lines, beginning with a large illuminated initial and ending just short of the last two words. The letters, too large for the book, are large enough to be read in the picture; there is, consequently, no spacing of lines or words, but ample margins. I reproduce it here, marking this arbitrary division into lines with perpendicular marks:

Verso page:

NELMEZODE | LCHAMINO | DINOSTRA | VITA
MIRI | TROVAPE | RVNASEL | VASCVRA
CHELADIRI | TTAVIAER | ASMARITA[2]

Recto page:

AQVANTA | DIRQVALE | RECOSAD | VRA
QUE | STASILVA | SILVAGGI | ASPRAET | FORTE
CH | ENELPEN | SIERINO[3]

Michelino obviously intended to make Dante the center of the picture, as he had been primarily ordered to paint Dante, and only added the surrounding details for purposes of completeness and decorative elaboration.[4] This would also explain the gigantic stature of Dante.[5] Michelino gave to his hero heroic proportions, making the rest of the picture of secondary importance. Nor should we seek for realism in the perspective of this time.

In conclusion we may say that though in face, figure and pose

[1] *Ibid.*, ill. facing p. 66.

[2] Last two letters, TA, half-covered by Dante's fourth finger. There is a tilde over the R.

[3] *S* half covered by Dante's second finger.

[4] See Contracts on pp. 18 ff., and A. Bassermann, *Orme di Dante* (Bologna, 1902), p. 485.

[5] We know, from measurements made of some of Dante's bones, that he was not tall, in fact only 'about five feet five and one-half inches.' Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 34, who refers to C. Ricci, *L'ultimo rifugio di Dante Alighieri* (Milan, 1881), pp. 358, etc.

Michelino's Dante shows no particular originality or force, its attitude is more than adequate, even suggestive, and singularly apt, given the purpose of the picture and the material illustrated all around the central figure. This aptness will become more apparent as we study in detail Michelino's Florence and his Inferno.

III

Florence

The most striking thing about the Florence which is decoratively condensed on our left of Dante is that it is not at all the Florence that Dante knew at the end of the Thirteenth Century, but Michelino's Florence of 1465, with certain compromises. The prominence given by Michelino to the walls of the city and the gate may be explained first, by the fact that his source (the original picture which hung in the Duomo) represented the walls of the city and a gate, and second, by the significance of manifestly placing Dante outside the city which had exiled him. But Florence has had three sets of city walls.[1] Which set is here represented? Here is Michelino's first and greatest compromise: he painted a Fifteenth Century Florence within Thirteenth Century walls. It behooves me here to give a brief account of the three sets of walls.

When Dante said, or rather, made Cacciaguida say:

Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia antica[2]

he meant the first set of mediaeval walls, which seem to have been practically identical with the walls of the Roman city, and were built between 785 and 800.[3] The second set of walls was begun in

[1] When certain historians say that Florence had four sets of walls, they are counting as separate sets the Roman and the first mediaeval walls. Cf. G. Carbone, *Della costituzione topografica di Firenze nel secolo di Dante*, in [Ghivizzani, Gaetano], *Dante e il suo secolo* (Florence, 1865), pp. 475–501.

[2] *Par.*, xxv, 97. Of course commentators agree on this interpretation of the walls.

[3] The best accounts of these walls (which are described more or less correctly by every history and guide book of Florence) are to be found in: Olinto Martinelli, *La carta topografica e lo sviluppo di Firenze*, in *Rivista geografica italiana*, Vol. xxviii, 1921, pp. 18–38; Roberto Davidsohn: *Storia di Firenze* (Florence: Sansoni, 1907), pp. 16–19, 823–825, etc. and also his *Forschungen* map and index to map at end of Vol. ii; *Stradario storico e amministrativo della città e del Comune di Firenze* (Florence, 1929, Published by the city; first edition, 1913) pp. xvff.

1172.[1] These walls were already too small for the growing city in Dante's times, so that the third walls were begun in 1284 and completed in 1327, i.e., begun eighteen years before Dante's exile, and not completed until six years after his death. These last walls were demolished on the north side of the Arno in 1865; on the south side they are for the most part still standing. The walls which we should naturally connect with Dante's life in Florence belong to the second circle, the very one represented by Michelino. It so happened, moreover, that it was not only historically proper but pictorially convenient for the artist to represent these walls, because they were, given the view that Michelino selected and the small space at his disposal, close to the monuments he wished to include. The third walls stood more than a mile away from these monuments. As we shall soon see, in spite of his compromises, Michelino was shrewdly realistic in his landscape,—and he had to condense.

The big gate represented in the picture and significantly closed tallies topographically with the Porta di Balla of the second walls, a gate situated where now the Via dei Servi meets the Via dei Pucci, just one block north of the Cathedral, not to be confused with the first Porta di Balla, later dei Visdomini, of the first walls, which stood exactly where the right (or north) arm of the cross of the Cathedral was built. The design of the gate and of the walls also tallies with the descriptions and pictures we have of them.

The two lions which decorate the gate in the Strozziano print (Plate III) were probably borrowed from the Porta a San Gallo (of the third set), on which they may still be seen. In this same print the gate of Florence is absurdly open.

The walls were interrupted and reinforced by towers; each gate was provided with a fore-gate, and both of these were surmounted by battlements, Guelph Style,[2] and stood over a moat on two

[1] I take this date from Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, p. 823, rather than from Martinelli, who says 1173, *op. cit.* p. 32. As a matter of fact the walls were still being built, as Davidsohn says, in 1174. It was Davidsohn who discovered the exact dates: see A. Giorgetti, in review of Davidsohn's book, in *Bull. Soc. Dant*, IV, pp. 96 ff., and L. Dami, 'Com'era Firenze quando Dante la vide,' in *Lettura*, Jan. 1921. pp. 45 ff.

[2] These square, right-angled crenellations were, as everybody knows, called Guelph, because they had, it seems, been adopted by the Guelphs. Such crenellations existed, of course,

arches. Even the two arches may be dimly seen in the extreme foreground on the right of Michelino's picture, and especially in the first modern print of it (Plate II). For the sake of mere curiosity I might add that the water in the moat, dark brown in the picture, was probably furnished in part by the Mugnone, a little torrent which first flowed along the western side of the first walls, was then deviated, so that it should not cross the city, to flow along the second walls, and was finally driven into the bed it now occupies, very much farther west.[1] The prolongation of the walls toward the left is interrupted by a tower (Machicolations half-hidden by the rays from the book) which Michelino made very thin, obviously so that it should not hide the monuments behind it. Let us note, in passing, that views of Florence seem to have been taken very often and very naturally from this direction.[2]

Had Michelino represented a panorama of Florence as it appeared in Dante's time, he would have painted a forest of grim grey towers. By adopting, instead, the monumental Florence of his own days, Michelino has given us a decidedly more beautiful picture. The monuments he represents, though most of them were completed much later than Dante's times, were begun when the poet was in Florence. I often think that perhaps among the minor reasons that made Dante so very eager, after his exile, to return to his beloved Florence must have been his artistic curiosity to see the growth of those magnificent monuments which he had seen begun, but on so grand a plan. With his exquisitely artistic and structural sense and his superb imagination, he could hardly have failed to visualize his old Florence in its imminent monumental transformation, only

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long before the factions of Guelph and Ghibellines; they were, indeed, used in Roman walls and forts, and are even called, in design, 'Wall of Troy.' The Ghibelline merlons had a chevron top.

[1] The courses of the Mugnone have been frequently discussed. Perhaps the most enlightening discussion may be found in G. Lami, *Lezioni di antichità toscane*, Florence, 1766, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.

[2] See Rodolfo Ciullini. *Raccolta di antiche carte e vedute della città di Firenze*, (Florence, Istituto geografico militare) from L' *Universo, Rivista mensile*. v. 8 Aug. 1924; A. Mori e G. Boffito, *Firenze nelle vedute e piante*, Florence (Seeber), 1916; W. Limburger, *Die Gebäude von Florenz*, Leipzig, 1910.

apparent in hugely substantial foundations when he left Florence in 1302. Michelino's Florence, therefore, though strictly speaking anachronistic, represents the architectural harvest of that which had been planted during Dante's residence. This will become more apparent as we note in detail Michelino's monuments.

Beginning on the left, immediately above and below the Recto page of Dante's open book, we see the Palazzo del Podestà, or Bargello; immediately under Dante's hand we may see part of the Guelph battlements, of the corbel-tables, and of two windows, all of which tally precisely with the building as it is today. Above and partly hidden by the radiation from the book is the top of the tower, with its characteristic weather-vane,—an iron rod with lion rampant, just as it is today (Plate V). This palace was begun about 1250 and completed in 1367.[1] It stands immediately outside of the first line of walls and within only a few yards of the house in which Dante is supposed to have been born. Dante doubtless saw the western end of the palace and the tower, which were the first to be built; the later addition, part of which we see in the picture, he could not have seen. In the Strozziano print (Plate IV) even the bell in the tower is visible.

Just across the street from the Bargello on the west stands the Badia, formerly the Church of Sant'Apollinare. One finds vague reports that in this Church (or in S. Piero Scheraggio) Boccaccio gave the first readings of the *Divine Comedy*, but they seem to be incorrect, because the first decree of the Florentine Republic to the effect that public readings of Dante be held, dated August 9, 1373, states that the very first reading was held in the Church of 'Santo Stefano a ponte Vecchio,' on Sunday, October 3, 1373.[2]

The tower which Michelino painted, immediately on the right of the Bargello tower, is neither the tower that Dante saw nor the one we see today, for, in a riot that occurred in 1307, the enraged popu-

[1] For such dates I refer to F. Lumachi, *Firenze, Nuova Guida Illustrata* (Florence, 1928),—an excellent guide book, whose data, however, I have carefully checked up in more scholarly works.

[2] *Documenti e studi che servono alla storia dell' Opera e delle fabbriche insigni, Miscellanee*, Vol. I, pp. 70 ff. in MS. in the Opera del Duomo. The date of the first Dante reading seems to be in the hand of Cesare Guasti.

lace tore down about half the campanile,[1] which, with the Church, had been built, or rather, rebuilt by Arnolfo. The tower was rebuilt in 1330 and on top of it was placed a weather-vane in the form of a rod with an angel, hence the old Florentine proverb, applied to people who easily change their opinions: 'Tu se' come l'angelo di Badia.'[2] Though the tower was later struck by lightning at least twice, in 1652 and in 1769, the weather-vane with the angel is still on top of the tower. Its hexagonal form goes back to 1330, but the basis was originally circular, as can still be seen from the cloisters of the Church. The fact that Michelino's spire has Gothic crockets not at present visible, has no great importance, because the tower was damaged and rebuilt several times. That such crockets were present as recently as the XVIIIth century seems evident from a map of this period.[3]

The Duomo or Cathedral, which was called Santa Reparata, or Liperata in Dante's time and up to 1412, and since then Santa Maria del Fiore,[4] stands out as the most prominent monument in Michelino's picture. This is natural for three reasons: first of all let us remember that the Duomo figured in the original picture and hence was inherited by Michelino; second, since his picture was painted for the Duomo, it was natural to give to this church a prominent place; third, from the realistic point of view, given the posi-

[1] For Florentine Churches in general the standard treatise, though old and sometimes incorrect, is by Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine* (Florence, 1754), ten vols. For the Badia see Vol. I, pp. 195 ff. A briefer book, brought up to date in a scholarly way, is Arnaldo Cocchi, *Le Chiese di Firenze dal secolo IV al secolo XX* (Florence, 1903). For the vicissitudes of the tower see G. B. Uccelli, *Della Badia fiorentina — Ragionamento storico* (Florence, 1858), p. 30; D. F. Tarani, *La Badia fiorentina* (Florence, 1920), p. 17.

[2] Uccelli, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Tarani, *op. cit., loc. cit.*

[3] Ciullini, *op. cit.*, 11th map: Veduta di Firenze, di F. B. Werner, Secolo XVIII; and also Mori & Boffito, *op. cit.*, map facing p. 73. According to this map, however, similar crockets were to be seen also on the tower of Santa Maria Novella, which also has not got them today, and of San Pier Maggiore, now destroyed. See also L. Beltrami, *Storia della Facciata di S. Maria del Fiore in Firenze*, Milan, 1900, p. 10, fig. 1.

[4] Giovanni Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, Berlin, 1909; Luigi Santoni, *Raccolta di notizie storiche riguardanti le chiese dell' Arci-diocesi di Firenze*, Florence, 1847; C. J. Cavallucci, *Santa Maria del Fiore. Documenti dall'origine fino ai nostri giorni*, Florence, 1881. (On pp. 165 ff. exact chronology of the church); *La Metropolitana fiorentina illustrata, op. cit.*, (Text derived by G. Molini largely from G. B. Clemente Nelli's book, 1755).

tion from which the artist is supposedly painting, this structure would loom overwhelmingly large in the foreground. In details, the artist has been singularly accurate,—and inaccurate. In the original picture, we must remember, Brunelleschi's dome appeared 'not yet crowned by its lantern;'[1] in fact, the lantern was built only in 1462, long after the painting of the earlier picture. Michelino not only added the lantern, but placed upon it the ball and the cross (which were, of course, a direct imitation of the ball and cross on the Baptistry). The cross, we know, was added by Verrocchio on May 22, 1472.[2] How could Michelino depict the ball and cross seven years before their appearance? Three answers suggest themselves: 1. Michelino might have touched up the picture later (he lived until 1491), though this is not very likely, since he had completed it and received full payment, as we have seen, in 1465; 2. some other artist may have added them;[3] 3. most probable of all, Michelino may have copied them from the model of the Cupola, made of wood by Brunelleschi as early as 1419,[4] and still visible in the Opera del Duomo (Plate VI). The fact that the proportions for the ball and cross adopted by Michelino do not correspond exactly with those of the model is not important; probably Michelino saw the opportunity, both artistic and pious, of making a large, relucent cross that would stand out effectively upon a dark sky and dominate significantly all other signs. Indeed his cross is not the plain Latin cross of the Cathedral, but a highly decorated type of cross *patonce*.

Before leaving the Duomo let us note a significant detail. The extreme right of the roof of the nave, as it appears in Michelino's picture, is interrupted by a marble cuspid and a pinnacle (*guglia*),

[1] See my p. 16.

[2] It was subsequently destroyed by lightning and 'rifatta con le proporzioni più vaste date dal Brunelleschi,' Garneri, *Firenze e dintorni* (Turin, 1925), p. 4.

[3] This was suggested in *Firenze antica, op. cit.*, p. 306, the author saying that perhaps Lorenzo di Bicci might have touched up the Cupola, bringing it up to date.

[4] *Firenze antica, op. cit.*, p. 301, referring to Vasari on Brunelleschi. For this little problem I asked for Professor Mather's opinion. He also thought it more likely that Michelino copied the wooden model and added: 'There is nothing odd in a painting showing intended architectural features.'

which actually existed in Michelino's time. They were, in fact, added to the building in 1362, in accordance with the design of the façade by Talenti, and were torn down in 1586.[1] I believe that Michelino's is the only pictorial record of these architectural details. Let us at once give him credit for this much of realistic accuracy (Plates I and II).

To take a step backward in our minute study of these monuments, let us note, immediately behind the Badia tower, a very high battlemented wall, and a similar wall extending on the right of the cupola. Since such walls can hardly be accounted for by any structure existing now or formerly within the city, and especially since, beneath and against the second fragment of walls can be seen a little stretch of land with two fir-trees, I take it that Michelino intended to indicate the city walls on the south side of the Arno, belonging to epochs intermediate between the second and third circles,[2] and plausibly includable also because they stand on high ground.

The tower of the Palazzo Vecchio is so easily identifiable as hardly to need comment. As this wonderful palace, planned in 1297, was begun in 1298 and completed in 1314, we may well surmise that Dante saw it rise somewhat above the foundations, but that, in 1302, the tower was certainly not even begun. Let us note, however, that Michelino portrayed it as it was in his day and ours, surmounted by rod and lion rampant, and that while, as we have seen, he placed on the cupola a very small ball and an outstanding cross, the ball is here extremely large and the weather-vane only dimly visible. But no significance can be given to such trivial liberties taken by the painter.

The last structure on the right is, of course, the Campanile, begun by Giotto in 1334, thirty-two years after Dante's departure, and completed by Talenti in 1387.[3]

[1] G. Poggi, *op. cit.*, p. xx, xxi; A. Nardini—Despotti-Mospignotti, *Filippo di Ser Brunellesco e la Cupola del Duomo di Firenze* (Leghorn, 1885), p. 104. n. 1; C. Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore; la Costruzione della Chiesa e del Campanile* (Florence, 1887), p. lxxvii.

[2] Lumachi, *op. cit.*, p. 33; R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, Vol. 1, p. 114.

[3] Lumachi, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–110; Garneri gives 1389.

Between the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio and Giotto's Campanile stands the only part of Michelino's Florence that is not definitely identifiable, a tower the like of which is not to be seen today (Plate VII) and, so far as I am able, after much labor, to ascertain, never was seen in that form and in that spot. Nevertheless, I can present certain conjectures.

First of all, it is conceivable that the painter may have placed in this otherwise vacant space a tower which did not exist, but which he thought necessary for reasons of artistic composition. Should this be the case, as it may well be, all attempts at identification would be futile. Two other possibilities, however, remain: that the artist either placed in this spot of the picture a tower which topographically belonged elsewhere, or that he greatly enlarged a tower which, more or less in this neighborhood, would have really been invisible. We should observe again here that Michelino could not be always realistic.[1] Indeed, there is not and never was a spot in Florence, except in mid-air, from which the approximate view given by Michelino could possibly be obtained.[2] The artist was, I repeat, endeavoring to condense in one panorama the salient monuments of Florence and, if I am not mistaken, particularly those which could in some way be related to Dante. He used his privilege of artistic freedom, yet would not, I believe, have gone so far astray from the truth as to place in this spot the tower of Santa Croce or that of Santa Maria Novella, each at least half a mile outside of the picture. His tower has a very vague similarity with the latter, with which it has in common a spire and a flame-like vane. On the whole I believe both my first and second conjectures very improbable, and therefore to be dismissed. My third conjecture, on the contrary, deserves development. After a very minute study of all past and present towers approximately available for this position, I have come to the conclusion that this may be the now demolished tower

[1] Probably the most accurate old panorama of Florence is Vasari's fresco in the Sala di Clemente VII, Palazzo Vecchio (1530). See an interesting account of the painter's use of a compass for perspective in Vasari's *Ragionamenti*, quoted by Mori Boffito, *op. cit.*, p. 32. I wish to thank Father Boffito for his kind advice in my research.

[2] To establish this fact I climbed several buildings and took photographs from them.

of San Piero Scheraggio, a church which stood exactly south of the Palazzo Vecchio. Two reasons lead me to think this conclusion plausible: first, I find in at least two old maps of Florence that the Church of San Piero Scheraggio had a tower very similar to the one given us by Michelino. In fact, in the so-called 'chain map' (Plate VIII), done about 1470, it can be seen immediately on the right of the Palazzo della Signoria and behind the Loggia de' Signori (now Loggia de' Lanzi), as part of a Church on whose façade in this map may be seen, in abbreviated form: S. Piero Scheraggio (actually: S. P. SCE |RA||GI. It may also be seen in a reproduction of a drawing taken from the *Cod. Vaticano-Urbinate, n. 277*,[1] here again with an inscription: Sancti Petri Scheragii. Second, this church was connected with Dante because in it were held the councils of the city rulers, among whom was Dante, who is supposed to have spoken in this church. San Piero Scheraggio was one of the most ancient churches in Florence, probably built in the Eleventh Century; its north nave, it is well known, was torn down about 1419 to make room for Via della Ninna; the rest of the church, including the tower, was destroyed by Vasari in 1561, to make room for the Uffizi. Parts of the church may still be seen: three columns, now engaged in the north wall of the Uffizi on Via della Ninna (one with semi-destroyed fresco), a window on the second floor, vestibule, of the Uffizi, the outside of the apse in the restaurant 'dello Scheraggio,' also in Via della Ninna. The tower, judging from old pictures, stood on the east end of the church. For the sake of curiosity, see what a peculiar, minaret-like structure this tower became in the Strozziano print (Plate III).

Concerning the general view of Florence, we see that Michelino placed on the buildings the eastern sunshine, as he did on Dante's face, right side (left side from our point of view), and that on the whole he achieved a view of his own Florence both artistically harmonious and generally true.

[1] Mori Boffito, *op. cit.*, second print after p. 8, verso side of page, and description on pp. 9 ff.

IV

Inferno

At this stage of our study we might ask: why did Michelino place Florence on the right, the Inferno on the left and Purgatory in the center background? This may well have been the artist's initial problem of composition. I may surmise the reasons for his solution, even though I may thus be indulging in arbitrary conjectures.

First of all, in placing Florence on the right, Michelino may have imitated his source, the original picture. Second, in order to be true to Dante, he had to place the Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso in a logical sequence, with the Inferno first and therefore in the foreground, and with the Purgatorio in the background; moreover, as Purgatory is a huge mountain, it could only be pictured at a distance in the background. Third, a view of Florence from the north gave him the opportunity of including, I repeat, in a closer unit and more realistically the most important monuments of the city, which are clustered on the north side of the Arno. Finally,—and this may well have been the decisive factor, and is the most curious one—if Michelino had placed the Inferno on our right, and since, according to Dante, the souls of the damned, as well as Dante and Virgil, proceed toward the left, which is symbolically the direction of evil (*a sinistra*, on the sinister side), the souls descending from a gate on the right of the picture and going to the left would inevitably present their backs to us and not their faces, in which only could the artist express their infernal agony.

That the figure of Dante should be in the center foreground is obvious; that the only way to represent or even suggest Paradise was to place it in the sky, therefore necessarily in the upper background, is equally obvious. The problem of distributing the various parts of the picture was, then, solved by Michelino with skilfully natural logic.

In representing the Inferno Michelino must have seen immediately another artistic opportunity: that of giving balance to the picture by placing, as a *pendant* to the gate and lofty monuments

of Florence, the gate of Hell with lofty rocks. Dante's entrance into the Inferno is, in fact, represented by a magnified city gate, with ground-buttresses and Guelph battlements (let us remember that Dante was born a Guelph), but with no door (the gates of hell are always open), and upon the gate is graven Dante's famous inscription. Owing to the fact, however, that the panel was small and that the words to be readable on a dark wall had to be large, the artist used only the last of Dante's nine lines, which is spelled and spaced thus:

LASCIATEOGNI
SPERANZAVOC
HENTRATE

These words are discernible only in the picture and in an enlarged photograph. The author of the Strozziano print (Plate III) may not have read them correctly or more probably took the liberty of writing on the gate instead the first two of Dante's famous nine lines: 'Per me si va, etc.' Dante's words:

'Queste parole di colore oscuro
Vid'io scritte al sommo d'una porta;'
Inf., III, 10, 11.

may have so impressed the artist that he made 'obscure' even the panel in which they are written. This panel, like his entire Inferno, could not get the eastern light which makes his Florence so clear, and should, moreover, like Dante's Inferno, the realm of darkness, be dark. The very rocks are calculated to shade this whole left corner of the picture.

Michelino had very little space indeed in which to indicate even most briefly the huge extent of Dante's Inferno. He was accordingly forced to condense it extremely and include only the gate, a few sharp rocks to indicate the descending ledges, a few devils, a few souls in torment, and Lucifer—a very wisely representative selection. He could not possibly have even tried to portray rivers of blood, vast expanses of flame or of ice, etc. The towering blackish cliffs at the left suggest great depths and follow in color Dante's description of lower hell:

'Luogo è in Inferno, detto Malebolge,
Tutto di pietra e di color ferrigno,'
XVIII, 1, 2.

and in quality:

'. . . per lo scoglio sconcio ed erto,
Che sarebbe alle capre duro varco;'
XIX, 131–2.

In outline these rocks are represented in a very conventional manner. Mr Berenson tells me that this manner was invented, so to speak, by Domenico Veneziano. In many pictures, for instance in the work of Benozzo Gozzoli, in his frescoes in the Medici Chapel, Palazzo Riccardi, representing 'The Journey of the Magi to Bethlehem,' I found somewhat similar conventional rocks.

Against the background of these dark rocks, the devils, also necessarily dark, are barely discernible. There are five devils, excluding Lucifer. They too are designed in the conventional manner,[1] with their usual bestial features, horns, fangs, bat-like wings (the wings were, it seems, inherited from the fallen angels; the bat-like shape because, of course, the bat is a bird of darkness) claws, tails, hideously grinning mouths, huge ears, etc. The four who stand above and are driving the spirits, also have the tools of torment mentioned by Dante:

'Di qua, di là su per lo sasso tetro
Vidi demon cornuti con gran ferze,'
XVIII, 35, 36.

and the special instruments of '*la fiera compagnia*,' the '*raffi, roncigli, uncini*' of Cantos XXI and XXII.

To these usual and Dantesque features Michelino added two others: torches and snakes, which may additionally symbolize the flame, conflagration, torment, and wickedness of hell. The topmost devil, standing between the highest rock and the lighter descending ledge, has a torch in his right hand pointed toward the other devils and snakes wound around his horns, his right arm, and his breast. The devil peeping in from the gate also has a torch in his right hand and snakes circling his neck and horns. The

[1] See Arturo Graf, *Il Diavalo*, Milan, 1889; Bassermann, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

fourth devil from the top, the one furthest toward our left, is wielding twisted snakes in his right hand, and has two more decoratively circling his waist.

The fifth devil, who precedes the damned, has two noteworthy peculiarities: his wings are not only bat-like, but are decorated with eyes of peacock feathers, which are usually applied to the wings of angels as symbols of immortality. Perhaps here they may symbolize eternal damnation! Moreover this devil, the leader of the damned, carries a banner, in form a typically mediaeval banner, but white without any color or device whatsoever. Michelino may have been inspired by Dante's lines:

> 'Ed io, che riguardai, vidi una insegna,
> Che girando correva tanto ratta,'
> III, 52, 53.

Curiously enough, in the earliest print of this picture, the Strozziano (Plate III), the artist placed on the banner a scorpion, perhaps remembering Dante's '*freddo animale*' (*Purg.* IX, 5). The scorpion also signified venom, therefore wickedness, and even heathenness.

Judging from Michelino's deviceless banner, the damned might be 'the shameful and degrading lot of cowards and neutrals, the trimmers, who would follow no standard upon earth, and are now rejected by Heaven and Hell alike;'[1]

> 'Questo misero modo
> Tengon l'anime triste di coloro
> Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.
> Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro
> Degli angeli che non furon ribelli,
> Ne fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.
> Cacciarli i ciel per non esser men belli;
> Nè lo profondo inferno gli riceve,
> Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.'
> III, 34–42.

Are these spirits driven by demons the '*ignavi*' of the vestibule of Hell? If so, their torment should be that of being perpetually stung by horse-flies and bees.

[1] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

'Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi,
Erano ignudi e stimolati molto
Da mosconi e da vespe ch'eran ivi.'
III, 64–66.

If, in fact, we observe these wretched spirits very minutely, we shall find upon their bodies many wasp-like insects, and around the wounds made by them spots of blood. These details, hardly recognizable in the reproduction of the picture, are quite clear in the painting. The gestures of these sinners, though awkward, might indicate their effort to drive away these stinging insects. These details, in addition to the deviceless banner, make us unmistakably sure that Michelino intended to represent the despicably lukewarm:

'la setta de' cattivi,
A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui,'
III, 62, 63.

The spots on the bodies would indicate the blood drawn by the wasps, which blood, according to Dante, drips into the mire and is eaten by worms.

It would be vain to identify these spirits, inasmuch as Dante does not identify them, except to say that he recognized several, including the spirit generally understood to be that of Celestine V:

'Poscia ch'io v'ebbi alcun riconosciuto,
Vidi e conobbi l'ombra di colui
Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto.'
III, 58–60.

This spirit, if we insist on identification, should be the elderly gentleman, eighth from the top, but it is far more likely that Michelino portrayed merely ten typical persons, three women and seven men, including one old man. As we shall see later, Michelino would not have thus represented a Pope. I venture to add my opinion that, from the point of view of painting, Michelino did his best work in facial expression on this old man, excepting perhaps Dante's face.

On the background of the huge rock which is thrust out beneath Dante's right hand, Michelino drew his Lucifer, but not, apparently, Dante's. In the photographic reproduction this demon does

not show up at all, but see the two prints: one (Plate II), which gives a very good reproduction, and the Strozziano (Plate III), which gives a very inexact Lucifer, and adds a devil on his right. Michelino's Lucifer, instead of being thrust into the dark eternal ice of Giudecca, is painted in flame-like scarlet; instead of masticating traitors with three mouths, he is spouting red flames, which flow upwards and outward from his one mouth; instead of appearing, like Dante's, with six bat-like wings, he is the center of radiating scarlet flames; and he has horns above an ordinary super-devilish visage. He appears, like Dante's, only from the waist up. Michelino seems to have used not Dante's, but a conventional arch-demon, as a label for the depth of hell. Here again we must remember the limitations imposed on the artist by extreme condensation.

On the whole, Michelino's Inferno does adequately suggest horror, torment, descent, darkness; and his bestial devils are, as Mr Berenson said, 'good grotesques.' And the sin which he selected to portray bore a message. Dante is pointing to the luke-warm of Hell; the luke-warm of Michelino's Florence were those who showed insufficient interest in celebrating their greatest poet, and in claiming his ashes from Ravenna.

V

Purgatorio

This is certainly Michelino's most complete interpretation of the *Divine Comedy*, in spite of the fact that his Purgatory, being in the background, had to be drawn on a smaller scale.

In general composition, Michelino must here have faced two little problems: Dante placed his Purgatory in the southwest; judging pedantically from the light effect on the view of Florence, Michelino's Purgatory is rather in the east. The artist could not possibly indicate with light and shadow the various hours of Dante's ascent, and therefore threw upon his Purgatory the same eastern sunshine which illuminates Florence, roughly corresponding to the morning sun with which Dante began his journey through Purgatory. Second, Dante's Purgatory is an island,—'*questa isoletta*' (*Purg.*, I, 100); Michelino

had no space for a sea. For lack of space and probably for artistic reasons he could not represent a wide expanse of water. He compromised by painting around the base of his mountain a thin blue stream with reeds on its banks. This stream is hardly visible in the photograph (Plate I), and is omitted in the modern print (Plate II), but is very apparent, though incorrect, in the old print (Plate III). The reeds represent Dante's '*giunco schietto*' (I, 95), symbol of humility, with which Dante was girdled by Virgil upon approaching the mountain. Michelino added to these rushes, in his effort at landscape gardening, a few little evergreens, and so that this greenness should not appear too abruptly in the picture, he placed farther toward the foreground toward Dante's feet three large clusters of plants which vaguely look like thistles or cards, very common roadside plants in Italy, but nowhere mentioned by Dante.[1] All these plants are rather realistically painted (cf. the conventional grass clusters of the Strozzi print, Plate III), and make an adequate transition between foreground and background. Dante had really added:

> 'Null' altra pianta, che facesse fronda
> O indurasse, vi puote aver vita,'
> I, 103–4.

but he was talking symbolically, and Michelino was painting actually!

In the matter of transitional decorations, very conventional are the pebbles around Dante's feet, far from the edge of Purgatory, but roughly part of this transitional ground, of which, by the way, a tiny and mountainous fragment may be spied at the left, just beneath the brackets of the gate of Hell. In the Strozziano copy (Plate III), this fragment is really the sea.

Having only a little stream, Michelino could not, of course, represent the '*celestial nocchiero*' (II, 43) or the throngs and personages on the beach. Indeed he excluded practically all the ma-

[1] Dante's knowledge of botany seems to have been very limited. See O. Targioni-Tozzetti: 'Cognizioni botaniche di Dante,' in *Atti Accad. Crusca*, II, 1829 and R. De Visiani: 'Accenni alle Scienze botaniche nella D.C.' in [Gaetano Ghivizzani], *Dante e il suo secolo op. cit.*, pp. 519–531.

terial of the first eight cantos, the valley of princes and such significant personages as Sordello, Buonconte, etc. He merely indicated on the left a narrow crack in the ledge, Dante's '*sasso rotto*' (IV, 31), and passed on to the last part of the anti-purgatory. The six spirits painted on this ledge, four on our left of the Gate and two on our right, really belong to the Valley of Princes, whose flowered beauty is only suggested by a few additional evergreens.

Let us note here that though most of the illustrators of the Divine Comedy took special pains to represent Dante and Virgil among the spirits,[1] Michelino wisely decided, in view of his extremely limited space, to leave out the protagonists. In this one ledge, however, he represents a soul kneeling before the '*cortese portinaio*' (IX, 92), who, with a sword, '*col punton della spada,*' (IX 113) is touching his brow. According to Dante, this occurs only to himself, but there is nothing Dantesque in this unclad person. Indeed it is a woman, with blond flowing tresses. Why Michelino should have here placed a woman remains unexplained.

Of the six persons on this ledge, the only one vaguely, *very* vaguely identifiable may be the one on the extreme left whose gesture might possibly correspond to that of Philip III, '*quel nasetto*' (VII, 103), of whom Dante says:

> Guardate là come si batte il petto.'
> VII, 106.

In fact Michelino's personage, with his arms awkwardly crossed upon his chest, might be said to be 'beating his breast.' But I would not insist on such a vague identification.

After such great condensation and vagueness, it is peculiar to note that the three steps to the closed gate of Purgatory are very accurately drawn and colored, the first white, the second '*tinto più che perso*' (IX, 97), the third like porphyry. The artist was accurate even to the small detail of making the second step cracked:

> 'D'una petrina ruvida ed arsiccia,
> Crepata per lo lungo e per traverso.'
> IX, 98, 99.

[1] See, among many, Botticelli's sketches, made sixteen years later than Michelino's picture.

The cracks are plainly visible.

Michelino's 'angel porter' is clad, as Dante says:

> 'Cenere o terra che secca si cavi
> D'un color fora col suo vestimento,'
> IX, 115, 116.

in a light grey-brown. From Dante, however, one would judge that, since the angel is presumably holding the sword with his right hand, he would seek the two keys with the left. Instead, Michelino's angel is pointing his left hand toward the kneeling lady. The wings of Michelino's angel are of three colors: blue, red and grey, beginning from the top. These colors are not mentioned by Dante.

In general composition, this gate to Purgatory proper, very similar to the gates of Florence and of the Inferno (except for its pilasters and vaguely Doric capitals), is neatly symmetrical with the other two and perhaps accidentally forms such a trine as Dante loved.

In the second ledge,—really the first within the gate—in Purgatory proper, are the proud of Cantos X–XII. Their very position, stooping under heavy weights like cariatids, would preclude any attempt at identification. Nor was it possible for the artist to represent the marble bas-reliefs of these Cantos. It would also have been idle repetition for Michelino to represent, on each ledge, the angel who removes one of the P's.

That Michelino, in painting Purgatory, read very carefully Dante's *Purgatorio*, is especially manifest in the second circle, (within the gate), that of the envious. Dante describes the souls as seated, enveloped in stone-grey mantles and leaning against each other.

> ' . . . vedrai gente innanzi a noi sedersi,
> E ciascun è lungo la grotta assiso.'
> XIII, 44, 45.
>
> ' . . . e vidi ombre con manti
> Al color della pietra non diversi.'
> XIII, 47, 48.
>
> 'Di vil cilicio mi parean coperti,
> E l'un sofferìa l'altro con la spalla,
> E tutti dalla ripa eran sofferti.'
> XIII, 58–60.

The very fact that Dante first heard spirits talking from a distance,

'Più innanzi alquanto, che là dov'io stava;'
XIII, 98.

is perhaps indicated by the space left vacant on the left of the ledge. The spirits themselves may here be approximately identified. In the second on the right of the gate, for instance, with head upturned, who:

'Lo mento, a guisa d'orbo, in su levava,'
XIII, 102.

Michelino probably intended to indicate Sapia da Siena, though the solitary person on the left of the gate is also a woman. Among the last three on the right, 'ivi a man dritta' (XIV, 8) there may be the

'. . . due spirti, l'uno all'altro chini,'
XIV, 7.

Guido del Duca and Rinieri da Calboli, with Pettinagno (XIII, 128).

In the third circle, that of the irate, the spirits, hidden by dense smoke, are invisible to Dante. Michelino clearly indicated by a smudge, which is particularly apparent at the extreme right,

'. . . quel fummo ch'ivi ci coperse.'
XVI, 6.

In varied attitudes of agony he represented eight spirits, all men, three of them partly hidden by the battlements of the Gate. One of these (it is impossible to tell which) should be Marco Lombardo, the only one who converses with Dante and whom Dante mentions by name.

The slothful are represented by Dante as rushing by so fast that he identifies only one, the Abate di San Zeno of Verona; likewise Michelino gives us, in his fourth ledge, a row of spirits, all running from right to left, among whom it would be vain to attempt identification. Perhaps only for the sake of variety Michelino painted the third one from the right with a black beard.

There is one very unerringly identifiable person in Michelino's fifth ledge, in which, in accordance with Dante, the spirits of the avaricious and the prodigal are lying, face-downward.

QVI COELVM OMNIPOTENTIS MENTEM QVE LVMQVE DIVINAL
SENSIT CONSILIIS AC PIETATE PATRE
LVSTRAVIT QVANTVM CVNCTA POETA SVO
NIL FVIT TANTO MORS SAEVA NOCENS POETAE
DOCTVS ADEST DANTES SVA QVEM FLORENTIA SAEPE
QVEM VIVVM VIRTVS CARMEN IMAGO FACIT

Phot. Alinari

Plate I
Michelino's Dante

PLATE II

PRINT OF MICHELINO PICTURE FROM *La Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata.*

DANTE ALLEGHIERI POETA FIORENTINO COMPOSTO
ALMEZO · DEL CAMINO · DINOSTRA · VITA
IN BEL · I AVORO · QVAL NEDIMOSTRA · ILPOEMA · DIVIN

PLATE III

FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRINT IN STROZZIANO M.S.

LVSTRAVIT QVE ANIMO CVNCTA POETA SVO DOCTVS ADEST DANTES SVA QVEM FLORE
DMORS SAEVA NOCERE POETAE QVEM VIVVM VIRTVS CARMEN IMAGO FACIT

Phot. Alinari

PLATE IV

DETAIL OF MICHELINO'S DANTE

Phot. Traldi

PLATE V

WEATHER-VANE ON BARGELLO

Phot. Alinari

PLATE VI

BRUNOLLESCHI'S WOODEN MODEL OF THE DUOMO CUPOLA

Phot. Alinari

PLATE VII
MODERN VIEW OF FLORENCE

Plate VIII

Detail of So-Called 'Chain Map' of Florence, 1470

'Com'io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso,
Vidi gente per esso che piangea,
Giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso.'
XIX, 70–72.

It is the spirit of Pope Adrian V. Michelino depicts him with a purple mantle and a golden mitre. As Dante really gives no intimation that the spirit was so clothed, we may conjecture that this exceptional garb was placed on this spirit by Michelino to make him identifiable and also out of reverence for a Pope,—the same reverence that made Dante kneel before him (XIX, 127–133). This seems especially plausible if we remember that this painting was to hang in a church, even in the Cathedral of Florence, where it would be decidedly indiscreet to represent a pope in undignified *deshabillé*. This detail confirms (though the point does not need confirmation) the fact that in his hell Michelino did *not* represent in the old gentleman Celestine V, whom as the only other pope, he would presumably have also presented clothed. In the Strozziano print (Plate III) the Pope is not included.

Of the other six prone figures, we should expect one to be Statius, but the posture of the figures and their smallness, due to increasing distance, make any identification impossible.

In the sixth circle, the figures are still smaller. There are eight, four on either side of the tree, clearly visible; a few more, at either end of the semi-circle, are too obscure to be counted.

Un arbor che trovammo in mezza strada,
Con pomi ad odorar soavi e buoni;
E come abete in alto si digrada
Di ramo in ramo, così quello in giuso,
Cred'io perchè persona su non vada.'
XXII, 131–135.

Michelino portrayed an ordinary fruit tree, full of fruit and rather flat at the top, but not in the shape in which it was described by Dante, probably because, owing to increasing perspective, he found no room for it, nor could he find room for the cascade of water. Also he could not express in his very small figures their pensive devout attitude and their pallid hollow faces as described by Dante (XXIII, 16–27). Indeed Forese, with his 'cambiata labbia' (XXIII,

47), was unrecognizable even to his old friend Dante. It is, therefore, futile to try to find among these souls Forese and the others. There should be another Pope here, Martin IV, but Michelino seems to have omitted him. The gestures of these souls, though similar to others, might be inspired by Dante's

'Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani'
XXIV, 106.

With still more ruthless condensation Michelino was obliged to treat the rest of Dante's *Purgatorio*. The seventh ledge of the lustful (Dante's Cantos XXV to XXVII) he merely indicated by red horizontal flames:

'Quivi la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra,'
XXV, 112.

then passed at once to the Terrestrial Paradise, which, on a background of foliage, is indicated by Adam and Eve, used, as Professor Grandgent said, as a mere label. If we look very carefully at the tree we shall see that around the trunk is wound the conventional serpent, and that slightly above the outstretched hands of our progenitors a light spot may indicate the apple. In short, Michelino only suggests most vaguely the Garden of Eden, not the Terrestrial Paradise of Dante. Nor could he possibly, I repeat, with the extreme limitations of perspective, have been able to do justice to an image of Beatrice, who, therefore, like Dante, Virgil, and Statius, does not appear in the picture at all.

We now pass to Michelino's Paradise.

VI

Paradiso

All Michelino could do to pictorialize, at least summarily, Dante's immense and glittering expanses of Paradise was to mark the sky of his picture with concentric stripes of blue of increasing sombreness, and to place in each the planet after which, according to Dante, each heaven is named. To make sure that these planets would be identifiable, Michelino gave to each, except the sun, its astronomical symbol.

Immediately over the top of the Terrestrial Paradise is the first stripe of lightest blue, the Heaven of the Moon, *'la prima stella'* (*Par.* II, 30), the Heaven of those who had been unfaithful to their vows, with the sickle of the moon plainly visible above Adam and Eve. Aside from the arbitrary fact that this is doubtless the most artistic aspect of the moon, Michelino found a good reason for painting it thus, as this is the usual symbol of the moon, though it does not correspond to the actual status of the moon at the time of Dante's flight from Purgatory to the first circle of Paradise. In fact, seven days had not yet gone by since the moon was full:[1]

> E già iernotte fu la luna tonda;'
> *Inf.*, XX, 127.
>
> 'Di quella vita mi volse costui
> Che mi va innanzi, l'altr'ier, quando tonda
> Vi si mostro la suora di colui—'
> *Purg.* XXIII, 118–120.

The moon had, hence, almost reached its quarter. Apparently Michelino's main intention was to give the accepted symbol of the moon, rather than its exact stage. He clearly indicated the earthshine, but did not indicate the spots, which are amply discussed by Dante and Beatrice in *Par.* III, 46–105.

The second stripe is the Heaven of Mercury. This planet, marked as exceptionally relucent, stands immediately above the top rock of Michelino's Inferno. On the right of this gorgeously radiating planet may be seen, in gold, its symbol: ☿, which is supposed to represent the Caduceus, with a wand and two serpents twined around it, which was carried by the messenger of the gods.[2]

The third heaven is symbolized by the planet Venus, placed by Michelino straight above Dante's head. On the right of its radiating sphere is, as usual, its symbol: ♀, supposed to indicate a hand-mirror.

[1] G. Agnelli, *Topo-cronografia del viaggio dantesco*, Milan (Hoepli, 1891), p. 123; Filippo Angelitti, *Sulla data del viaggio dantesco* . . . (Naples, 1898).

There has been much controversial discussion about the exact hour of Dante's translation to Heaven. It must, however, have been between dawn and noon.

[2] Reproductions of these symbols may be found, of course, in books on astronomy, and even in *Webster's International Dictionary*, *ss. vv.* For helpful indications I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor S. Einarsson, of the University of California, and Professor Giorgio Abetti, of the University of Florence.

On the right of Venus, and almost topping the cross of the Cupola, stands the sun, most relucent and most radiant of all and obviously needing no symbol. Aside from the topographical aptness of their position in the sky, could these last two astral bodies have been placed where they are for symbolical reasons? Did Michelino in placing Venus, the planet of love, just over Dante's head, have in mind that excessive love or lack of it was Dante's characteristic? And in placing the sun, the symbol of spirituality and theology, just over the Cathedral, did he plan purposely to suggest a connection? Our familiarity with the painter's manner makes us suspect that these details may not have been entirely accidental.[1] This arbitrary suggestion, however, would not apply to the other planets in the picture.

Almost on the top edge of the picture and above the gate of Hell is Mars, planet of the fifth heaven, with its symbol ♂, the usual shield and spear of the god of war. Michelino's symbol is not drawn quite accurately, for the spear points directly to the right, ♂, instead of half-way up: ♂. But this is hardly significant.

At the extreme left and top of the picture is another planet, very dim, with its symbol on the right, extremely dim. By using a magnifying glass on the picture itself I became convinced that the symbol is that of Saturn: ♄. In this case, what became of the heaven of Jupiter? The answer is: Michelino omitted it; he probably forgot it. He had plenty of room, because his sixth heavenly stripe, discernible at either top corner, is left without planet or symbol. This seems to be the first case in Michelino of unnecessary omission.

On the very extreme left-top corner of the picture, Michelino painted nine little stars, which were doubtless meant to indicate the Heaven of fixed stars or eighth Heaven. The ninth and tenth heavens are not indicated at all; apparently Michelino found no room for them and, on the other hand, it would have been difficult for him to indicate them at all, since the crystalline Heaven and the Empirean have no planet and no symbol.

Let us note here a peculiar thing. In drawing his stripes which

[1] 'Michelino's picture is full of symbols,' says Professor Holbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 176, note.

are, I repeat, of the same width, Michelino found space for eight on the left, but only seven on the right. He could therefore not have placed his nine stars indicatng the eighth heaven on the right of the picture, since the last upward space on the right represented only the seventh stripe. This little accident of geometrical design may be due to the facts that his first stripe (that of the Moon) obviously *had* to top the Terrestrial Paradise, and that this Paradise, like the whole mountain of Purgatory, is not in the very center of the picture from right to left, but somewhat to the left of the center. In fact, a line cutting the picture vertically into two exact halves would precisely coincide with the knee of the last spirit on the right of the second cornice within the gate of Purgatory, and not divide Purgatory into two halves! This is, to be sure, a very small point. As a matter of fact, we may well say that Michelino performed wonders of condensation in placing in a relatively small canvas so very much of Dante, Florence and the *Divine Comedy*, and that, of Dante's three realms of after-life, surely the *Paradiso* has always been the most difficult to pictorialize.

Before leaving the picture proper, we might note that in the sky which does not symbolize Heaven, Michelino gave us a rather good effect of light, interrupted by slightly conventional, elongated clouds,—a more or less realistic background which makes an adequate transition between Earth and Paradise and provides moreover a restful oasis in the condensed significance of all other parts of the picture. Let us note how much more conventional, even trivial, are the clouds in the Strozziano (Plate III).

VII

The Inscription

I now come to the most intricate problem in my study.

The inscription at the bottom of the picture, very clearly readable, fills two lines. I shall transcribe it just as it is painted, without punctuation, spacing it, however, according to its obvious verbal and metrical divisions. The latter are marked by Michelino with little decorative designs.

QVI COELVM CECINIT MEDIVMQVE IMVMQVE TRIBVNAL
LVSTRAVITQVE ANIMO CVNCTA POETA SVO
DOCTVS ADEST DANTES SVA QVEM FLORENTIA SAEPE
SENSIT CONSILIIS AC PIETATE PATREM
NIL POTVIT TANTO MORS SAEVA NOCERE POETAE
QVEM VIVVM VIRTVS CARMEN IMAGO FACIT

Of course there is in Michelino's picture not the slightest indication as to the authorship of these lines, which have been attributed, without ever giving a definitively authoritative source, so far as I can discover, to three writers: Coluccio Salutati, Bartolommeo Scala, and Politian. It behooves us, therefore, to see what evidence may be assembled that may point to one of these writers as the most probable author of the inscription.

The Latin lines were attributed to Coluccio Salutati at least as far back as 1684 by Del Migliore,[1] who briefly described the picture, without mentioning the name of the painter, and added: 'con certi versi in sua [Dante's] lode, i quali si riconoscono per una delle degne composizioni latine di Coluccio Salutati, gran letterato de' suoi tempi, primo Segretario della Repubblica, dalla quale fu ordinato per Decreto si mettesse quivi quella memoria, che è il quanto di Dante s'è mai potuto vedere in Firenze esposto così al pubblico.' Del Migliore gives no authoritative statement, but merely an opinion. It is not even clear whether these verses are recognizable ('si riconoscono') as Salutati's in general, or just by Del Migliore.

Another scholar who attributed these lines to Salutati is the famous Richa, whose great work was published in 1757. He said: 'I versi scritti sotto il detto quadro sono degna composizione di Coluccio Salutati. . . .'[2] As Richa used the very same words 'degna composizione,' it seems as if he had copied Del Migliore. A similar statement, again presented without giving any authority, is to be found in a book of Salutati's writings edited by Moreni,[3] who says,

[1] Ferdinando Leopoldo Del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima illustrata*, Florence, 1684, p. 33.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 128.

[3] *Invectiva Colucii Salutati* (edited by Dominicus Moreni), Florence, 1826, p. IX. For this indication I am indebted to Ernest H. Wilkins, and through him to Professor B. L. Ullman.

regarding Salutati: 'Fuit et poeta, et Latinis, atque Italicis modulatus est carminibus, quorum plura servantur in Laurentianis codicibus. Hoc, quod sequitur in Dantis Alighierii laudem, hexastichum Decreto Publico positum in Aede maiore, suum est.' 'Moreni's statement is so positive,' says Professor Ullman in a letter, 'that he must have found it [the inscription] in some other work or perhaps in the archives at Florence.' In my judgment it is more probable that Moreni was merely repeating what he found in other works, possibly one of the two I have mentioned. According to Moreni's words the inscription was, it would seem, written for and placed on the picture by public decree. This is worth noting and suggests that there should be some record of this decree. Moreover, as Moreni adds, after quoting the verses in question: 'Quaedam ex suo libro *De Fato et Fortuna* leguntur inter *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum Florentiae*,'[1] it would seem that the verses should be found either in this book or in Laurentian codices. In neither, however, are the verses to be found, nor, so far as anybody has been able to discover, in any other Florentine codices.[2] And the above mentioned decree has also not been found in the Florentine archives.[3] The fact that Salutati (as most of the humanists), did write laudatory, epitaph-like verses in Latin, for instance a four-line verse on Petrarch,[4] might have suggested that he also wrote one on Dante. There is no particular similarity between these two compositions.

Another and more peculiar fact might have suggested Salutati's authorship. In the *Carmina Illustrium* . . . etc. mentioned above, under Salutati,[5] we find: 'Dantis *Carmina de Fortuna* in latinum versa,' and then: 'Qui varios fecit coelos, sapientia cupis. . . .'

[1] *Op. cit.*, ibid. *Carmina Illustrium*, etc., was published in Florence, 1719–1726, in 11 vols. Verses by Salutati are in Vol. VIII, (1721), and not on p. 29, as per index, but on p. 298.

[2] I have, of course, consulted all catalogues of Florentine libraries and many miscellaneous manuscript volumes.

[3] I cannot say that I have been through all the Florentine archives, though I have searched in the archives of the Opera del Duomo, where such a document should be.

[4] Bandini, *op. cit.*, Suppl. II, p. 75; Angelo Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Milan, 1911), p. 287, for Petrarch's epitaph.

[5] *Op. cit., loc. cit.*

The verbal resemblance between Salutati's '*qui . . . coelos*' of this line, and the *Qui coelum* of the inscription might have suggested that both were written by the same hand,—an arbitrary conclusion indeed, but possible. I shall soon return to this coincidence.

Long ago, however, doubt was expressed as to Salutati's authorship. In fact, in *Firenze antica e moderna illustrata*, the author, with the intention 'di correggere il Migliore, il Richa che lo seguiva ed altri che prima o poi ne trattarono,'[1] discusses (not knowing of the document discovered by Gaye) the authorship of both the painting and the verses. For the latter he refers to Lami's *Novelle letterarie*,[2] who, in turn, referring to the *Elogi degli Uomini Illustri Toscani*,[3] gives us a more definite, though still unproved statement. Says Lami, whose scholarship can certainly be trusted: 'In questo elogio si dice che l'Epigramma Latino posto sotto il Ritratto di Dante Alighieri appeso nella Metropolitana di Firenze sia di Coluccio Salutati, ma quello che si rappresenta in questa pittura mostra che non può essere del Salutati morto molto prima che si terminasse la cupola del Duomo: e il Canonico Salvini, peritissimo delle nostre memorie, mi asseriva che era stato fatto da Bartolommeo Scala; e ben conviene il tutto a quel tempo.' We have here, then, the assertion of Lami, a reliable scholar, who believes Scala to have been the author, founding his belief on the assertion of Canonico Salvini, whom he considered a great expert in such matters. We have, moreover a corroboration of Lami's opinion by the author of *Firenze antica* . . . also a scholar. Canonico Salvino Salvini's well known scholarship and accuracy is attested, in the *Elogi*, as follows:[4] 'Fu così esatto, diligente e scrupoloso, quanto bisogna esserlo per dare all' Istoria quella certezza di cui ella è capace . . .' and the author notes also: 'quanto nella sicurezza della Cronologia, de' nomi, e dei fatti ponesse studio.' Moreni himself had a high regard for Salvini's scholarship, and said about him: 'molto perito, ed intel-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[2] *Novelle letterarie pubblicate in Firenze l'anno 1769*. Vol. XXX. A periodical, anonymous, but written by G. Lami up to his death in 1770.

[3] *Elogi degli uomini illustri toscani*, Lucca, 1774. 4 vols. Includes articles by several writers, who used only, at times, their initials.

[4] *Op. cit.*, IV, 671, 672.

ligente quanti altri mai, e che a' tempi suoi e' fosse in grande estimazione, e perfin sovente consultato dai piú tersi ed eleganti scrittori' is proved, he goes on to say, by the fact that Salvini was 'inalzato al supremo governo dell' Accademia della Crusca.'[1] We may, then, legitimately conclude that Salvini, being such an accurate scholar and particularly interested in mortuary inscriptions, had done some research on this Michelino inscription, had found authority to attribute it to Scala, and had said as much to Lami, possibly without leaving any written record. If he did leave a record, it has unfortunately not been discovered.

Among modern writers (not counting fragmentary information given by guide books) who asserted that the inscription was not by Salutati but by Scala, Del Balzo probably derived his information from *Firenze antica e moderna*, or from Lami. Another writer, Marzi, confessedly derived his information from Del Balzo, and made just as positive an assertion: 'E noto pure come a lui [Scala] si debbono i distici latini che furono posti in Santa Maria del Fiore sotto la pittura di Domenico di Michelino. . . .'[2] I need not give any more names in the series of emphatic repeaters.

We may now sum up the arguments against Salutati used, I repeat, by those who knew neither the author nor the date of the picture. Since the picture and the inscription were done at one and the same time, how could the picture represent the finished Cupola, which was completed only in 1471, and how could the inscription have been done by Salutati, who died in 1406? Of course this argument is not quite valid at present. The anachronistic detail of the cupola has already been explained; as to the inscription, the painter might well have found words written by Salutati and used them long after the latter's death. This, however, would presuppose that these verses by Salutati had been preserved, at least up to 1465, in which case we should expect to find them or some record of them, unless they had since mysteriously disappeared. But no such record has come to light. Nor was it known to any of the

[1] Salvino Salvini, *Ragionamento sopra l'origine dell' Accademia della Crusca* . . . edited by D. Moreni (Florence, 1814). See Preface by Moreni, p. 9.

[2] D. Marzi, *La cancelleria della Repubblica di Firenze* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1910), p. 274.

scholars who have touched upon this subject from Del Migliore to Cesare Guasti and Del Balzo nor to any of the erudite men who made catalogues of manuscripts and who must have been particularly alert for traces of Dante.[1]

That Salutati (1331–1406) antedated not only Michelino's picture but even its predecessor is a certain fact. A careful search of Salutati's published works and of works published on him has proved vain. I have not had time to examine all the manuscripts conceivably containing writings by Salutati, a search which would take months and would very probably prove to be futile.

What evidence beyond what has already been presented, can be shown in favor of Bartolommeo Scala? Though here too we have no conclusive authority, we may say that Scala (1430–1497) was certainly a contemporary of Michelino and that furthermore, in 1465, when the picture was painted, he was Chancellor of the Florentine Republic,[2] one of the most influential political men in Florence, a humanist and a writer in both Latin and Italian.[3] We might even add, as was suggested by Comm. Poggi, that since the painting of Michelino's picture was in a way a public affair (Moreni says 'Decreto Publico') of general and even municipal importance, it would have been natural for the painter or the contractors to appeal for a suitable inscription to a humanist who was precisely in that year the most prominent public figure in Florence. And since, when the painting was appraised and accepted by the committee in charge, it was found more than complete, we might even feel justified in assuming, I repeat, that the inscription was not added later. Chronology and plausibility point significantly toward Bartolommeo Scala.

We now come to the claims of Politian. Those who attributed the authorship to him (and there are but few) either took it for granted that the inscription was added to the picture considerably

[1] It is needless to add that Lami was a librarian, curator of the Riccardiana, and author of its catalogue.

[2] Marzi, *op. cit.*, p. 238, says he was appointed on April 24, 1465, and that (p. 239) on Oct. 6, 1466 he was confirmed for ten years. He may even have succeeded Accolti in 1464.

[3] D. M. Mannio's [Manni] *Bartholomaei Scalae . . . Vita* (Florence, 1768) is the best biography. Manni does not mention the inscription and he seems to have based his work on all available material on Scala.

later than its completion or failed to realize that in 1465 Politian (1454–1494) was only eleven years old. Precocious though he may have been, it is hardly likely that the task of providing a Latin epitaph for Dante would have been entrusted to a child. Miss Lacy says:[1] 'The inscription composed by Politian was added five years later.' She gives no source for this statement, which, if true, would attribute these verses to a lad of sixteen,—a very unlikely attribution.

It is strange to note that Politian's biographer, Mencken,[2] does not mention these verses to Dante. I have not found them mentioned in any authoritative work on Politian, nor in any group of writings, printed or in MS., in his name.

It is interesting to note that bitter enmity existed between Scala and Politian. It was occasioned by the fact that Politian accused Scala of having 'usurped' some of his (Politian's) writings,[3] and indirectly by the additional circumstance that Politian considered Scala what we should now call a parvenu and an opportunist. In their protracted epistolary polemic I have found no mention of the inscription on Dante. We may now add this item of *post mortem* friction between them! But their quarrels actual and posthumous shed no light on our problem.

Before reaching any conclusion, even if not definitive, on the authorship of the inscription, I must consider another puzzling coincidence. As Professor Holbrook pointed out,[4] the verses written under the miniature of Dante in the Riccardian manuscript *1040*[5] and the verses in Michelino's picture have in the first line a peculiar similarity. The Riccardian inscription begins: 'Qui cecinit Celos . . . ,' the Michelino inscription: 'Qui caelum cecinit.' To this coincidence let me add the already quoted line,[6] apparently by Salutati: 'Qui varios fecit coelos.' 'Shall we attribute the approximate

[1] Mary E. Lacy, *With Dante in Modern Florence* (London, 1912), p. 235.

[2] Friderici Ottonis Menckenii, *Historia vitae et in literas meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Lipsiae, 1736). See especially pp. 257 ff. in which Latin verses are enumerated.

[3] Manni, in his life of Scala, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, says of the causes of the quarrel: 'Eorum in causa fuit quod Bartholomaeus dictiones quasdam Latinas a Politiano usurpatas reprehenderat,' and places the origin of the polemic 'long before 1493.'

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 178, 179.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[6] See above, p. 53.

identity of the first three words to chance?' inquires Professor Holbrook; and I ask the same question, applying it to three, and not two strangely similar lines. The question is further complicated by the fact that the four Latin verses under the Riccardian miniature are signed. Professor Holbrook reads the signature as *Marius Buriesi* and judges the writing to belong to the Fifteenth Century.[1] Mr Gargani[2] reads *Marius Bruciens*, judges the writing to belong to the Sixteenth Century, and suspects that the author was Mario Equicola. I have been unable to find either Buriesi or Bruciens as pseudonyms for Equicola or for any one else. Equicola did use the name D'Alvito.[3] It is obvious, however, that if there is actual verbal imitation, and if the inscription beneath the Riccardian miniature is by Equicola or by some Sixteenth Century writer, it greatly post-dates our Michelino, and cannot have affected it; and again that, if imitation is involved, Salutati must chronologically, have been the first source. Since we are in the obscure regions of conjecture, I might add that Scala might conceivably have imitated those two repeated words from Salutati. He would nevertheless remain the author of the inscription.

The only conclusion one may then reach at present is that the strongest evidence, though not definitive, seems to point to Bartolommeo Scala. If, lacking documentary authority, we may trust the conclusions of previous scholars, as I think we should, then we could hardly be wrong in taking for granted the assertions of such meticulously erudite men as Salvini and Lami. Whether absolute evidence ever can be found, I cannot say. That some of the writings of Salvini have been lost is a fact.[4] Since some others were left by Salvini to the Archivio del Capitolo (of the Duomo) and many in the Marucelliana Library (Florence), I searched in these places

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

[2] In *Giornale del Centenario di Dante Alighieri*, Florence, 1864, pp. 153 ff.; Holbrook, p. 66, n.

[3] See [G. Melzi], *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani* (Milan, 1848), 3 vols., plus Suppl.; V. Lancetti, *Pseudonimia* (Milan, 1836). Professor C. P. Merlino, who has made a special study of Equicola, kindly informs me that no such pseudonym as *Buriesi* or *Bruciens* was ever used by him.

[4] Salvini, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* ff. In enumerating Salvini's works, Moreni says that a *Vita di Anton Maria Salvini* is lost.

also and again in vain. It seems as if Cesare Guasti had also sought fruitlessly.

If it were not for Salvini's statement to Lami, we might depart for a moment from factual scholarship and conjecture that these verses could easily have been written by Scala, for instance, without leaving any record at all. Asked by Michelino or by the Duomo authorities to provide appropriate lines on Dante, he might well have written them and simply handed them over to the artist. This is entirely plausible. If, on the contrary, there was in Salvini's times a written record of this troublesome inscription and an authoritative record of its author, I cannot understand why, in comparatively recent times, it should have so vanished as to be unfindable. For the present I must reluctantly be contended, I repeat, to consider Bartolommeo Scala as the most probable author.

Conclusion

I stated at the beginning of this study that in Michelino's picture we have the work of a mediocre artist who attempted the huge task of portraying Dante and Florence and such a masterpiece as the *Divine Comedy*. As a painting, Michelino's can surely not be compared with the masterpieces of his time. Considering, however, the difficulty of his task and his limitations, we must admit that he did remarkably well. In all humility, I do not agree with Professor Mather who says: 'Altogether, its mildness satisfied that multitude of Italians whose knowledge of Dante, then as now, was confined to the touching episode of Paolo and Francesca.'[1] Artistically, the picture certainly has that 'mildness' that is the product of a mediocre artist; but from the point of view of the subject and its exploitation, the composition of Michelino is, I believe, more than adequate, even effective. In scope it was original, in treatment it was audacious. And it remains indeed, as Passerini said,[2] a 'precious' document of both art and literature.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

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STEPHEN LANGTON AND THE FOUR SENSES OF SCRIPTURE

By BERYL SMALLEY

THE curiously fanciful allegory and morality stand for conceptions which have no modern equivalent. They prove a hindrance to our enjoyment of certain types of mediaeval literature; we tend to pass them over as annoying trifles. Yet considerations that to us seem irrelevant have been a cause of infinite painstaking to the authors. If we would understand their thought, we can scarcely neglect what they held to be of fundamental importance, a reflection which leads us to a study of mediaeval exegesis. The multiple interpretation, its technique, and its value to those who used it, are just beginning to be discussed.

In a recent number Mr H. Caplan describes the theory of the Four Senses.[1] He traces the distinction from early times and explains how it was understood in the middle ages. Cassian gave a clear definition;[2] he divided the exposition of Scripture into two classes, literal or historical, and spiritual; the latter includes three senses, allegorical, moral or tropological, and anagogical. Guibert of Nogent, in a treatise on preaching,[3] gave a practical illustration from the four senses of the word Jerusalem. We meet with the same example everywhere in the Twelfth Century; I have no proof that Guibert was the originator. Historically, Jerusalem is an earthly city, allegorically she signifies the Church, tropologically the faithful soul, anagogically the Celestial City. History relates the course of events, allegory interprets one event as significant of another, tropology deals with morals, anagogy leads us to contemplation of things above. This method of exegesis became very common, as Mr Caplan shows. He suggests that the multiplication of senses led to confusion and mentions cases of over-refinement upon the four.

[1] H. Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching,' SPECULUM IV, (July 1929), 282, 290 ff.

[2] *Collationes*, XIV, 8, quoted SPECULUM IV (July 1920), 282, 290 ff. *loc. cit.* 286, n. i.

[3] *Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat*, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLVI, col. 26; quoted by Caplan, *loc. cit.*

Biblical studies in the first half of the Twelfth Century were investigated in detail by G. Robert.[1] He summarizes the teaching of Hugh of St Victor, which had great influence on the period. Hugh's division is threefold, since he omits anagogy. He also considers tropology more suitable for preaching than for academic use, but Robert points out that monastic commentators show a preference for it. Hugh gives no precise definition of allegory. He seems to regard it as referring to the doctrinal content of the Scriptures; he stresses its difficulty and the need for an adequate understanding of the 'letter' as its basis.[2]

There are two special studies dealing with mediaeval exegesis of a later date; one is concerned with its academic, one with its popular side. The first, by Father Synave, is a discussion of the Thomist doctrine on the literal sense.[3] Like his contemporaries, St Thomas approves the multiple interpretation, but it raises a difficulty which he perceives and plainly states. This is the problem of metaphor, the question as to how much the literal interpretation covers: does it include the explanation of Biblical metaphors, or should this come under the heading of allegory? St Thomas decides for the inclusive character of the literal. He avoids confusion by means of an exact definition. According to him, the literal sense includes *the whole meaning* which the writer intends to convey. All symbolical expressions or acts, all figures of speech consciously employed by the writer must be understood as literal. Their application can be decided by the context. St Thomas contrasts the spiritual sense with the literal because the spiritual depends, not on words, but on the things described in the passage. God, as the primary author of Scripture, is alone able to use events and things in the course of history to signify reality, just as the writer, his instrument, will use metaphor. The originality of St Thomas as a commentator[4] lay in this very

[1] G. Robert, *Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement de la Théologie* (Paris, 1909).

[2] *Ibid.*, 106 ff.

[3] P. Synave, 'La Doctrine de St Thomas d'Aquin sur le Sens Littéral des Ecritures,' *Révue Biblique*, xxxv (1926), 40 ff.

[4] F. A. Blanche, 'Le sens littéral des Ecritures d'après St Thomas d'Aquin,' *Révue Thomiste* (1906), 192.

province; he disentangled the explanation of metaphor from the functions of the 'spiritual' sense.

The fourfold exposition was used even more extensively in sermons than commentaries, and in this connection it has been described by M. Gilson.[1] He analyzes the methods which were employed, such as that very favorite device, the interpretation of Hebrew names. Reasonings on this basis were taken seriously, M. Gilson considers. Exegetes regarded them, not as mere literary artifice, but as perfectly valid proof.[2] We are naturally led on to ask a question: can we affirm that for the mediaeval schoolman (who is indistinguishable from the preacher) 'the allegorical, and tropological senses of Scripture are as real and as certain as the literal?'[3]

On questions of this kind, Archbishop Langton's opinion may be inquired into with profit. He was a famous Biblical scholar, and he taught at a formative stage in theological studies. His commentaries, which appear to be class notes taken down from his lectures at Paris, have a value peculiar to themselves. It derives from their strangely mixed character; the contents of a typical specimen astonish by their diversity. In one and the same work we find textual criticism, the explanation and comparison of authorities, together with 'quaestiones' of the familiar scholastic type. This is the literal exposition. In addition and in striking contrast, we find an abundance of homiletic material which comprises the 'spiritual exposition.' These sections of the commentaries have been used for sermon making. Wherever Langton's work suggests a promising theme for the preacher, we find notes jotted in the margin, 'Sermo in ascensione domini,' 'Sermo in synodo.' Often they have been incorporated in the text.

The commentaries show us Langton both as a homilist and as a Paris master. As he tells his pupils, there is a close relationship between the two; Biblical studies in the schools should prepare them

[1] E. Gilson, 'Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval,' *Révue d'Histoire Franciscaine*, II (1925), 301 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.* 350. '. . . ce sont en réalité des raisonnements et, si l'on tient compte de la perspective propre du moyen âge, ce sont même souvent des démonstrations décisives.'

[3] *Cf.* G. Lacombe and B. Smalley, 'Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton,' *Archives Doctrinales et Litteraires du Moyen Age*, V, (1930), 82.

for the task of preaching. For us this is the great interest of the commentaries; we can study Langton in either capacity. He is a predecessor of the Fifteenth Century preacher, Michel Menot, as well as of the Angelic Doctor. I shall illustrate his use of the Four Senses and try to show his bearing on the problems which they suggest.

II

Obviously, as a preliminary to this inquiry, we must ask whether Langton recognizes four senses, whether he makes extensive use of them, and whether in practice he confuses or keeps them distinct. To the first question his prologue to the Pentateuch supplies an answer; the prologues are always important as striking the keynote to what follows. Here the five books of Moses, in their literal intelligence, are compared to the five curtains of the tabernacle (*Exod.* xxvi, 3). The tabernacle signifies the Church Militant; by these curtains she is protected and adorned. God commanded the curtains to be of four precious colors, which are the four methods of reading Scripture. The 'fine twisted linen' signifies the historical sense. Linen is strong and many-threaded; the historical sense should be firm and strong, a fit groundwork for the allegory. The exegete who passes the 'letter' without sufficient exposition makes his curtains not of 'fine twisted linen' but of simple thread. The three colors 'violet, purple, and scarlet twice dyed' are compared to the three spiritual senses, allegorical, tropological, anagogical.[1]

In spite of this clear definition, I have never found Langton ex-

[1] It is seldom possible to give a direct translation of Langton and I have generally summarized. MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* f° 1ª: '. . . Tabernaculum istud est militans ecclesia, quinque cortine quinque libri Moysi litteraliter intellecti, qui sunt ecclesie ad refrigerium contra incentiua uitiorum, et ad ornatum uirtutum et ad defensionem contra intemperiem malignorum spirituum. Non uacat etiam quod Dominus iussit cortinas fieri ex IIII coloribus scil. ex bysso retorta, iacincto, purpura, et cocto bis tincto, quod significat IIII modos legendi Scripturam Sacram. Hystorice allegorice tropologice anagogice. Per byssam retortam propter fili fortitudinem designatur hystoria, que firma debet esse et fortis, et etiam fundamentum allegorie. Sed illi qui transeunt minus sufficienter exponentes litteram, non habent byssam retortam immo filum simpliciter in cortina tabernaculi id est ecclesie. Per iacinctum designatur allegoria. . . . Per purpuram designatur tropologia. . . . Per coctum bis tinctum significatur anagoge et significat caritatem, que in presenti tingitur et in futuro'. Another version of the prologue (MS. *Lincoln Coll., Oxford,* 15. fol. 92ʳ) adds examples from the significance of 'Jerusalem' similar to those given by Guibert of Nogent.

pounding in the Fourth Sense. In practice, he uses the threefold division of Hugh of St Victor. The anagogical sense, we may suppose, is never mentioned because it merges conveniently with the allegorical and moral. Apart from this simplification, we find the three senses used in perfect order. Langton chooses a section and expounds it first literally; then he returns to the beginning and gives an allegory for it. 'Viso hucusque litterali intellectu, nunc allegoricum a principio uideamus, deinde moralem.' Having expounded the allegory he returns once more: 'Nunc moralem sensum breuiter colligimus.'[1]

This is the normal mode of procedure throughout, though the allegorical and moral sections are generally headed more briefly *allegorice* and *moraliter*. Sometimes the general term *mystice* is used for either. Occasionally one of them may be omitted; Langton will go straight from the literal to the moral sense. With a few exceptions to prove the rule, the description 'moral' or 'allegorical' is appropriate to the interpretation given; it conforms to Guibert's definition of the various senses of 'Jerusalem.'

There is one subdivision which makes for additional clearness. From the morality that pertains to the mystical exposition Langton distinguishes the '*moralitas iuxta litteram*.' By this he understands any lesson which the commentator may extract from the literal significance of his text. In such a case, he does not have recourse to symbols but uses concordance, or some other of the devices described by M. Gilson in his analysis of the mediaeval sermon. The text does not often lend itself to this comparatively straightforward treatment. Where it does, the '*moralitas iuxta litteram*' takes precedence of the whole spiritual exposition, including allegory.[2]

We also find a curious phrase '*aliter et moralius*.' Its precise

[1] Commentary on Hosea. MS. *Durham, A I 7*. fol. 181^{r}.

[2] For example, the opening of the commentary on Tobias, after the literal sense (MS. *Bibliothèque Nationale, 510*, fol. 60^{r}): 'Vide moralitatem secundum litteram, sume illud *in captiuitate* ecce quia stetit in aduersitate commendatur quia, ut dicitur, non agnoscetur in bonis amicus et non abscondetur in malis inimicus. [*Eccles*, XII, 8] . . . [fol. 61^{v}]. Sume allegoriam secundum Glosam. . . . Tobias interpretatur bonus domini, hoc est populus ecclesie. . . . '

meaning is difficult to fathom. Langton's ingenuity often stretches to more than one allegory or moralization of the passage in hand. His usual introduction to the alternative rendering is *item* or *aliter*. It is not easy to see why the second reading should ever be classified as *more moral* than the first. I have noticed the phrase in one commentary only (*Deuteronomy*), where it is used six times. In one case, it seems to replace the simple *moraliter* and is opposed to the allegory which it immediately follows.[1] In another instance the allegory is followed by a '*moralitas iuxta allegoriam*' which verges upon allegory; then comes '*aliter et moralius*' with an ordinary moral exposition.[2] We have several cases where the second moralization might perhaps be called 'more moral' because more subtle and unusual than the first. However, there is not enough evidence to warrant an assumption. One suspects that '*moralius*' is a purely ornamental flourish possessing no special significance.

Langton, then, has a workable distinction for his two mystical senses; he does not confuse them, nor subdivide them unduly. We must now ask whether the same is true as between literal and spiritual. How far does he differentiate the latter from the former? Where does he draw the line between literal and allegorical? In order to answer this question, we must turn to a prophetical passage, where the prophet employs metaphor. This, according to St Thomas, should be included in the literal sense.

Two extracts from Langton on the prophecy of Balaam come aptly for the purpose. On *Num.* XXIII, 23: 'Temporibus suis dicetur Jacob et Israeli quid operatus sit Deus' etc., Langton declares: 'Ad litteram hec est prophetia de incarnatione saluatoris, nec est hic alius sensus historicus.[3] This occurs in the literal section. In the 'mystical' section which follows the passage is commented again.[4] Thus the metaphor is treated as belonging to the 'letter.'

On XXIV, 17, 'Orietur stella ex Jacob' we find: '. . . est hic aperta prophetia de Christo. Unde non opportet hic alium sensum

[1] MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* fol. 280r.
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 286r.
[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 239v.
[4] *Ibid.* fol. 239v '. . . *temporibus suis*, etc., id est activis et contemplatiuis. . . . '

litteralem intelligi a prophetia. Unde secundum hoc in littera est procedendum. *Stella* Christus *oritur* per carnem *ex Iacob* Iudeorum populo *Et percutiet* Christus *duces Moab* quod factum est per David qui eos subiugauit . . . *et erit Idumea possessio eius*, etc. Omnes gentes fuerunt ei id est Christo. Ad litteram hoc impletum est sub David, ut mistice Christus vicia conteret, et possidebit terras eorum, id est homines, quos servos habebant peccata.'[1]

This second passage is particularly interesting. Langton notes that Balaam's prophecy had its literal fulfilment under David, and that this fact in its turn mystically signified the coming of Christ. Here we might see an allegorical development. Langton, however, takes it as part of the primary meaning of the prophecy; as such he firmly includes it in the literal section and he continues to expound in the literal sense. His spiritual exposition as usual comes separately; we have to read on to the next column of the MS. before we find it. Here several allegories are suggested, one of them founded on the Gloss.[2] The passage still refers to the Incarnation, but the symbolism has advanced a stage further. The 'star' signifies the divinity of Our Lord, the rod his humility. Or the 'star' is the Virgin Mary and the 'rod' her Son. There is also a moral interpretation. The 'star' signifies the good works, the 'rod' the chastisement of the faithful.[3]

Langton's handling of the passage is in complete accord with the principles laid down by St Thomas; he seems to be in no doubt as to the precise limits of the literal and allegorical senses. We see this even more clearly when a difficulty arises, as in the Augustinian commentary on the benediction of Moses: 'Dominus de Sinai uenit, et de Seir ortus est nobis.' (*Deut.* XXXIII, 2) St Augustine declares

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 241[r].

[2] By 'Gloss' Langton generally refers to the Ordinary or Marginal Gloss, sometimes the Interlinear. My references are to the Antwerp edition (1634), which contains both. For this passage both the Marginal and Interlinear refer the 'Stella' to 'Diuinitas Christi,' I, col. 2046.

[3] MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* fol. 241[v]. '*Orietur stella* Glosa per stellam accipit diuinitatem Christi; per uirgam humilitas . . . : uel per stellam Beata Virgo [intelligitur] que orta est ex Iacob id est populo Indeorum; per uirgam Christus. . . . Moraliter per stellam lux bonorum . . . per uirgam castigatio signatur. . . . Est ergo sensus, si stella id est lux bonorum operum oritur in te statim consurgat uirga id est castigatio in conscientia.'

that these words represent a prophecy; they are pronounced by Christ speaking through the mouth of Moses, and the prophecy refers to the gentiles, not to the Jews. Otherwise, he asks, how can we understand the reference to Seir? How could God have arisen from the dwelling place of the reprobate Esau? He concludes that the passage must be interpreted allegorically. On the interpretation of the names Sinai and Seir, he finds an allegory of the coming of Christ to the gentiles.[1]

Now according to St Thomas, the whole meaning of the writer is to be included in the literal interpretation. It follows from this that every text must have a tenable literal meaning. The allegorical exposition is not alternative, but additional to the literal interpretation. Yet here St Augustine appears to use the allegorical as a *substitute* for the literal. This at least is what Langton understands from the comment. He observes . . . 'From what is said here, St Augustine wishes to prove that the whole passage is not to be taken literally, but only this "Dominus de Sinai uenit;" for the Law was given on Mount Sinai by which God bound himself to the Jews.' The second clause 'De Seir ortus est nobis,' according to Augustine, can in no wise be taken literally. Seir was a mount of Edom where reigned the wicked Esau. By this it may be proved that the passage belongs rather to the mystical than the literal sense. So says Augustine, but according to the Gloss it may well be taken (literally) of Seir. Seir is a mountain round which the children of Israel long wandered in their journey from Egypt.[2] God is said to have 'risen to them from Seir,' literally, because certain commandments were given them from that mount. Therefore we say that the objection (to the literal exposition) is insufficient.[3] Further reasons are given why the passage ought to be accepted literally.

[1] *Quaestiones in Heptatenchum* lib. v, cap. 56. P.L. xxxiv, col. 774. Langton would doubtless read from the Gloss, I, 1685.

[2] Langton refers to another section of the Marginal Gloss. '*De Seir ortus est nobis.* Hunc montem longo tempore (filii Israel) circumierunt et in eo aliqua precepta acceperunt' . . . Gloss. I, 1686. This is all the help Langton received from the Gloss, which does not discuss the literal versus the allegorical sense.

[3] MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* fol. 285^{v}. '*de Seir ortus est nobis.* Nota quod Augustinus aliam ponit litteram, et probare uult per hoc quod hic dicitur quod totum non stare potest ad

There seems to be more than one question at issue. If, as St Augustine claims, the primary meaning of the words is mystical, ought their interpretation to belong to the literal or spiritual section? But is St Augustine's claim to stand? Langton's answer does not distinguish between these two questions. He merely rejects St Augustine. In so doing, he does not imply that the words have not also their allegorical connotation. We find them allegorized in due course later.[1] All Langton does is to insist that the primary significance of the words is literal, not allegorical; i.e., that the literal interpretation of them must be literal.

The discussion gives us some idea of the difficulties with which commentators were faced. From his way of meeting these difficulties, we should gather that he assumed the distinctions made by St Thomas, and it is interesting to note, that the tradition for these three passages remains constant in the generation between Langton and Hugh of St Cher. The Dominican commentator shows no point of difference with Langton. For the prophecies of Balaam we find almost the same phrase. 'Et est hic prophetia de incarnatio Domini. Nec est hic alius sensus historicus nisi iste,'[2] and 'Non est hic sensus historicus nisi propheticus tantum de Christo.'[3] Hugh's comment on *Deut.* XXXIII, 2 might well be a condensation of Langton.[4] On the other hand, even before Langton's time, the principle seems to have been grasped. Hugh of St Victor, though according to Robert he gave allegory a very wide meaning, seems to have excluded metaphor: commenting on *Joel* II, 28–32 'Effundam

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litteram sed istud tantum *Dominus de Syna venit* in quo lex data fuit quia per legem coniunctus fuit ludeis (*cit.* from Interlinear Gloss. I, 1685). Istud uero *De Seyr ortus est nobis*, etc., nullo modo secundum eum potest intelligi ad litteram, cum Seyr sit mons Ydumee et ibi regnauit Esau qui fuit malus, sed per hoc potest probari quod potius hoc ad mysterium quam ad litteram intelligendum sit, ita dicit Augustinus, sed secundum Glosam bene potest legi de Seyr. Seyr enim est mons quem filii Israel longo tempore circumierunt exeuntes de Egipto. Dicitur ergo ortus eis ex Seyr ad litteram quia in monte illo quedam precepta data sunt eis. Dicimus ergo quod illa obiectio insufficiens est. Dicitur ergo ortus ex Seyr. . . . '

[1] *Ibid.* 'Allegorice sic et legitur de ecclesia de gentibus *Dominus venit* ad nostram cognitionem *de Sina* id est de Vetere Testamento. . . . '

[2] *Postilla Super Numeri.* Cap. XXIII. (Paris, 1530.)

[3] *Ibid.* cap. XXIV.

[4] *Ibid., Super Deut.* cap. XXXIII.

spiritum meum,' he observes: 'De aduentu igitur Christi praesens littera proprie intelligitur . . . de missione Spiritus Paracleti prophetia clausa ad liquidum soluitur.'[1] This literal interpretation is discussed at length, the allegorical and moral being added afterwards.[2] It is, in fact, exactly the arrangement which we find in Langton for passages of the same class.

III

We now pass to the technique of the spiritual exposition. The commentaries are chiefly interesting here as illustrating the statement of Robert that the spiritual exposition was not arbitrary. They show us the place assigned by Langton to tradition, and we see how he considers himself bound to observe certain rules. He has an apt comparison for tropology, which he describes as 'bread' to be ground with great difficulty from the 'corn' of the Scriptures.[3] To watch Langton grinding the corn of the Scriptures into the bread of tropology is to assist at a highly technical and complicated process. For the benefit, probably, of future commentators among his pupils, he carefully explains its stages as he goes.

In the first place, he generally notes the interpretation given by the Gloss. This may be so well known as to need little elaboration. Every scholar would be familiar with the allegory of the captive Gentile maid (*Deut.* xxi, 10). The Hebrew may take her into his service under certain conditions, just as the Christian theologian is permitted to make a restricted use of Pagan Philosophy. Langton passes on with the observation: '. . . allegorice istud capitulum notum est ubique, quia idem est quod dicitur. Spoliandi sunt Egyptii id est philosophi, ut ditentur Hebrei. Sic ergo lege. . . .'[4] Sometimes the Glosses suggest more than one line of interpretation, and if there are conflicting literal interpretations, Langton will strive to concord them. The spiritual sense, however, permitted of many

[1] *Adnot in Joel.* P.L. clxxv, col. 354.

[2] *Ibid.* col. 356 and 358.

[3] MS. *Trinity Coll.: Cambridge, 69* fol. 192^{r}: 'Frumentum antequam ex eo panis fiat teritur per quod Sacre Scripture difficultas significatur, cuius modi est in Prophetis quos multiplici expositione frangi opportet antequam panis tropologie inde conficiatur.'

[4] MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* fol. 270^{v}.

variations. He contents himself with giving the current development of each.

By the text *Joel* 1, 4: 'That which the palmerworm hath left, the locust hath eaten,' etc., St Gregory understood a description of four vices which corrode the soul. He took the locust to represent passion, and so on. 'On this opinion,' says Langton, 'masters proceed thus.' . . . He then goes on to give Gregory's interpretation in full. St Jerome and the Interlinear find a description of four spiritual conditions; the second half of St Jerome's gloss gives yet a third variation; the four pests represent four stages of sin, as it grows from thought to action: 'According to this interpretation masters proceed rather differently, thus. . . .'[1]

As Robert observes, the commentator must respect tradition, yet Langton does not consider himself absolutely bound by it. There were recognized alternatives. The moral significance of a text might be either a promise to the righteous or a warning to evil-doers. Langton will state that for some particular passage he proposes to deviate from the Gloss. Jerome expounds the prophecy *Hab.* 1, 6 tropologically in a good sense, but Langton will do the opposite.[2]

The interpretation of Hebrew names, and the '*distinctio*,' or list of the symbolical significations, were in high favor at the period when Langton taught. The commentaries make extensive use of both; their principles are too well known to need explanation. In order to find the spiritual significance of any given text, Langton will pick out several words. Of all their possible significations he selects those most suited to the context, sometimes explaining at length how they are reached. It is the combination of the things symbolized

[1] MS. *Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 69.* fol. 62^{v}. Gregorius 'per erucam notat libidinem' etc. (G. IV 1814). Iuxta hanc sententiam paulo aliter procedunt magistri sic. . . . Secundum Ieronymum per ista IV designantur IV affectus animi. De hoc Interlinearis et prima medietas huius glose 'Per hec quattuor designantur, etc.' (*ibid.*) Secundum aliquam medietatem eiusdem glose eruca est morosa cogitacio consensus. . . . (*ibid.*, 'Ego reor erucam esse incipientem in animo passionem. . . . ') Iuxta hanc sententiam paulo aliter procedunt magistri, sic. . . . ,

[2] *Ibid.* fol. 138^{v}: Licet Ieronymus tropologice exponat in bono quod hic dicitur de Caldeis' nos tamen secundum tenorem littere exponemus in malo, per Caldeos demones uel malos homines intelligentes. Ut enim dicit Ieronymus in libro de Hebraicis nominibus Caldei interpretantur quasi fere uel quasi feroces uel quasi mamille quod bene congruit demonibus.'

by these words that determine the spiritual sense of the passage. The skill of the commentator lies in judicious choice and combination, and in discovering fresh symbolical meanings for the words. He achieves his purpose by considering the appearance, or qualities of the objects which they express. Langton resembles his contemporaries in that his power of finding points of similarity between unrelated things seems as endless as it is tiresome. Yet there is method even here. The commentator is not at liberty to make arbitrary comparisons, which do not rest upon some basis of fact. It is essential that he have real knowledge of the object, or he cannot elaborate his exposition. We see Langton hampered in this way when he comes to a text containing an unfamiliar expression: e.g., 'Erat autem Man quasi semen coriandri' (*Num.* XI, 7). He could dilate upon the topic at length, he regretfully observes, if only the nature and quality of 'coriander' were known to him. He has to fall back upon the more familiar 'Manna.' Manna is known to be white and shining; on these grounds it may symbolize Holy Writ.[1]

Langton is consistent in his choice of interpretation. Certain words are given the same meaning pretty nearly each time they occur. He points this out to us himself. '*Farina*,' he tells us, is usually given a good significance (it represents Scripture, the food of the soul).[2] In the Minor Prophets, the two tribes of Juda nearly always represent prelates;[3] the ten tribes stand for the lesser clergy, or else for the laity. Again, the word 'Samaria' signifies '*custodia*.' Langton uniformly renders this as 'pastoral care.' A dweller in Samaria, it follows, must be a bishop or a priest, one who is occupied with the care of others. We become very familiar with this device.[4] If this procedure is unusual, Langton scrupulously mentions it. Commenting on *Hosea* XII, 11: 'Si Galaad idolum . . . ,' he first interprets the word Galaad, then announces that he bases his tro-

[1] MS. *Peterhouse, Cambridge, 112*. fol. 78^{v}: 'De hoc possemus multa edissere nisi nobis natura et qualitas illius laterent. . . . '

[2] MS. *Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 69*. fol. 40^{r}: 'Unde nota quod farina in hac pagina in bono frequenter accipitur.'

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 54^{v}: 'Pro Iuda sepissime in hoc libro Duodecim Prophetarum intelligimus prelatos.'

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 33^{r}, 89^{v}, 208^{r}, etc.

pology not on the *place name* itself, but on its *inhabitants*, the ten tribes who signify the laity.[1]

That the spiritual exposition must be based on the 'letter' is thus no mere formal statement. We see it when the text of the letter is corrupt and there are several possible readings. Langton taught before the production of a standard text and punctuation; he often notes a number of variants without presuming to decide between them. In this case, when he comes to the spiritual exposition, he takes care to mention which one of the several readings he proposes to moralize. Sometimes too, as he runs through the literal sense, he observes that a particular detail will be useful for the 'mystery.' On arriving at the mystical interpretation, he will make this detail the basis of an important moral distinction.[2]

The exegesis does not always rest on purely fanciful considerations; we owe it to Langton to recognize this. He will take an event in the Old Testament as typical of some familiar situation, and his comparison may be extraordinarily apt. Nowadays, we should call it an argument from analogy, or even an appeal to history, rather than a 'mystery.' This is generally the case when the kings and prophets of Israel 'signify' the princes and clergy of mediaeval Europe. In capable hands, tropology could yield practical results. The passage *Amos* VII, 10–13, where Amasias, the high priest of Bethal, accuses Amos before King Jeroboam, will supply an illustration. Langton sees Amasias as a type of the worldly prelate. He draws out his comparison by an interpretation of the name:

'Amasias is interpreted "robust and cold;" he typifies a bad priest or any bad, greedy prelate, robust in evil and cold in good, a stranger to the fire of charity. For a whore or a little wordly profit, he is ready to go two leagues or more a winter's night, but to hear a poor man's last confession he will not leave his table, even for a few minutes.' The prophet Amos from the land of Juda represents the reformer, the scholar fresh from Paris, who rebukes abuses in the

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 56r: 'Moraliter Galaad interpretatur aceruus testimonii sed non sumetur tropologia ab interpretatione sed ab habitatoribus scil. decem tribubus per quas laici significantur.'

[2] MS. *Trinity, Oxford, 65.* fol. 273v: '. . . et hoc ualet ad mysterium.'

Church. The prelate, who profits from abuses, tries to screen himself behind the secular power. He represents to his prince, as Amasias represented to Jeroboam, that the reformer is a danger to the state. By this means he contrives to get rid of him. 'Amasias said to Amos "Thou seer," O prophet and learned doctor, who threaten us so terribly with your preaching! "Go, flee away into the land of Juda," leave my bishopric or my parish, return to your studies at Paris, "eat bread there and prophesy there" confine your teaching and preaching to Paris. "In Bethel" that is, my bishopric, "prophesy not any more," that is, preach no more. Your rebukes are an offense to the king. This place pertains to him; it is his right to choose and dispose of the parsons of this church.'[1]

Langton's 'trope' amounts to a spirited character sketch of Amasias, of the perennial conflict between vested interests and reform.

Langton considers the mysterical interpretation as a science with its own rules of procedure. When in accordance with these rules he had produced an allegory or a trope, we may ask what value would be ascribe to it. Would he consider it as real and as certain as an argument from 'the letter?' St Thomas seems to have regarded spiritual explanations as having 'no probative force.' They were invalid for argument unless they expressed what was elsewhere clearly revealed by the letter.[2] It is interesting to look for this same principle in Langton.

[1] MS. *Trinity Coll., Cambridge, 69.* fol. 92^{v}: 'Amasias interpretatur robustus et frigidus et gerit typum mali sacerdotis uel cuiusque mali et cupidi prelati, qui robustus est in malo, sed frigidus, a bono alieno, scil. a calore caritatis. Pro meretrice enim, uel pro paruo lucro temporali, paratus est ire de nocte hiemali pro duas uel plures leugas, sed pro audienda confessione pauperis in extremis laborantis, non uult paulisper relinquere mensam. . . . Qui uidens aliquem recte uiam ueritatis predicantem per quem credit errorem suum esse destruendum, quod quidem magis timet, de sua tacet iniuria, et apud regem uel principem eum accusat, ut sic de regis uideatur dolere contumelia et regem prouocet ad uindictam. . . . Unde sequitur *Et dixit Amasias ad Amos: qui uides* id est O tu propheta, id est O tu doctor qui peritus es et tot et tanta predicando comminaris *gradere et refuge in terram Iuda* id est recede de episcopatu meo uel parochia et reuertere Parisius ad studium tuum *et comede ibi panem* quasi uiue ibi *et ibi prophetabis* ibi docebis et predicabis *in Bethel* id est in episcopatu meo *non adicies ultra ut prophetes* id est predices hic. Quasi quod tu reprehendis regi derogas, quia locus iste ad honorem regis spectat, ad ipsum enim pertinet ut personas huius ecclesie eligat et disponat.

[2] Synave, *op. cit.*, 64.

The Summas and similar theological works of the period never, it has been pointed out, employ arguments from the interpretation of words.[1] The literal sections of Langton's commentaries sometimes resemble a collection of theological *quaestiones*, and here we never find any allegory. The argument may be carried still further. So far from using an allegory by way of instance or proof in an academic question, Langton reverses the process. The allegory must be corrected by the rules of orthodoxy, otherwise it is void. Even the Gloss does not escape criticism. We see Langton inquiring into a doubtful moralization of the sacrifices commanded in the Law. The Gloss understands the divers kinds of oblation as symbolical of the various virtues which we consecrate to God. Some men offer themselves as a holocaust, others cannot attain so high; they offer themselves only in part.

'As the capacities of men vary, so the virtues are disposed in degrees, that one may have several, another may aspire to all; thus each is to some extent raised from the earth. This is signified by the diversity of sacrifice.'[2]

This exposition touches on a hotly debated problem: whether he who has one virtue has all. The Gloss seems to assert that the virtues are separable, which is opposed to the received solution. 'By these words Origen seems to deny that he who has one virtue has all. But this is false, as appears plainly from the words of ancients and moderns alike.'

Elsewhere, in one of his *Quaestiones*, Langton distinguishes between the use and the possession of virtue. A man may have all the virtues in 'habit' but not 'in use.'[3] This convenient formula serves him now to rescue the morality. The divers kinds of oblation symbolize the various virtues as each man has them *in use*. They do not refer to the actual quality of virtue itself. In this sense, and in this only, the words of the Gloss may stand.[4]

[1] Lacombe, *loc. cit.*

[2] Gloss, I, 931. (on *Lev.* III, 1.): 'Sunt secundum leges diuersae hominum conuersationes, sunt in modum scalarum ordinatae uirtutes, ut alius quasdam, alius assequatur omnes, ut quisque subleuetur a terra. Quod significat sacrificiorum differentia. . . . '

[3] MS. *St John's Coll., Cambridge, 57.* fol. 239^{v}: 'an qui habet unam uirtutem habeat omnes.'

Similarly Langton is anxious that his own mystical exposition shall be unexceptionable. He raises objections to his own words which to us seem trifling; Langton takes them so seriously as to quote authority in self-defense. Commenting on *Gen.* I, 1, he makes the heavens signify the New Testament, earth the Old. It is objected that the heavens should rather represent the Old Testament. As the heavens contain the earth, so the Old Testament contains the New. In reply, Langton invokes the authority of the Interlinear Gloss on *Isaiah*, VI, 3: 'et clamabant cherubim alter ad alterum.' Here each Testament is said to contain the other.[1] Thus the penny contains the farthing, and the farthing in the sum of its parts contains the penny.[2]

Langton tells us of a man who mocked at the allegorical sense; he seems to have felt the obvious objection to those over-subtle comparisons which repel us in a mediaeval commentary. Whether he was a contemporary of Langton's or not does not appear, though we should very much like to know. On being informed of the significance of the red color of the cow, sacrificed according to the Law, which prefigures the Blood of the Passion, this man remarked that it would be all the same if the cow were black. Whatever the color of the cow, some kind of allegory might be invented for it.[3] Langton

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[1] MS. *Peterhouse Coll., Cambridge, 112.* fol. 54^{v}: 'Super hoc scil. dicit Origenes quod sicut diuerse sunt hominum conversationes et qualitates, ita diuerse sunt uirtutes quas diuersi possident, alius unam, alius uero aliam. Unde et hoc verbo Origenes uidetur uelle quod non quicumque habet unam uirtutem habet omnes, quod falsum est tamen ex uerbis modernorum et ex uerbis antiquorum euidenter apparet. Unde potest dici quod Origenes hoc dicto non habuit respectum ad qualitates ipsarum uirtutum sed potius ad usum, ut uocaret uirtutem ipsius uim uel motum, sicut motus fidei quandoque fides uocatur, quia quicumque habet unam uirtutem habet omnes in habitu, etsi non in usu, sed tamen alius habet usum unius uirtutis et alius, alterius uirtutis et ideo ita locutus est Origenes.' The Gloss for the passage is quoted from Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. 433), said to have commented the whole of Scripture. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, ed. Harles (Hamburg 1801). VII, 548. Langton wrongly attributes it to Origenes.

[1] Gloss, IV, 87.

[2] MS. *Peterhouse Coll.: 112* fol. 2^{v}: 'Sed utrumque deberet celum potius significare, Vetus Testamentum, quia sicut celum continet terram ita Vetus Testamentum continet Nouum. Responsio. Utrumque continet reliquum, sicut dicitur in illum locum Isaie, et clamabant cherubim alter ad alterum, ibi dicitur quod utrumque Testamentum continet reliquum. Unde denarius continet quarternarium et continetur a quarternario partibus aggregatis.'

cites this as an example of shocking impiety. Nevertheless, he makes use of the allegorical sense in a way which recognizes the force of the objection. His allegorizing is descriptive and pictorial; its function is to confirm certain well-established truths, and it is acceptable only in so far as it agrees with these. Langton does not make it contribute to the argument where truth is still under discussion. He uses it for edification rather than for proof.

Where tropology is concerned, his attitude becomes less easy to determine. The chief bearing of tropology was not on theological questions, as was that of allegory, but on practical conduct and politics. Politics differed from theology; there was not so well defined a body of political as there was of theological truth, with which the exposition had to conform. Now to us it is obvious that the mediaeval 'morality' depended on the inventiveness of its author; he could always find a trope expressive of his own views, just as he could always unearth some historical precedent. Langton is a reformer and protests against the unholy alliance between curial bishops and the state. This, he takes it for granted, the Scriptures must surely condemn. The moral interpretation therefore, provides him with an armory of weapons against 'principes et prelati nostri.' Tropologically, almost any text can be twisted into a rebuke of their evil ways. It does not occur to him to distinguish between the teaching of Scripture and his own ingenuity. To discuss the exact authority he ascribed to his reasoning, and how far, in this domain, he equated the literal with the spiritual sense, would take one far from Langton. It leads to a region of mediaeval psychology which has never been explored.

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[3] MS. *Trinity Coll.: Cambridge, 69* fol. 37; on *Hosea*, VII, 14, '*super triticum et iunum ruminabant:*' 'Item ruminare in malo accipitur: . . . id est catholicas expositiones sacre pagine (heretici) deridebant et dentibus destructionis comminuebant, ut ille qui audiens quod uitula de qua fiebat cineres lustrationis erat rufer, quia signabat carnem Christi sanguine passionis rubricandam, detrahendo ait: Non uacaret a misterio si nigra esset, tanquam si diceret: Nil ualet ista allegoria. Quia cuiusque coloris esset uitula inde potest fabulosa allegoria trahi.'

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THE FIRST WALL OF THE RHENISH EPISCOPAL CITIES

By ERNEST LAUER

THE medieval city achieved its distinction under the protection of the town wall. Although the town wall was a serious limitation of the expansion of the urban community and a powerful weapon in the hands of a crafty oligarchy, it was a defensive necessity. Our inquiry attempts to explain how and when the town wall became such a necessity, and how it affected urban economy in early European History. Our study concentrates upon the Rhineland,—the episcopal cities, Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg and Basel—but the larger phases of the problem will be kept in view.

The origin and nucleus of urban life in the Rhineland was the Roman military camp.[1] The civilian groups (*canabae castrenses, canabae legionis*),[2] traders, industrials and retired legionaries and their families attracted to the camp settled in villages (*vici*) near by. Although these settlements were attached to the camp and not to the place, they gradually penetrated the villages of the natives and formed single communities. Such communities were the creators of civil life along the Rhineland. After the removal of the camp, a walled city was built upon the site of the camp, and the rights of a colony or *municipium* conferred upon it. This process of Romanization was well under way when in the third century military and social disaster fell upon the Empire.

Of all the Rhenish communities, *Ara Ubiorum* (Cologne), the commercial metropolis of the Rhine, was first to rise to civil status.[3] In 37 A.D., the two legions quartered here were removed, and in 50 A.D., the status of *Colonia* was conferred.[4] The city *Colonia Agrippi-*

[1] K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs-und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, II (1923), chs. I, II; H. Dragendorff, *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit* (2 ed., 1919), pp. 32–38; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 207–213.

[2] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 208; O. Bohn, 'Rheinische Lagerstädte,' *Germania*, X (1926), 25 ff.; T. Mommsen, 'Die Römische Lagerstädte,' *Hermes*, VII (1873), 299 f.

[3] R. Schultze und C. Steuernagel, 'Colonia Agrippinensis,' published by *Verein von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Bonn, 1895), Heft 98, (cited as *Bonner Jhb.*); Schumacher, *op. cit.*, II, 14–15.

[4] Tacitus, *Annales*, XII, 27.

nensis was built after the style of Italian town-planning upon the site of the old Roman camp.[1] The stone wall, paved streets, aqueducts, baths and temples as well as the new civilian government gave full proof of the success of Rome's frontier policy.

Moguntiacum (Mainz), likewise favored by commercial advantages, rose steadily after the revolt of the Batavi (69 A. D.), but the Roman government did not relieve the community of the military encumbrance.[2] In 198 A. D. the civilian population was governed by a *curator civium Romanorum* and his assistants.[3]

The other camps, *Borbetomagus* (Worms), *Noviomagus* (Speyer) and *Argentoratum* (Strassburg)[4] were, so far as we know, never given a special civilian administrator. *Basilia* (Basel), cramped in its expansion by the prosperous *Augusta Rauricorum*,[5] gained a decisive advantage over its rival in the fourth century when it was made an episcopal *civitas*.

The status of the Rhenish communities at the end of the second century is clear. *Colonia* was a walled city, possessed of the rights of self-government; *Moguntiacum* was on the verge of achieving a like destiny. The others were still camps, probably surrounded by *canabae legionis*. *Basilia* was a minor trading center. In general culture, however, the Rhineland reflected the major tendencies and characteristics of the more civilized areas of the empire.[6]

Thanks to excavations and special historical studies[7] we can now visualize the extraordinary expansion of Graeco-Roman urban life in the first two centuries of our era. The city was the center and essence of civilization and possessed every means to satisfy human comfort and taste. Paved streets, aqueducts, drainage system, hy-

[1] Tacitus, *Historiae*, IV, 64; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17; cf. H. Lechner's criticism of the study by Schultze and Steuernagel, *Bonner Jhb. 98*, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XV (1896), 260 ff.

[2] Schumacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17.

[3] J. Becker, 'Mainz,' *Bonner Jhb.*, 67 (1879), 7 f.

[4] H. Boos, *Geschichte der rheinischen Städtekultur* (Berlin, 1897) I, c. II; Schumacher, *op. cit.* II, 91–2, 26–27.

[5] A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturentwickelung*, (2 Edit., Vienna, 1923) I, 168–9.

[6] Cf. Dragendorff, *op. cit.*, *ad passim*.

[7] See the list of publications in Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 524–527.

gienic and spacious markets, parks, baths, elaborate and ornate public and private buildings, *gymnasia*, *palaestra*, temples, theatres, auditoriums, public libraries and art galleries[1]—these were the outstanding elements of urban culture. During the Antonine age, the citizenry of the Roman Empire expended its energies and financial resources in the extension and enjoyment of these exceptional advantages.

The Roman *urbs* was surrounded by a stone wall.[2] Although surrounded by a wall, the city was not primarily thought of as a fortress, because it was so planned and built that a civilized order of life could be enjoyed by the citizens, the *intramurani*.[3] The wall did not cramp and confine urban activity.

While the financial resources of the cities were freely, even lavishly, expended in the maintenance of public life and institutions, the town walls were neglected. The aegis of Rome, the imperial wall, established and fostered peace and order in the Mediterranean world, and made unnecessary any local defense system. But when these happy conditions were swept away by the rising tide of anarchy and militarism in the half century from 235-285, the poverty-stricken citizenry lacked adequate financial and military means of self-defense when they were most sorely needed.

The construction of new town walls or the rebuilding of the old ones is a social phenomenon of the greatest importance; it was the symptom of a social and economic crisis from which no one could escape. Everywhere in the empire the same causes produced the same effects.[4] Not only along the Rhine and Danube where there was the constant threat of the invader, but also in England, Spain, Italy, Greece, Africa and Asia Minor, the erection of town walls became the first duty of the *urbani*.[5] Within several generations

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–5; J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 155–324.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131; F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning* (Oxford, 1913).

[3] A. Schulten, 'Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reiche,' *Philologus*, N.F. 7, (1894), 644–45.

[4] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, chs. x, xi.

[5] A. Blanchet, *Les Enceintes Romaines de la Gaule: Etude sur l'origine d'un Grand Nombre de Villes Francaises*, (Paris, 1907), Livre i, pp. 13 ff., 219.

after circumvallation became a defensive necessity, the Roman Empire was entirely transformed into 'a beleaguered country, where a state of siege reigns and where all the cities are merely so many fortresses ready to repulse the attack of the enemy. The same is true of many villages and of the great villas, the centres of large private estates.'[1]

When the greatest number of circumvallations actually took place has been a matter of debate.[2] Some of the cities repaired or rebuilt their walls in the early years of the social anarchy, and there is evidence of wall building in every decade prior to 270.[3] However, all the available evidence—coins, inscriptions on walls and stones and the policy of imperial reorganization—indicates that the most active period of building was the reigns of the Emperors Aurelian and Probus (270–282).[4] It is very probable that Probus issued the first imperial edict,[5] ordering all the towns of Gaul, of the Rhineland and of Africa to construct adequate urban defenses.

This emperor also drove back the Franks to Frisia and refortified the northern frontier from the Alps to the North Sea.[6] Thereafter, it seems, the emperors assumed the responsibility for the defense of the frontier. But they could not give the cities any assistance in the rehabilitation of their economy. The empire itself was morally and financially bankrupt and required any resources it could command to reestablish its own administrative machinery. Under the circumstances, the cities were left to devise their own ways and means of protection.[7] In consequence the towns of the empire were fortified before the end of the fourth century.[8]

The military and social anarchy of the third century left deep and lasting imprints upon the Roman cities and the bourgeoisie.[9] Finan-

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[2] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–12; 318–38.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 333–36; consult also by same author, *Les Tresors de Monnaies Romaines et les Invasions Germaniques en Gaule* (Paris, 1900).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 333–36.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 334.

[7] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 411–14.

[8] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 314–15; p. 260; pp. 283–4.

[9] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, ch. x, esp. pp. 411–12.

cial bankruptcy and military disaster transformed the character and capacities of the *urbani*. Despite the fact that the imperial government could not materially assist the cities, their first duty was the erection of defenses or the repair of the old walls. The confusion and unpreparedness of the cities during this crisis is plainly seen in the construction of the foundations of their walls. Excavations in the last century of many of the walls of Western European cities of Roman origin are proof of irregular and hasty building. Statuary, gravestones, lumps of mortar, bricks, stones from the amphitheatres and public buildings and other miscellaneous materials were thrown into the foundations.[1] The superstructures, however, were built with greater care.

Under the circumstances, the cities could not hope to retain even the semblance of their former size and splendor. There could be no thought of a cultural program, and there was none for the most part, because there were few who were capable of it. Many of the cities were forced to reduce their fortified areas from one-fifth to one-half their original size. Such a reduction in size naturally effected the whole range of life within the cities. Instead of wide streets, spacious parks and markets, and large houses (aspects which promoted comfort and well-being), the cities were transformed into fortresses with narrow streets and crowded living conditions.[2] The walled city was henceforth a refuge for the harassed population in and near it. The disintegration of the social and intellectual fabric of Roman civilization is plainly writ in the urban life and architecture of the late Roman Empire.

These changes are reflected in the Rhineland where frontier conditions imposed a rigorous defense. The towns were reconstructed with the view of providing the maximum of security against invaders and roving brigands.[3] The studies of the Roman topography of the Rhenish cities by local antiquarian societies have brought to light evidence that these cities were rebuilt from *castra* to *civitas* or *municipium* in the late third and fourth centuries. Speyer is the only city

[1] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 ff; p. 316; pp. 335–40; and plates III, 1; IV, 2; V, 1, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 283–86; pp. 310–11.
[3] Schumacher, *op. cit.*, II, 169–172.

whose Roman remains have not been adequately excavated and studied.[1] The new walls were not the old camp walls, and they were not built after the barbarian invasions. The masonry of the walls is proof that they were erected before the Roman engineers and masons lost their skill.[2]

Moguntiacum was the first of the Rhenish camps to receive the rights of *municipium*.[3] The exact date of the grant of this right is difficult to establish, but it occurred between 260 and 293.[4] The camp was rebuilt into a walled city. The grant of self-government and the building of the new city wall were apparently contemporaneous and interdependent events. The conclusion is that *Moguntiacum* was rebuilt into a city when a Roman Emperor conferred the right of self-government upon it.

The status of the other camps—*Borbetomagus*, *Noviomagus*, *Argentoratum*—and of *Basilia* is not so easily determined. That they were walled by the end of the fourth century or in the early decades of the fifth seems fairly certain.[5] Archaeological evidence and the literary sources indicate that each of these communities (except *Basilia*) was also a *civitas*. Ammianus Marcellinus,[6] in describing the German attack of 356 and Julian's restoration of the frontier defense, refers to these cities as *civitates*. *Basilia* is mentioned by Ammianus,[7] but it is not until the beginning of the fifth century that it is described as a *civitas*.[8] However, it is not safe to draw from these facts the conclusion that every city of the Rhineland referred to as a *civitas* in the sources of the late fourth century was a self-governing municipality. It should be remembered that the term *civitas* was

[1] *Ibid.*, I, 91–2.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 170–173.

[3] See Schumacher, *op. cit.*, II, 101–2 for a brief discussion of the date of the lead medal upon whose dating much depends for the settlement of this question.

[4] Th. Bergk, 'Die Verfassung von Mainz in der römischen Zeit,' *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, I (1882), 498 ff; see *C. I. L.*, III, 1114, where Mainz is called *Civitas Aurelia* (reign of Emperor Probus).

[5] Schumacher, *op. cit.*, III, 170–1; II, 91–2; 98–9.

[6] *Rerum gestarum libri*, XVI, 2, 12; XVIII, 2, 4, 5.

[7] *Anno* 374, XXX, 3, 1.

[8] *Notitia Dignitatum; Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Prouinciarum*, Edidit Otto Seeck (*Berolini*, 1876), p. 267.

then used in several ways. However, archaeology has established the fact that the Rhenish cities were walled by the early years of the fifth century, when they passed into control of the Germans. Apart from *Colonia*, which was destroyed by the Germans in 356 and completely restored by their help,[1] the Rhenish cities do not seem to have suffered badly at the hands of the Germans.[2]

It is highly instructive to review the attitude of the late Empire toward the beleaguered cities. In 396 the cities were urged to repair or rebuild their own walls.[3] However, it is obvious that the cities did not possess adequate financial resources to execute the imperial command. Public buildings and statuary were demolished to furnish the necessary building materials. Naturally, the pagan temples and statues suffered most.[4] In 408 and again in the reign of Majorian (457–461) the government reserved to itself the right to designate public buildings[5] for destruction. It also issued a decree that any public official, who allowed the destruction of public buildings, should be fined fifty pounds of gold and any minor employee giving such permission should suffer the amputation of his hands.[6]

When we study the policy of the Roman government toward the cities from another angle, we become fully convinced of its wantonness and utter futility. The Theodosian Code, especially the sections *de defensoribus* and *de operibus publiciis*,[7] contains a full record of the imperial legislation. Besides paying a large share of the imperial taxes, the cities were responsible for the building and repair of their own bridges, aqueducts and walls.[8] At one time the state recognized

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri*, XV, 8, 19; XVI, 3, 1–2.

[2] See Dopsch, *op. cit.*, I, *Dritter Abschnitt*, 94–202, esp. 192 ff.

[3] *Codex Theodosianus*, (ed. Mommsen and Meyer), XV, (*De Operibus Publicis*), 1, 34, (396 A.D. Mart. 24); cf. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, (Paris, 1926), VIII, 39–44.

[4] *Ibid.*, XV, 1, 36, (397 A. D.), Law of Arcadius and Honorius allowing walls to be built from demolished temples; Law against these practices; XVI, 10, 19, (408 A. D.). A law regulating the practices, XV, 1, 41, (401 A. D.) and 1, 43, (405 A. D.); See also E. Loening, *Deutsches Kirchenrecht*, I, (1878): 10 f; H. Richter, *Das weströmische Reich*, p. 631; Blanchet, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–12, also pp. 239, 240, (Africa and East).

[5] *Ibid.*, XVI, 10, 19, (*De paganis, sacrificiis et templis*) 19, (408, Nov. 15); Majorem, IV, (458, Jul. 11), 1, (Vol. II of *Cod.*).

[6] *Ibid.*, II, Majorem, IV, 458, Jul. 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, XV.

[8] *Ibid.*, XV, 1, 34, (396, *Mart.* 24); cf. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

the weight of this burden and decreed that one-third of the revenue of the municipalities should be set aside for the maintenance of public buildings and the walls.[1] However, the renewal of this law is ample proof of its failure. Finally, in 395 a new land tax was levied to defray the expenses of the maintenance of walls and public buildings.[2] It is hardly probable that the tax was actually collected and paid to the proper authorities for the specified purpose. Thereafter the imperial government did absolutely nothing to help the struggling city population.

The attitude and policy of the government neutralized what little good constructive legislation might have done. Even before the reign of Julian, emperors and wealthy landowners seized municipal public lands and other sources of revenue. So far as is known, the Emperor Julian[3] stands alone of the emperors of this period in attempting the rehabilitation of the economy of the Roman municipalities. Naturally, the first and most essential step in this far-reaching project was the restoration of the public lands to the cities. But his generosity proved useless. After his death emperors, wealthy office-holders, landowners and churches enriched themselves at will by the seizure of these lands.[4] At the same time the state deprived the cities of any legal weapons effectively to defend themselves against the spoliation of their lands. In the end, the Roman city became a penal colony of the state, an '*ergastulum*,' as Dill aptly says.[5] What little energy was left in the population after the external invasion and internal anarchy of the third century was well-nigh dissipated by the imperial government. Increased taxes, spoliation of public lands, arrogant treatment of the *curiales*, the establishment of the hereditability of social and industrial status and the creation

[1] *Ibid.*, xv, 1, 18, (374, *Jan.* 26).

[2] *Ibid.*, xv, 1, 32, (395, *Jun.* 21); cf. 34, (396, *Mart.* 24).

[3] K. Hegel, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien seit der römischen Herrschaft*, I (1847), 73; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv, 4, 15; H. Klipffel, 'Étude sur le régime municipal gallo-romain,' *Nouvelle revue historique de droit francais et étranger*, (1878), 554 ff, (1879), 171 ff. 275 ff. 571 ff.

[4] Hegel, *op. cit.*, I, 73 f.

[5] S. R. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age*, (Paris, 1926), 264; cf. O. M. Dalton, *The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours*, I, (Oxford, 1927), 158 ff.

of an oriental caste system: all these were links in the chain forged by the Roman government for the enslavement of its urban population.

The military anarchy of the third century brought about the transformation of the physical topography of the Roman cities. The partial restoration of order by Diocletian and his immediate successors did not arrest the disintegration of the social and economic fabric into which Roman urban economy was woven. Every department of the city was to undergo an equally complete change. In fact, the building of the town wall was only the genesis of a whole series of transformations which effaced every vestige of the distinctively urban character of the Roman cities. The phases which concern us immediately in this study are the political and economic status of the cities during the period from the fourth to the ninth centuries and the new administrative terminology which appears.

The policy of the Roman emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries toward the cities was twofold. On the one hand, they made it impossible for *curiales*, *curator* and *defensor civitatis* to discharge their duties as municipal administrators; and on the other hand, they steadily advanced the authority and prestige of the Roman bishop within the city. Thereby the government unwittingly prepared the way for the Christian Church to realize its ambitions to bring the cities under its lordship.

The Christian Church was undoubtedly the chief link between the old order and the new. From the very beginning of its entry into the Graeco-Roman world, the church concentrated its missionary efforts upon the cities with such success that its authority became pervasive and predominant.[1] The collapse of the government of the empire and of the municipalities left the bishop as the real authority within the city, to whom the townspeople could appeal in their dealings with the Teutonic invaders.[2] Many of the most important civic functions of the municipal government, in so far as they were neces-

[1] A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, (Leipzig, 1924), I, (Viertes Buch), 529 ff.

[2] L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, (London, 1924), III, chs. XIV and XV, esp. pp. 403, 417, 446.

sary at all, were performed by the Christian bishop and his staff of assistants.[1] Even the functions of the *defensor civitatis*, an office established in 364 to protect the lower classes against the overt acts of bureaucrats, were frequently discharged by him.[2] The disruption of the social order left him the head of the urban community.

The possibilities of such leadership in municipal politics and social life are well exhibited in the career of the Aquitanian noble, Apollinaris Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont 470-489.[3] His letters reflect the social and political tendencies of this transitional era and the attitude of cultured aristocratic clergymen toward them. His episcopal residence was always open to those oppressed by officials, and he was the arbiter in many disputes beteeen conquerors and conquered, and his townspeople and their officials. He held responsible positions with the city council and performed many of the duties of a civil magistrate. He was the soul of the resistance to the Visigothic army in its repeated attacks upon his *civitas*.

The position of the bishop within the cities of the new regime is nowhere more admirably stated than in the *Vita Albini*,[4] the biography of the bishop of Angers, written about the middle of the sixth century (550): 'in alimoniis pauperum, in defensione civium, in visitatione languentium.' The extension of the episcopal system in the centuries following the invasions gave every *civitas* of consequence a bishop.[5] The Christian Church fully appreciated the significance of the *civitas* for the perpetuation of its ecclesiastical system.

Few accounts of the activities of Christian bishops in behalf of their cities have been preserved, but such as we have are widely enough scattered to show that they were not isolated instances but probably the general rule.

[1] Loening, *op. cit.*, I, 314–331.

[2] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, III, 17 ff; see also n. 52.

[3] *The Letters of Sidonius*, translated by O. M. Dalton, (Oxford, 1915), 2 Vols. For examples of his activity and influence, II, 41 f, 81–89, 90, 103–4, 110, 131–2; cf. also Intro., LXXII ff.

[4] Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Ben.*, I, 110, (*Vita Albini*).

[5] A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, (Leipzig, 1904), I, 33. A list of Frankish and Rhenish bishops is found in *M. G. Concilia*, I, 192, (Council of Paris, 614); cf. Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 131 ff; S. Rietschel, *Die Civitas auf Deutschen Boden bis zum Ausgange der Karolingerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Stadt*, (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 21 ff., 51 ff.

Pope Gregory the Great's solicitude for Rome and the Italian cities is generally known,[1] but it was an interest guided by political as much as by social and religious concern. It is true that he deplored the neglect of the Roman aqueducts by the Gothic officials, but he held that it was not within his power to do more than urge the officials to repair them. He was averse to interfering in civic affairs, as his rebuke of the behavior of the Bishop of Naples plainly shows.[2] The terrible plight of the *curiales* did not evoke a vigorous protest from him. However, it is useless to indict the Pope for neglect of evils which he regarded as the proper responsibilities of the political authorities. On the whole, Pope Gregory viewed the situation from the standpoint of his ecclesiastical primacy in Italy. As for Rome, he pursued the traditional paternalistic policy.[3]

Three other examples will prove much more instructive for our study.

The earliest of these is Sidonius (534–547), the first Bishop of Mainz,[4] of whose activity we have an authoritative though cryptic record. Besides building and remodeling churches, a common practise of the day, he corrected the course of the Rhine along the city and restored the city generally. There must have been great need for its restoration, if we are to believe the jeremiads of Jerome and Salvian. Jerome, whose report obviously rests upon hearsay, laments the destruction of the town by the Vandals[5] (i.e., at the beginning of the fifth century). Salvian[6] writing about 450 describes the city as '*excisa atque deleta est.*' The town walls are not mentioned in the account about Bishop Sidonius, but it may be assumed that the '*genitor urbi*' restored them. When the veil of obscurity is lifted in

[1] Hegel, *op. cit.*, I, 163 ff.

[2] F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought*, (London, 1905), I, 182 f.

[3] Hegel, *op. cit.*, I, 172 ff; Dudden, *op. cit.*, I, 242 f.

[4] *M. G. Auct. Ant.*, IV, (I), 215–16, no. IX; 250 (40); cf. *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, XII, (1872), 5; *Westdt. Ztsch.*, 31 (1912), 133–4.

[5] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Tomus, XXII (1864), *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri, Epistola* CXXIII, 16, (914).

[6] Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, VI, 8, *M. G. A. A.*, I, 74.

the middle of the eighth century, Mainz is invariably spoken of as walled: 'infra murum civitatis Mogontiae.'[1]

Bishop Nicetus of Trier (sixth century) also prepared for the defense of his city.[2]

Two Bishops of Gaul of the seventh century are celebrated in their biographies as restorers of their cities as well as of the town walls. St Desiderius of Cahors (630–655) rebuilt the walls of his city: ' . . . portas, turres murorum ambitu ac quadratorum lapidum conpactione munivit firmumque hac solidum ad posteros pervenire decrevit.'[3] The city also suffered for lack of water. The dauntless Bishop planned a new system of water supply, ordered the materials for its construction, and engaged the workmen for its erection; and when his neighbor bishop was in similar distress, he proffered his plan and help. Similarly, St Leger of Soissons (676) repaired the houses of his city and restored the town walls: 'murorum urbis restauratio, domorum reparatio.'[4]

It is not our purpose to convey the impression that all the cities of the Roman Empire required restoration and rebuilding. The Lombards found some of the north Italian cities well fortified and able to resist their siege for a time.[5] It may be that these cities were restored under the régime of the Goths, as is clearly demonstrated in the case of Catanè.[6] The history of Regensburg in South Germany is quite reliable in this regard. Archaeological excavations prove that the city never was sacked by the Germans.[7] Aribo (Arbeo) of Freising, writing the *Vita et Passio Haimbramum* about 750, characterizes that city with robust pride as 'inexpugnabilis, quadris aedificata lapidibus, turrium exaltata magnitudine, puteis habundans.'[8] The country about the city was prosperous and contented.

It is hazardous to make broad and sweeping generalizations about

[1] E. Dronke, *Codex diplomaticus Fuldensis*, (Cassel, 1850), I, 1, (750).
[2] *M. G. A. A.*, IV, 65.
[3] *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.*, IV, 575 (17); Loening, *op. cit.*, II, 225 ff.
[4] *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.*, V, 285, (10).
[5] Paulus Diaconus, *M. G. SS. rer. Langob.*, I, Bk. II, 26 f.
[6] *M. G. A. A.*, XII, 104, *Variarum*, III, 49, (507–11).
[7] Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, 366 and n. 1.
[8] *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.*, IV, 478, A. (cf. 519).

the motives actuating the bishops in their work of restoring their cities. Public authority of the period was not always friendly to them, as the bitter conflict between Catholic bishops and Arian kings plainly shows.[1] Even where the kings were kindly disposed, a strong wall was a primary necessity to protect the church and its treasures against roving brigands and lawless nobles. The church and its environs as an asylum for the pursued may have been a factor, for there is a case on record where the area of asylum extended from the doors of the church to the gates and town wall opposite them.[2] Moreover, the bishops, as a rule, were scions of the wealthy nobility of the day who made the episcopacy stepping stones to political aggrandizement and success.[3] Political power and leadership raised the episcopacy to the pinnacle of wealth and importance, from which it could and actually did threaten the very foundations of royal power.[4]

The attitude of the German kings toward the cities is less easily defined. It is customary to generalize the statements of Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus to the effect that the Germans abominated urban life, 'looking upon them (the cities) as graves surrounded with nets.'[5] But a survey of the period when the Germans were in actual control of the destinies of Western Europe discloses the fact that their attitude toward the cities was not one of indifference or of open hostility. Nowhere, except among the Ostrogoths, is there a trace of the continuation of the tyranny of the Roman bureacrats.[6] Whatever our interpretation of the attitude of the Germans to city life, the plain fact is that they came into the empire at a time when urban economy was giving way to an agrarian régime. Not accustomed to the former, they made the latter the financial basis of their polity. The fisc of the Roman emperors became the

[1] L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgange der Völkerwanderung*, (Berlin, 1904), I, 299 f; cf. Loening, *op. cit.*, I, 500 ff.

[2] Loening, *op. cit.*, II, 316; cf. Dalton, *op. cit.*, II, 179, 299 ff.

[3] W. Sickel, 'Die Privatherrschaften im Fränkischen Reiche,' *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XV (1896), 111 f.

[4] Loening, *op. cit.*, II, 721, 750; Dalton, *op. cit.*, I, 195 ff.

[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, XVI, 2, 12; Tacitus, *Germania*, 16, *Historiae*, IV, 64.

[6] Hegel, *op. cit.*, I, 99 f; Dopsch, *op. cit.*, I, 149 ff.

economic foundation of the German kingships.[1] Though many kings owned land within the cities,[2] it did not play an appreciable rôle in their system of government.

Notwithstanding this situation, the towns of the sixth and following centuries served the kings in two important ways. The royal mints[3] were located in the towns and not upon the royal estates, for the obvious reason that there was no need for them in the rural districts. The towns still held markets[4] which required coined money for business. It should also be remembered in this connection that the money coiners lived in the cities. The list of towns which had royal mints at one tome or another would include many of the leading towns of Central and Western Europe. The Merovingians preferred among the Rhenish towns Cologne, Andernach and Bonn; the Carolingians, Cologne, Bonn, Mainz and Strassburg.[5]

Besides the royal mints, the kings deposited their treasures in walled towns.[6] Gregory of Tours incidentally relates that some of the Merovingian kings kept their treasures in the fortified towns. If they were not in such a town before the outbreak of a civil war, the kings hastened to transport them thither. An interesting incident is related about Chilperich (584) who, contemplating a raid upon his brother, took all his treasures to Cambrai. He ordered the dukes and counts of the city to repair the walls and to bring 'all things within the walled town.'[7] The death of the king was usually the signal for an attack upon his *civitas* by all his enemies in order to

[1] Dalton, *op. cit.*, I, 218ff; P. Viollet, *Histoire des Institutions Politiques et Administratives de la France*, (Paris, 1890), I, 318 ff.

[2] C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VIII, 48–50, 156–162; K. Gareis, *Die Landgüter-Ordnung Karls des Grossen*, (Berlin, 1895); K. Theo. von Inama-Sternegg, 'Die Ausbildung der Grossen Grundherrschaften in Deutschland während der Karolinger Zeit,' in Schmoller: *Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, (Leipzig, 1878), I.

[3] Blanchet et Dieudonne, *Manuel de numismatique française*, (Paris, 1912), I, 186, 189, 198, 206, etc.

[4] S. Rietschel, *Markt und Stadt in ihren rechtlichen Verhältniss*, (Leipzig, 1897), p. 9 f; Jullian, *op. cit.*, V, 318 ff, VIII, 210–14; G. Lambert, *Essai sur le régime municipal et l'affranchissement des communes en Provençale au Moyen âge*, (1882), p. 73 f.

[5] M. Prou, *Les monnaies carolingiennes*, (Paris, 1896).

[6] Gregorius Turonensis, *Historiae Francorum libri* X, *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.*, I, Lib. II, 40, 102, 103, Lib. V, 1, Lib. VI, 45, Lib. VII, 4, 40; cf. *ibid.*, II, 308.

[7] Gregorius Turon., VI, 41.

seize his personal effects. Paris was several times raided for this reason.[1] Cologne was the treasure depot of the Ripuarian Franks. Sigebert II collected his personal wealth there because it was a fortified town.[2] At the beginning of the eighth century Plectrude, the widow of Pepin of Heristal, kept her treasures there.[3]

The German kings also ordered the restoration of walls or gave permission for it. The most interesting case of royal permission to rebuild walls is the order of Theodoric the Goth to 'Honoratis Possessoribus Defensoribus et curialibus Catenensis [Catanè] *Civitatis*,' issued in 507–511.[4] The king consented that stones should be taken from the local amphitheatre, which was no longer used by the community, and was collapsing for need of repair. Other references indicate that the practices of the late Roman Empire to wreck old stone structures for the repair of town walls continued.[5]

Paul the Deacon states that the north Italian cities were well fortified when the Lombards entered Italy in 568.[6] Many of them surrendered without offering much resistance, but Pavia held out for three years against them. After Alboin's assassination (573) the cities were plundered and ravaged at will by the Lombard nobility.[7] King Agilulf, provoked to fury by the Exarch of Ravenna, attacked all the cities which recognized the Byzantine sovereign. Both Cremona and Padua were levelled with the ground in the year 604.[8] Whether or not the Lombard king rebuilt the walls of these cities is nowhere stated.

That many of the cities of Gaul were still walled during the Merovingian period is amply attested by Gregory of Tours.[9] These cities

[1] *Ibid.*, VI, 22; IX, 19; VI, 45.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 20, 23.

[3] *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.*, II, 174; Th. Breysig, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches*, 714–741, (Leipzig, 1869), p. 23 and notes.

[4] *M. G. A. A.*, XII, 104, *Variarum*, III, 49 (507–11).

[5] Jullian, *op. cit.*, VII, 171; VIII, 220, n. 9, and 231, n. 5.

[6] *M. G. SS. rer. Langob.*, I, II, 14 (81), 27 (87); IV, 3 (117), 28 (125); cf. Dudden, *op. cit.*, I, 181–2; Hegel, *op. cit.*, I, 151; C. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne* (568–751), (Paris, 1888), p. 93 f.

[7] Dudden, *op. cit.*, II, 39 f; cf. Diehl, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[8] *M. G. S. S. rer. Langob.*, I, IV, 28 (125–6).

[9] Greg. Turon., II, 23 (Dijon), 37 (cities of Southern Gaul); III, 12 (Autun); 30 (Arles); IV, 50 (Tournai); VI, 4 (Laon), 21 (Tours), 41 (Cambrai); VII, 5 (Paris); cf. also VII, 46 ff; VIII, 30.

resisted sieges admirably, and incidentally, the *cives* knew how to keep the besiegers from the walls by fire, hot grease, tar, and other ingenious devices.[1] Chilperic was the only Merovingian king, it is said, who repaired town walls. The walls of Cambrai were repaired by him, as related above. The walls of Chalons-sur-Marne were restored and even expanded by him in order to incorporate a new area within the town.[2] A persistent but unconfirmed tradition glorified Dagobert I as a restorer of towns and their walls.

Among the Carolingians, Charles the Great and Louis the Pious seem to have been the only ones to have restored or built town walls. Pont-le-Ce and Barcelona[3] are said to have been rebuilt by Charles the Great, and the first wall of Frankfurt-am-Main[4] probably owed its origin to him. The foundations of the wall of Frankfurt, excavated about 1905, were very poorly constructed. The irregularity of the stones, the quality of the mortar and the construction itself are silent witnesses to the fact that the Roman science of building stone fortifications was lost in the East Rhineland and probably in all of Central Europe. Louis the Pious, while king of Aquitaine, fortified Vich, Cardona and Cassers and repopulated them (798).[5]

From all that has been said, it must be concluded that the Roman *civitas* occupied a secondary place in the royal economy of the German kings. Plainly, the city was not a necessary part of the machinery of the early German government. The drift of the age was toward agrarian organization and institutions.

Very little information has come down to us about the part played by the nobility in the restoration of the towns. For Italy there is every evidence that the Lombard nobility was committed to a policy of destruction whenever not restrained by royal authority. The Frankish nobles only appear as leaders in some of the wars between

[1] *Ibid.*, VII, 27 (585).

[2] *M. G. SS.*, I, 432, (a. 838); Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 249; G. L. von Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, I (1869), 13.

[3] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[4] *Bonner, Jhb.*, Heft 113, (1905), 267; cf. von Maurer, *op. cit.*, I, 13 f.

[5] *M. G. SS.*, II, 611, c. 8.

the cities in Gaul; one, we are told, clandestinely set a town on fire in order to force its surrender.[1]

Duke Adelbert of Alsatia seems to have been the only noble who rebuilt a city.[2] Strassburg was his capital, and he may have restored it because it was the chief city of his duchy. At the beginning of the eighth century, so we are told, the city was still largely uninhabited and in ruins.[3] In a public document of June, 722,[4] there occurs toward the end the only reference we possess of his work which reads: 'ex novo opere construxi.' Koenigshofen, the medieval historian of Strassburg, states that the city was greatly enlarged by Duke Adelbert and the whole circumvallated.[5] However, this grandiose description by the chronicler is not in keeping with the facts of the age. It is true, that a monastery was built in the 'suburb' of the city, but the mention of the suburb does not imply a great expansion. Ernoldus Nigellus[6] in the ninth century eulogized the prosperity of Strassburg, the 'urbs populosa.'

Finally, we turn to a survey of the part played by the townspeople themselves in the maintenance of their walls. However much Roman despotism sapped municipal vitality, it did not utterly waste it. The petition of the citizens of Catanè to their Gothic king, already mentioned, is unique. So far as we know, there is not another such petition on record for the period. The Italian *cives* played a decisive part in the defense of their cities against the Lombards.[7] However, we do not get as full a picture of the activity of the citizens of Italy as of Gaul. Gregory of Tours[8] gives a vivid account of the town populations of Central Gaul of his day. Tours, Poitiers, Bayeux, Le Mans, Angers, Bourges, Nantes, Saintes, Orleans, Blois attacked each other with a brutality and fury hardy surpassed

[1] Greg. Turon., VII, 47.

[2] *Alsatia Diplomatica*, (1772), I, 81, (101), May 15, 845.

[3] K. Hegel, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte: Strassburg*, I, 11 ff.

[4] W. Wiegand, *Urkunden und Akten der Stadt Strassburg*, (Strassburg, 1897), I, 3, nr. 3, (June, 722); cf. F. v. Apell, *Argentoratum*, (Berlin, 1884), p. 9.

[5] Hegel, *op. cit.*, II, 718.

[6] *M. G. Poet. Lat.*, II, 84, (141).

[7] Hegel, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung Italiens*, I, 349 f.

[8] Greg. Turon., V, 27; VI, 31; VII, 2, 16, 24, 27; VIII, 30 and many other references; cf. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

by the Merovingians themselves. Whenever the *urbs* could not be taken, the country about it was laid waste; trees and vineyards were cut down; crops were tramped into the soil; churches were burned; cattle, sheep and horses were driven away. In the years following 578, a veritable mania for the destruction of towns seized the *cives* of this area. And when they were not destroying each other, they were associated with the kings in their feuds. The clergy, it appears, often allied themselves with the townspeople.[1]

During the centuries following the invasion, the institutions of the Roman municipalities did not disappear suddenly. Dill[2] finds that the municipal governments of Gaul, at least, became more democratic than they had been under Rome. For Gaul but not for Italy, the burden of taxes was lifted. The *curiales*, the *defensor* and *curator civitatis* constituted the government of the cities.[3] The practise of committing to writing the authentic laws, sales of lands and other public acts in the *gesta municipalia*[4] continued into the eighth century. Above these municipal officials stood the *comes militum* or *civitatum*, the military and civil head of the *civitas* or *pagus*, an office which is mentioned for the first time in the sources of the latter part of the fifth century.[5]

The survival of municipal institutions in Italy and Southern Gaul needs to be studied anew.[6] In the rest of Central Europe urban government vanished rapidly. However, one fact stands out: the free population of the *civitas* did not disappear. The existence of the free man can be traced in the land sales and leases of the ninth century. Free workmen are mentioned in Charles the Bald's Edict of Pîtres (862).[7]

[1] Greg. Turon., VI, 31; VII, 16.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

[3] *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit*, XIII, (1889), 337 f, 525 f, cf. n. 47.

[4] B. Hirschfeld, *Die Gesta Municipalia in römischer und frühgermanischer Zeit*, (Marburg, 1904), p. 79 f.

[5] P. Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, (Paris, 1890), I, 296; R. Sohm, *Die Fränkische Reichs- und Gerichtsverfassung*, (Leipzig, 1911), p. 146 f.

[6] Cf. Hegel, *op. cit.*, II, 172 f; F. Kiener, *Verfassungsgeschichte der Provence seit der Ostgotenherrschaft bis zur Errichtung der Konsulate, 510–1200*, (Leipzig, 1900), p. 16 f.

[7] *M. G. LL.* Sectio II, (II), 319, c. 20; A. Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit in Deutschland*, II, 167.

This brief survey has shown that bishops, kings, nobles, landowners, defensors, curiales and the common man each had a part in the restoration or maintenance of the town walls in the period following the barbarian invasion. The town walls were not restored or maintained by a single hand or by a single comprehensive program. Only the free landowners, the traders, and the ecclesiastical institutions appreciated the value of the walled towns. But free landowners and traders were for the time insignificant. The bishop was now in a position to claim the city as his *civitas.*

We turn to the consideration of the status of persons and property within the town wall. The city, as an economic and social factor in society,suffered as severely as other Roman political institutions; but it was at no time absolutely reduced to the level of the rural districts.

As one reads through the sources of the period of the sixth to ninth centuries, a question rises as to what the town wall actually looked like. Occasional references to towns and gates add nothing to our conception of its physical appearance. Gregory of Tours is, so far as we know, the only historian of this period who pauses in his account to describe a town wall, the wall of Dijon. He does it, we surmise, for two reasons. In the first place his great-great-grandfather, for whom he had great admiration, loved to retire to this small town for rest from his episcopal duties; and in the second place, Gregory admired the town wall of Dijon as well as the fertile country about it.[1]

The wall, thirty feet high and fifteen feet thick, was built of stone for the lower twenty feet and of brick for the upper ten feet. There were four gates facing the four points of the compass and thirty-three well-built towers. A small stream flowed through and about the city wall. In front of the north gate stood mills which were driven at great speed by the swift current of the stream. Tradition held that the wall was built by the Emperor Aurelian. Gregory marvels that a *castrum* so well fortified should not be called *civitas:* 'Quae cur civitas dicta non sit, ignoro.' It was not a *civitas* because it was not a diocesan capital.

[1] *M. G. SS. rer. Merov.* I, Lib. III, 19, 129–30.

Internally, the towns of this period—sixth to ninth centuries—presented a more complex appearance than one would expect. Most conspicious and certainly most important were the buildings of the bishop's ecclesiastical and manorial regime. There were no monasteries within Rhenish towns of the ninth century. Monasteries were for the most part located either in the so-called *suburbium* or in remote rural districts.[1]

We are much better informed about the condition of property within the city. The sources for Mainz of the eighth and ninth centuries are surprisingly complete. Similar conditions obtained in the other Rhenish towns[2] and in Gaul.[3] From an examination of the *traditionsurkunden* of the monasteries of Fulda and Lorsch,[4] it is apparent that Mainz was largely a complex of small farm establishments, vineyards, orchards and small plots separated by lanes and a few thoroughfares which might be called streets. The town lots (*areae*) were owned by the church, the king, and free men. It is a most astonishing fact that, in all the documents preserved by the monasteries of Fulda and Lorsch, not a single small landowner reduced himself to serfdom by the gift of his land to the church. Stimmung[5] observes that 'die Behauptung der Wirtschaftshistoriker, dass im achten und neunten Jahrhundert der kleine Grundbesitzer durch zahlreiche Schenkungen an die Kirche dezimirt sei, trifft für Mainz nicht zu.' The land gifts and sales by the laity were made by the larger landowners who could give property to the church without loss of status. Judging from the number of times the kings donated

[1] S. Rietschel, *Die Civitas auf Deutschem Boden*, pp. 65–66.

[2] H. Boos, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, (Berlin, 1886), I, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 21; A. Lamey, *Codex princeps olim abbatiae Laureshamensis diplomaticus*, (Mannhem, 1768), II, no. 1991; Wiegand, *Urkundenbuch Strassburg*, I, no. 14, 18, 20, 21; C. Zeuss, *Traditiones possessionesque Wizenburgenses*, (Spirae, 1842), no. 60; Dronke, *Codex*, 61, 89; H. Keussen, *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*, (Bonn, 1910), I, 8; For Trier see H. Graeven, *Die Denkmahlspflege*, (1904), p. 126–7.

[3] E. Lesne, *Histoire de la Propriété, Ecclesiastique en France*, (Paris, 1910), I, chs. VI, XIX, XXXVII.

[4] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, (1912), 133 f; M. Stimmung, *Mainz im Karolinger Zeitalter;* F. Huelsen, 'Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolinger Zeit, Ein Beitrag zur Topographie Deutschlands im Mittelalter,' *Historische Studien veröff. von E. Ebering*, Heft 104 (Berlin, 1913), Consult esp. p. 65 f.

[5] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, 148.

land and persons to the church, they owned large plots of ground within Mainz.[1] It is surprising that a large number of the *areae* dealt with in these documents did not have buildings of any description upon them. Large tracts of ground within Mainz must have been without buildings of any kind.[2]

The monasteries of Hersfeld, Fulda and Lorsch were the chief recipients and purchasers of lands in Mainz. Lorsch[3] possessed in Mainz the church of St. Lambert and 'omnes igitur areae sunt XLV, solventes 17 uncias, hubae VII et dimidia, solventes 10 solidos et 5 denarios, Jurnales XXXI et dimidius, et curtis dominicalis cum veneis.' In Worms (probably including the *gau*) it held title 'ad dominicos usus de terra arabili jurnales 171, de partis ad carradas 150.' Fulda, in its first hundred years, acquired ownership in Mainz of 37 *areaes*, 21 vineyards, and 132 *jurnales*.[4] Stimmung[5] is of the opinion that at the close of the ninth century approximately two-thirds of the land within the wall of Mainz was owned by ecclesiastical corporations.

Characteristic of the age is the increasing currency of terms which differentiate between rural land units (*mansi*) and town lots (*area, arealis, arealae*).[6] In the *traditiones* of Fulda the distinction is usually observed. Upon the *area* were built small houses with the necessary buildings (*casa et aedificia*) or the more pretentious buildings, (*salae*). The small estate was *terra aratura*, or '*domo curte locum, id est hovastat.*'[7] The fact that some *areae* are mentioned without enumeration of buildings, shows that not every *area* was a *hovastat.*

[1] Rietschel, *Die Civitas*, p. 80–2. There were no Carolingian *Pfalzen* in Mainz, Strassburg or Speyer. Royal gifts to Fulda: Dronke, *Codex*, 31, no. 48, *a.* 779. *In Mogontia civitate mansos XX et V mancipia LXVI et XVI lidos et vineas ad ipsa beneficia pertinentes.* cf. *Ibid.* nos. 59, 145, 403.

[2] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, 149; also cf. Boos, *Rheinische Kultur*, I, 206.

[3] M. G. SS., XXI, 343; cf. *Codex Laur.*, II, nos. 1342, 1347, 1412, 1418, 1965, 1996, III, 3106, 3452, 3714. For Worms, *Codex Laur.* III, no. 3674.

[4] Dronke, *Codex*, no. w, 6, 8, 18, 19, 20, 23, etc.

[5] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, 152.

[6] See the above cited codices for any number of test cases. cf. for Tours, *M. G. F. F.*, I, 158.

[7] For a discussion of these terms see *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, 144 f, and esp. E. F. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz oder Wörterbuch der Althochdeutschen Sprache*, (Berlin, 1834–43), IV, 528.

The town lots (*arealae*) were designated in the documents by the names of the owners,[1] rarely by the names of the streets or precincts of the town. The large *mansi* for agriculture lay outside the wall, while the smaller *areae* within the wall were *hovastaten*[2] with gardens, orchards and vineyards.

Besides the agriculturist (free and servile)[3] and the clergy, Jews and Frisians lived in the Rhenish towns. In the *Regesten* collected by Aronius[4] there is proof of Jews living in Cologne, Mainz and probably Worms. Cologne had a special Jewish quarter as early as the first decades of the fourth century.[5] By the ninth century it is quite probable that the Jews owned vineyards, gardens and mills in and about the towns where they lived.[6]

The Frisians,[7] the enterprising traders of the ninth century, had special quarters in Cologne, Worms and Mainz. They are known to have lived in Worms since the sixth century. At Mainz their quarter was near the river bank, west of the old market. The Frisian quarter in Cologne was inside the east wall near the river. Naturally, the traders lived near market and wharf. Incidentally it should be said that the markets of this period were either within or without the walls.[8]

It is difficult to gain a definite picture of the topography of the ninth century town. We have mentioned the bishop's church and manorial establishment, the quarters of the Jews and Frisians, the

[1] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[2] Dronke, *Codex*, nos., 86, 133, 137.

[3] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 85 f. The number of serfs in Mainz must have been considerable. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 86, nos., 2, 3.

[4] J. Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reich bis zum Jahr 1273*, (Berlin, 1902), cf. nos., 2, 6, 9, 18, 19, 29, 30, 33, 48; Br. Hahn, *Die Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reich*, (Freiburg, 1911), p. 12–23; R. Carlebach, *Die rechtlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der Judengemeinden in Speyer, Worms und Mainz*, (1900), p. 4 f; Keussen, *Topographie Kölns*, I, 31, claims that Jews formed a ghetto in Cologne during the ninth century.

[5] Aronius, *op. cit.*, I, no. 2.

[6] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 110 f.

[7] Cf. Keussen, *Topographie*, I, 46; J. W. Thompson, 'The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century,' *Journal of Political Economy*, 23, (1915), 857 f; H. Pirenne, 'Draps de Fris ou draps de Flandre?' *Vierteljahrschrift für Social und Wirtschaftschichte*, VII, 308–15; Dopsch, *op. cit.*, II, 180 f.

[8] S. Rietschel, *Markt und Stadt in ihren rechltichen Verhältniss*, (Leipzig 1897), p. 68.

areae, casa, hovastat and the markets. Mainz had a *locus* and a 'Cestrina,'[1] along the extreme wall. The survival of a Roman place-name in Cologne, a bear den, the *Berlich*,[2] has provoked an interesting discussion. Trier had a *Calidus furnus* and Metz an *ad Termas*.[3] The houses were usually named after the owners. An interesting exception occurs in Regensburg where a town establishment is called '*curtis quae dicitur Odolmaneshovestiti*.'[4] The streets are sometimes named. Mainz had a *via publica, via communis, strata publica, via aegis, alta strata;* but these names may have been inserted into the early sources when the *Codex* was edited about the year 1200.[5] There was a *vicus mercatorum* at Aachen.[6] Gates and towers probably had names, but few of them are mentioned in the sources.[7]

The towns of the ninth century, i.e., before the Norse raids, present an anomalous status. The municipal government of Roman days had gradually disappeared. Several agencies, the bishop being the most important, exercised a quasi-public authority over some portion of the townspeople, but none unified the whole town population within the walls under its jurisdiction. Administratively, the town had become a political nonentity. Merchants and traders, who lived in separate quarters, had very little in common with the town population either economically or politically. And as for the markets they were established on estates and monasteries as much as in or near the towns.[8] Industry was rapidly passing or had passed over to manors. The conclusion must be that the town existed only in the physical sense.

The economic and social revolution within and without the Ro-

[1] Dronke, *Codex*, I, no. 154, 180.

[2] Keussen, *op. cit.*, I, 9, interpreted *Berlich* to mean *Ebertrift*, a swine pasture, hence an Almend; but H. Cramer, *Annalen d. Hist. Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 91, (1911), p. 4, suggests that it signified *Baro-leich, Barenspiel*, a bear-den near the old Roman amphitheatre.

[3] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[5] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, 142 and n. 47.

[6] Imbart de la Tour, 'Des immunités commerciales accordées aux églises du VIII au IX siècle,' *Études d'histoire du Moyen âge, dediées à Gabriel Monod*, (Paris, 1896), p. 71.

[7] Mains had six gates: *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 31, p. 138. Cf. *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, II, (1907), 37.

[8] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

man cities also brought about a radical change in terminology. Two separate, though closely related, problems must be discussed in order to clarify our understanding of the technical vocabulary for the towns of the ninth century. One naturally wonders what new meanings were attached to the old Roman terms in these centuries of change in the social fabric of Europe. The terms were retained, but not with the same associations and connotations. The second problem has to be with the translation of the technical Latin terms into the language of the conquerors.

Our first problem is to trace the meaning of a series of Latin terms which designated either populous centers or fortified places.[1] The word *civitas* is the most important of the group, but the others (*castrum*, *castellum*, *oppidum*, *urbs*, *municipium*) must be discussed in order that the meaning of *civitas* may be fully understood. As is readily observable, these words represent three categories of facts. The first group—*castrum*, *castellum*, *oppidum* and, in a measure *urbs*—referred to fortified areas. The second group (*urbs* and *municipium*) described urban life and institutions. These two words underwent, perforce, the most radical transformation in their signification, primarily because the life which they defined ceased to be. The third, *civitas*, stood for an administrative area and, by the ninth century, had acquired a threefold meaning.

Four of these terms were applied by the writers of the late Roman Empire to fortified areas. *Castrum* was a military encampment, fortress or castle; *castellum*, a fortress, castle or a place of refuge. These two terms were never used to denominate urban centers, and their significance is purely military. The word *oppidum* meant a walled community regardless of its size or of its political status. *Urbs* was occasionally employed to designate a walled town, but its original significance was more civic than military. The term designated a city as such, i.e., a populous center. Incidentally it should be added that a street or quarter or a row of houses in an *urbs* was called *vicus*. Sometimes *vicus* was also applied to a village.

[1] For this discussion the best compact and concise study was done by Rietschel, *Civitas*, p. 19 f; cf. Viollet, *op. cit.*, I, p. 146 f. Cf. also Chenon: *Nouvelle Revue*, (1889), pp. 321 ff., 515 ff.

The two words *municipium* and *civitas* were not employed in any military sense whatever. *Municipium* was the technical word for a free city, governed by its own laws and officials. This word was the most restricted in its meaning of this group of terms, and referred primarily to the political status of a city. The other word, *civitas*, had a varied career. Originally it defined the civil rights of individuals in the Roman state, i.e., their citizenship. However, in the late third century, it came to apply primarily to an urban and rural territory, *territorium*. Generally *civitas* stood for the administrative district of which the *urbs* was the capital; but it also signified the city in the restricted sense.

Three forces were responsible for the evolution in terminology. Since no central government in Europe developed strength enough to impose general authority, the necessity for fortified areas persisted throughout this period from the third to the ninth century. Moreover, the growth and expansion of the ecclesiastical organization of the church, one of the most important facts in the institutional history of this period, fundamentally altered the meaning of many words. Finally, the German kings, untutored in the exact definition of Latin phraseology and confronted by a new social situation, gave new content to Latin terms.

The Christian Church accommodated itself to the territorial organization of the Roman Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries.[1] At the Council of Chalcedon (451) it was finally decreed that the territorial area of the ecclesiastical diocese should be conterminous with the political *civitas*.[2] Every Roman *civitas* should have a bishop. With few exceptions, this rule was literally followed in the ecclesiastical organization of Gaul. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*ca.* A. D. 400) Gaul was divided into 17 provinces and 115 *civitates*, i.e., municipal districts.[3] This territorial division was perpetuated by the Christian Church of Gaul in its diocesan organization, because almost every *civitas* became an ecclesiastical diocese.

[1] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and n. 21.

[2] *M. G. A. A.*, IX, 552 ff.

[3] *Notitia Dignitatum*, (ed. by Seeck), p. 262 ff.

Wherever this transformation did not take place, the territorial *civitas* disappeared from the political map of Europe.

As a result of the invasions and of the collapse of the Roman political structure, the diocese supplanted the Roman municipal district, the *civitas*. When the Germans began the reorganization of the conquered country, they found the ecclesiastical divisions, the dioceses, already well established. By identifying territorially their administrative area, the *pagus*, with the diocese, they created the secular and political counterpart to the ecclesiastical diocese. Henceforth the same area had a double signification and purpose. On the one hand it was a *pagus* presided over by a count, *comes civitatum;* and on the other, it was a diocese presided over by a bishop. The ecclesiastical and civil areas of jurisdiction were identical.

All the sources of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries—official documents, conciliar canons, histories and lives of saints—reflect this momentous transition in European political and social institutions. Gregory of Tours is the most authentic witness of this change in terminology.[1] A fortified town which was an episcopal capital was designated by him either as *civitas*, *urbs*, *oppidum*, or sometimes *municipium*. Some of these towns were denominated royal towns,[2] but the usage did not persist. Both *civitas* and *urbs* signified either the diocese or the episcopal city. In Bishop Gregory's history these terms are synonymous, and if there is any preference shown, it is for *urbs*. As indicated above, *civitas* is also synonymous with *comitatus* or *pagus*. In contrast with the fortified episcopal *civitas*, the terms *castrum*, *castellum*, *oppidum*, and sometimes *municipium*, specify a fortified town which was not an episcopal capital. Gregory of Tours applies the term *oppidum* to eleven *civitates* of Gaul, all of which were of greater importance than the *castra*. *Castrum* or *castellum* described a fortified place of relative importance. It also designated a castle or fort and sometimes even a fortified villa.

The term which suffered most from the social change was *municipium*, and naturally, because its meaning represented the most

[1] Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–162; Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p 27 ff.

[2] Greg. Turon., VII, 16.

significant element of Roman urban civilization.[1] The term was used indifferently for *castrum*, or *oppidum*. By the tenth century it applied to a *château* having a special count. The significant fact is that it ceased to have any connection with episcopal organization or urban life. By the twelfth century it was synonymous with *castrum* or *oppidum* and designated a fortified place.[2]

The development of the terms *civitas* and *urbs* on German soil was somewhat different from that in Gaul. The thirteen episcopal sees in this territory (Chur, Constance, Basel, Strassburg, Worms, Speyer, Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Metz, Tongres, Augsburg and Regensburg) were Roman foundations and, by the seventh century, episcopal sees (except Regensburg).[3] They were old Roman *civitates*, which had been circumvallated in the late third and fourth centuries. To these was given the designation *civitas*, which was fully accepted by the ninth century.[4] The rule obtained that only an episcopal capital was called *civitas*. No *castrum* or *burg*[5] was ever called *civitas* or *urbs*, although a *civitas* was sometimes called *castrum* or *burg*. This narrow meaning remained the exclusive one in the areas of the thirteen bishoprics. The term was never associated with the political territory, the *gau*, nor was it applied to the bishop's diocese. In the Rhineland *civitas* and *urbs* invariably denoted the walled town, the episcopal capital, or the town and its immediate environs. The diocese was called either *parrochia* or *diocesia*.[6] *Civitas* was exclusively applied to the old Roman foundations the episcopal capitals, until the twelfth century. The term *civitas*, which originally designated a city and its territory, lost its original meaning altogether. In Gaul it stood for the diocesan capital and for the diocese as well; in Germany it signified the diocesan capital only. The specifically urban connection had completely disappeared. The *civitas* was not only circumvallated but also composed the residential town of the bishop.

[1] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–27.

[2] Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France depuis César jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1885–1907), pp. 13 ff.

[3] *M. G. Concilia*, I, 190–2, 200–1; Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Hauck, *op. cit.*, I, *passim*.

[4] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–58.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

The phrase 'situm in suburbio'[1] so frequently employed in the documents of this period to locate monasteries and property signified only that such property was located in the vicinity of the town. Sometimes the term was used with respect to property located even at a distance from the town, and excavations have frequently solved the problem of the location of such properties. The term *suburbium* must, therefore, be taken in a loose sense, and any attempt to restrict its meaning must be based upon archaeological evidence. A *suburbium* may have been immediately outside the walls of the town, in its vicinity, or in the *mark*, *gau* or *pagus*.[2]

The flexibility of these terms indicates how much the agricultural régime blurred the exact meaning of words formerly descriptive of Roman urban conditions. These definitions, however, must not confuse our ideas about the conditions which obtained in and near the *civitas*. *Civitas* is not a proof of the presence of a population with distinctively urban interests and organization, and *suburbium* is not necessarily evidence of the concentration and growth of population in the towns of this period. Several German scholars[3] have endeavored to prove the early rise of German town life and organization from the terms later employed to designate things specifically urban. By this philological jugglery it would be easily possible to construct a glowing account of the urban culture of the Carolingian Renaissance. Certainly words change their meanings to confirm to transformations in the social conceptions of successive ages. It may be confidently asserted that the towns did not possess an urban character until the eleventh century, and even then the urban aspects were not outstanding in many towns. The transition from an agrarian to an urban town was very slow.

[1] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 62; L. H. Labande, *Histoire de Beauvais et de ses Institutions*, (Paris, 1892), pp. 31–34, and L. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, (Paris, 1921), p. 51.

[2] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, 61–2.

[3] *Ibid.*, 91 f; P. Kletler, 'Nordwesteuropas Verkehr, Handel und Gewerbe im frühen Mittelalter,' *Deutsche Kultur*, Hist. Reihe, (Wien, 1924); See Review in *American Historical Review*, XXXI, 107 ff. by J. W. Thompson; O. Hellwig, *Deutsche Städtewesen zur Zeit der Ottonen*, (Breslau, 1875); P. Damas, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Städte zur Zeit der fränkischen Kaiser*, (Breslau, 1879). Refutation by Hegel, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, (1893); W. Gerlach, *Entstehungszeit der Stadtbefestigungen in Deutschland*, (Leipzig, 1913).

Equally interesting is the translation of the term *civitas* by the Germans.[1] It is a proved fact that the Celts were builders and inhabitants of towns, but the early Germans never built cities nor lived in them.[2] They had fortified places—the *castrum* and *oppidum* of Tacitus—to which they could retreat when their villages were attacked. The Celts were a city-building and city-dwelling people, but never the early Germans. Since they knew not cities and urban life, they had no comprehension of what a Roman *civitas* signified. It was manifestly impossible for them to translate Roman urban terms into Teutonic urban terms, because there were no German words corresponding to *civitas*, *municipium* and *urbs*.

In the period of the second to the ninth century, the Germans made translations or transliterations of Greek and Latin words. Whether it be Ulfilas[3] of the fourth century or the Bavarian Otfrid[4] and the Saxon author of the Heliand[5] of the ninth century matters little, πόλις, *civitas*, *urbs*, *municipium* are invariably rendered *baurg*, *burc*, *burch*, *purch*, *purg*, *purc*, *birig*.[6] It is interesting to note in passing that *burg* was the earliest German word to penetrate into the Latin language. In a Latin inscription of the Danubian region, *ca.* 185 A.D., the word *burgus* appears for the first time: 'omnem burgis a solo extructis . . . munivit.'[7] In the minds of the ninth century Germans a *civitas* was a *burg* and the *burg* was built for protection and not for habitation. It should also be added that *suburbana* was written *interpurgi* or *vuriburgi*.

A few other terms of special importance occur in the sources of

[1] Hegel, Lateinische Wörter und Deutsche Begriffe, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 212 f; G. Waitz, *Jahrbücher König Heinrichs*, p. 234 ff.

[2] Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 16, *Historiae*, IV, 64.

[3] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 96; S. Feist, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, (Halle, 1923 2 Aufl.), p. 62.

[4] Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 212; J. Kelle, *Evangeliumbuch Otfrid von Weissenburg*, (Regensburg, 1856), II, pp. 14, 15; 17, 13, III, 6, 12; 8, 14; 23, 10, IV, 6, 22; 4, 60.

[5] Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 96; E. Sievers, *Heliand*, (Halle, 1878); see Glossary under *burg*.

[6] Steinmeyer und Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, III Bd., see *burg*. F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, (Berlin, 1924, 2 Aufl.), see *burg*.

[7] *C. I. L.*, III, no. 3385; again in 371 A.D., no. 3653. Cf. Vegetius, *De Re Militari Libri Quatuor*, (1592), p. 353, (IV, 10); Isidori Orig., *Opera Omnia*, T. III, (1798), 9, 2: 99; 9 4: 28.

the ninth century. In many of the *traditionsurkunden* the legal phrase 'actum civitate publice' occurs.[1] Pavia and Regensburg are the only towns that are denominated *civitas regia*, which Rietschel translates *Landeshauptstadt*, i.e., territorial capital.[2] Worms and Poitiers are the only towns called *civitas publica*, *Pfalzorte*.[3] Consequently the phrase 'actum civitate publice' does not imply a royal town or a royal estate; it merely signifies that the recorded transaction was consummated before the authority of the district, the *freie Gerichtsgemeinde*. It is only another proof that the town was socially and politically a part of the surrounding territory.

The ninth century *civitas* was a complete record of the social revolution which had changed Europe from a highly articulated urban civilization to an agrarian régime. Every vestige of its urban life was effaced; even most of the streets were covered with débris or were torn up. The walls still stood as silent witnesses of a former grandeur and sentinels of an entombed civilization. They were, however, to be of material aid to the burghers in defending their claims against the hostile feudal and ecclesiastical forces during the high Middle Ages.

[1] Rietschel, *op. cit.*, p. 77 f.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

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NOTES

UNE HYMNE BILINGUE À SAINT NICOLAS

C'est à l'obligeance du R. P. Bayssac que je dois de connaître, par l'intermédiaire de mon ami Antoine Thomas, cette pièce, égarée dans un manuscrit auquel les romanistes n'ont aucune raison de s'intéresser, et qui, au reste, n'est même pas signalée au Catalogue.[1] Ce manuscrit, qui provient de la collection de Mazarin, et porte depuis le XVIIIe siècle la cote *3461A*, est un petit in 8°, comptant 18 feuillets de parchemin, où ont été transcrits, vers la fin du XIIIe siècle,[2] de courts traités sur la liturgie, notamment sur les ornements ecclésiastiques, la célébration des heures et de la messe, etc. L'hymne à Saint Nicolas est transcrite au recto du fol. 18 (et dernier) qui, semble-t-il, était resté blanc. L'écriture, élégante et fine, différente de celle du reste du MS., est sensiblement de la même époque, fin XIIIe ou commencement du XIVe siècle. La première strophe est surmontée de portées (sur quatre lignes) garnies de notes; rien n'indique le début des autres, sinon la majuscule du premier mot, qui est toujours le nom du saint.[3]

Quant au fond, elle n'offre rien de nouveau ni même de curieux. Les thèmes qu'elle traite, le caractère joyeux de la fête (str. i), la précoce abstinence du saint (ii), les deux miracles des jeunes filles dotées (iii) et des trois clercs ressuscités (v), l'élévation miraculeuse de Nicolas au siège de Myrrhe (iv), la protection accordée par lui aux mariniers (vi) se retrouvent dans la plupart des hymnes ou proses qui lui sont consacrées; ils figurent tous, sauf un (str. v), et à peu près dans le même ordre, dans l'un des plus anciens de ces morceaux, la prose *Congaudenter exultemus*.[4]

[1] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae*, III (Paris, 1744), 422.

[2] Les auteurs du Catologus, qui ont une tendance bien connue à rajeunir les MSS, l'attribuent avec quelque hésitation au XIVe.

[3] Le bas de la page est occupé par quelques vers latins d'une écriture plus récente, contenant des réflexions morales ou satiriques:

> Nobile vincendi genus est paciencia: vincit
> qui patitur: si vis vincere, disce pati.
> Magnum prelatum faciunt lucra magna Pilatum.

Il doit manquer ici un pentamètre.

[4] Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XIIe siècle* (Paris 1843), p. 170 (d'après un MS. du XIe siecle).

Ce qui fait l'intérêt de cette pièce, c'est cette alternance régulière des vers latins et français que nous trouvons, à une époque bien antérieure, dans le *Ludus super iconia sancti Nicolai* (où les vers français forment uniquement des refrains).[1] Ici les trois vers latins et les quatre français se succèdent dans l'ordre: *aaa bcbcb*, les vers en *a* et *c* étant de sept syllabes, ceux en *b* de six.

Le texte français présente quelques traits, phonétiques ou graphiques, propres aux manuscrits exécutés dans la région picarde (*doche, venredi*, peut-être *auge*, subj. de *oir*, *z* finale pour *s*, *k* au lieu de *qu*). La seule difficulté qui nous y arrête est la construction ou l'interprétation de la strophe iii. Si on fait de *Nicholao* le régime indirect de *empueploie*, la construction est claire, mais que signifie ce verbe *empueploier?* Le contexte exige ici le sens 'confier, recommander,' mais comment le rattacher au thème de *empueploier*, qui ne peut être que *populus* ou *publicus?* Le sens le plus natural de ce verbe serait celui du latin *publicare*, 'mettre en commun,' qui est en effet attesté;[2] et ce verbe, étant donnée la nature du récit, pourrait fort bien avoir pour régime direct *ses filles*. Mais alors la phrase ne se construit plus. Le remède consiste peut-être à supposer, entre les vers 19 et 20, une lacune correspondant à deux demi-strophes, où étaient exposées les relations qui s'établissaient entre le saint et le père indigne.

Voici le texte de cette pièce intéressante:

I

Nicholaus hodie
Fit causa leticie:
Filii ecclesie,
    Loés le roi de glorie.
Del Signor cui feste est hui
    Joiose est la memorie:
Grans vertus fist Deus por lui,
    Si com nos dist l'estorie.

II

Nicholai praesulis
Virtus a cunabulis
Claruit miraculis:
    Oés com doche enfance:
Une fois el merkedi
    De lait prist sustenance,
Et nient plus el venredi,
    Si grans fu s'astenance.

[1] Champollion, *Hilarii versus et ludi* (Paris, 1838), p. 34.

[2] Voy. Godefroy, *s. v, publier* 4; l'article *peuploier* n'a rien à faire ici.

III

Nicholao debitor,
Ne sit fame perditor,
Nec pudoris venditor,
Ses filles empueploie:
Nicholas atent la nuit,
Crient que nus ne l'oie;
Jete l'or, si s'en refuit;
Honor lor rent et joie.

IV

Nicholaum supplici
Vox clamat pontifici
Dignum clero prefici;
Mout ama Deus son estre;
Mout fu plains d'austorité,
Quant par la vois celestre
De sa Mirre la cité
Fu fais eveske et meistre.

V

'Nicholae, propera:
Tres sumus, nos libera!
Tres tibi connumera.'
Deus, tant ont foi parfite!
Mout ert lons, selunc son cors,
Près en esperite,
Quant Deus les prisons mist fors
Tos trois par sa merite.

VI

Nicholao comite,
Naute, nil metuite:
Christus est cum milite,
Tote est la mers serie.
'Vos, fait il, ki m'apelés,
Pres sui ke vos aïe,
Je sui o vos, ne cremés,
Je ne vos faurai mie.' (1)

1 Leçons rejetées: 20 empueploe.—22 l'oie] MS. lauge *ou* lauoie.—36 tant nait fois.—48 faurai] faira.

A. Jeanroy,
Paris.

ADVICE FROM A PHYSICIAN TO HIS SONS.

The following very human document in the shape of a letter from a physician of Valencia in the Spanish peninsula to his two sons, studying at Toulouse, has seemed to deserve publication. It throws light upon such homely, daily matters as food, clothing and costume, both for summer and winter, day and night. It gives illuminating details as to personal hygiene, and suggests the error of the view that, because the mediaeval universities did not build stadiums, indulge in intercollegiate athletics, or institute departments of physical education, therefore the mediaeval student took little or no exercise. It illustrates both student and family life, our fourteenth-century father being even more solicitous that his boys keep out of draughts and wear sufficiently warm clothing than a modern mother would be. It is naturally of much medical interest for its particular prescriptions of drugs and medicines as well as its counsels of hygiene and preventive medicine. By its insistence upon personal cleanliness and its advice to select lodgings removed from all foul smells of ditches or latrines, and insistence on the importance of breathing pure air, it confirms my contention made in a recent article[1] that the Middle Ages have been unjustly represented as normally unsanitary.

Rather surprising is our physician's statement that about six hours of sleep a day is enough, especially in the case of two growing boys, and also centuries before development of artificial lighting beyond the candle stage had made staying up late at night a temptation. But if the fourteenth century youth at Toulouse had no cinemas or 'great white way' to seduce him from early retiring, study at night appears to have been at least as common then as now. It is true that the sons may have been at taverns or on the streets when the father thought of them as occupied with evening studies. However, he does not object to their 'enjoying themselves with their friends.'

The letter also seems of some linguistic importance, since a number of words of an unusual sort, difficult to translate exactly, or to find in existing mediaeval Latin dictionaries, are used for herbs, drugs, contemporary articles of clothing, and other things in common use. Thus we find *libellus* employed in the sense of a small stove, oven, or heater. Moral and religious counsel are not given to the extent that many would expect from such a mediaeval letter, but a tactful word on the subject is inserted under the heading, 'Of accidents of the soul'. But perhaps the chief service of our treatise is to make us feel that we are dealing with actual persons, to take us back with vivid versimilitude into the fourteenth century, and to drive

[1] 'Sanitation, Baths, and Street-cleaning in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.' SPECULUM, III (1928), 192–203.

home the conviction that the men of that period were not very different beings from those of today. Prescriptions have changed more than physicians, and curricula have altered more than students, while the danger of coughs and colds remains about the same.

The letter occurs in a fifteenth-century membrane manuscript of the British Museum, *MS Sloane 3124*, fol. 74r–77r (old numbering, fols. 82r–85r). The manuscript once was at Montpellier, where it formed a part of the library of Franciscus Ranchinus. It contains somewhat more than three hundred and fifty leaves, and its contents are largely medical. Our letter, as it is found in this manuscript, is evidently a copy and not the original, being in the same handwriting as medical treatises of other authors which precede and follow it. Indeed, a work of Arnold of Villanova begins on the same page on which our letter leaves off. Our treatise is dated 1315, and while there is evidence that the copyist at first wrote, or started to write, 1415, the earlier date seems the more acceptable. Toulouse was threatened with war in 1415, and most of the works which compose the present manuscript are of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century authorship or translation.[1]

While our physician is said to address his two sons, his advice—at least in the copy of it which has reached us—seems to be addressed to one recipient for whom the second person singular is employed. This may be because it has come to be thought of as meant for an indefinite general reader or member of a student body. In connection with our physician's name, Peter Fagarola, as it appears to be spelled in the Sloane manuscript, it may be noted that a Bernard Figarola was *médecin de chambre* at the court of Aragon about 1387.[2] Possibly they were of the same family. The text follows; a translation will appear in *Annals of Medical History*.

MS. Sloane 3124, fol. 74r–77r

Sequitur Regimen conditum a Petro Fagarola[3] in artibus et in medicina magistro quod ab ipso fuit missum a civitate Valencie ad civitatem Tholosanam duobus filiis ipsius studentibus in ipsa civitate Tholosana degentibus anno domini millesimo CCC^mo[4] X° quinto.

De Cibis seu in Modum Cibi, etc.

Caveas nimium et frequenter comedere presertim in nocte. Vita comedere cepas crudas nisi raro quia ebetant intellectum et omnes sensus.

[1] The latest definite date of authorship appears to be September 23, 1393, for a treatise on the pestilence made by the counsel of the medical faculty of Bologna and written by Gandolphus of Padua. It occurs at fol. 51v–61.v But possibly the *Practica mag. Philipi Alanfancii Englici*, fol. 196v–220, opening, '*Cura effimere ex oppillatione . . .* ' is a later work.

[2] Luis Comenges, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire de la médecine dans le royaume d'Aragon,' *Janus*, VIII (1903), 523–529, 574–582: page 528.

[3] Fagraola, Fagraiola, and Fagaiola are other possible readings.

[4] There seems to have been an erasure here; perhaps CCCC was written first and then altered to CCC^mo.

Vita omnia lactissima sicut lac et caseum recentem nisi raro presertim. Cavendum est in eadem mensa lac comedere et pisces vel lac et vinum etc., nam lac cum piscibus vel lac cum vino generant lepram.

Porcum recentem non nimis frequentes; porcus salpressus[1] bonus est etc. Non multas nuces comedas nisi raro et post pisces. Idem dico de carnibus et fructibus, nam dure et male digestionis sunt.

Potus tuus sit bis vel ter vel quater in mensa. Extra mensam raro bibas nam melius esset in mensa semel superfluere quam extra mensam bibere. Non vinum sine aqua, et si nimis sit frigida, calefac eam in yeme. Malum est enim assuescere vinum forte sine commixtione aque.

Recordare de aqua putei Tholoze quare coqua[2] cum aqua Garone quia male aque sunt Tholoze.

Item postquam surrexeris a mensa ablue os (fol. 74^{v}) cum vino. Hoc facto cape unum cloquear istius dregete. Recipe carni preparati cum aceto et exicati coriandri similiter preparati ana modicum; assatorum seminis feniculi eufrazie florum albi albi ana ℥ ii; coriandri conditi anisi confecti liquirissee rase ana ℥ i et ℈; gariofili mastis cubebe ana ʒ iii; galange cardamomi ana ʒ ii; zinziberis albi ʒ vi; zuccari panis albi ʒ iii.[3] fiat dregeta que ponatur in massapano. Et istam teneas in camera in loco secreto [secco?], confortabit enim tibi digestionem caput visum intellectum et memoriam et deffendet a reumate.

De Sompno.

Sompnus sufficiens et naturalis est dormire per quartam partem diei naturalis aut parum plus aut minus. si aliter fiat, pervertit naturam. peccant superflua, quare cave nisi sit casus urgens et necessarius.

Cave dormire ressupinus nisi raro, enim multa incomoda parit. sed sompnus tuus sit in latere aut super ventre et primo super latere dextro deinde super sinistro.

Non dormias in yeme cum pedibus frigidis sed primo eos calefac ad ignem vel ambulatione aut aliter, et in estate non dormias sotularibus[4] calsiatis quia prolabentur fumositates que cerebro et memorie valde obsunt.

Non dormias statim ventre repleto sed post horam a cibo sumpto. nisi sit preurgens necessitas etiam post cibum sumptum ambula (fol. 75^{r}) modicum saltim per carreriam ut cibus dessendat ad fundum stomachi et ne in ore stomachi supernatet, quoniam effumat ad caput et repletur reumate et memoriam subripit et amputat.

Item cave iacere in loco reumatico ut puta in domo infima vel subtaranea (*sic*).

[1] For *salpetrus*?

[2] A sign above the *q* would indicate that other letters (probably *er*) should be inserted, but it appears superfluous.

[3] Regarding these signs of apothecaries' weights we read in our same manuscript (*Sloane 3124*, fol. 66r) at the close of the pest tractate of John Jacobi:

'Ad evidenciam ponderum est notandum quod in libri sunt quatuor quartaroria, in quartarorio quatuor ℥. In uncia sunt VIII^{vo} ʒ et in drama sunt tres ℈. In scrupulo sunt XX^{ti} grana. Item aureus solidus et exagium (?) sunt idem et est pondus ʒ i et ℈. Item sestarcium est librorum ii et ℈.'

[4] Ducange, however, in defining *sotulares* or *subtalares*, says, 'Pedulium genus, quibus maxime Monachi per noctem utebantur in aestate.'

De Aere vel Continente

Elige hospicium ab omni fetore segregatum ut puta valli aut latrinarum et similia, quoniam aerem et anelitum continue atrahimus qui, si infectus est, inficit nos plus et fortius quam cibi et potus corrupti.

Item in yeme camera tua sit clausa ab omni vento nocivo et habeas paleas in pavimento ne frigiditas ledat te.

Item si potes habere carbones vel ligna frustatim siza in libello lutato de bono luto, vel caminea et ignem in camera teneas, bonum est.

Item sis bene indutus bene calciatus et per viam habeas patiscia ut pedes habeas calidos.

Item non facias tibi pileum de salsamentis (?) ut quidam nam nocent.

Item cum videbis alios studentes portare capucium inductum et tu fac similiter et si opus est foleratum.

Item de nocte dum studes debes tenere super capucium buretum et super genas (fol. 75^{v}).

Item cum vis dormire de nocte teneas unum berretum album in capite et sub genis et alterum de colore desuper. oportet enim de nocte calidius servare caput quam de die.

Item tempore magnarum pluviarum bonum est portare per viam super capucium unum berretum vel galerum idest capellum ne caput balneatur. ymo etiam quosdam (portare?) buretum super capucium tempore cereno et magis cum frigore ut coram magnatibus buretum removentes scuzentur ne capucium deponant.

Item serva tibi caligas et pedes non sinas fieri sordidos.

Item ablue caput si assuetus es abluere saltim de xv in xv diebus cum lexivo [lixivio?] calido et in loco clauso a vento in vespere festi iuxta noctem. deinde excica capillos cum manutergio fortiter fricando. post liga, deinde buretum vel capucium apponas.

Item pectina tibi caput singulis diebus si velis mane et vespere ante cibum vel saltim post si aliter non potes.

Item cave ne ventus per fenestram vel foramen invadat te dum studes vel dormis ymmo omni hora. nam latenter invadit homines.

Item in (e)state si non vis habere pulices vel non plures, singulis diebus cameram munda cum scopa et eam cum aqua non irrigabis nam ex pulvere humido generantur, sed interdum cum (fol. 76^{r}) aceto forti irrigabis quod etiam cor et cerebrum confortat.

Si velis cotidie aliquem locum ambulare mane et vespere fac, et, si est tempus frigidum, si potes currere, ventre vacuo curre, vel saltim festinanter ambula, ut calor naturalis vivificetur. Ignis enim cito scingitur si non commoveatur vel eventetur. Ventre tamen pleno non est currendum sed suaviter ambulandum ut cibus ad fundum descendat stomachi.

Si non potes extra hospicium excitari aut quia tempus non patitur aut quia pluviosum, assende ter vel quater gradarium festinanter et in camera bacculum ponderosum grossum ut gladium habeas et modo cum una manu modo cum alia quasi sgrimando moveas donec fere fatigis, hocque plurimum valet ad calefaciendum et fumositates per poros egrediendum et alias superfluitates consumendum. Similiter saltare exercicium est, eciam cantare est exercicium pectoris, et si hoc feceris habebis menbra sana, intellectum sanum et memoriam, et vitabis reuma. Similiter ludus pile. Omnes hii inventi sunt non pro ludo sed exercicio. Labor autem nimius est vitandus in continuo usu.

De Accidentibus Anime

Accidencia anime maximam habent ut ira tristicia et amor mulierum timor nimia solli(ci)tudo, de quibus omnibus nil amplius dico nisi quod vites omnes passiones anime tibi nocivas et leteris et gaudeas cum amicis et bonis et (fol. 76^{v}) diligas honestatem et pacienciam que magis afferunt animo delicias et maxime si deum toto corde diligas.

De Tussi

Si tussis infestat te caveas ab omnibus frigidis et acetosis, a salsis et frixis. Et si sit causa tussis reuma frigida, tunc fiat saculus de milli(?) sale calamenti ana missis ter in simul, et fiat saculus cadratus qui calidus ponatur supra summitatem capitis aut supra comissuram. Et in ore teneatur unum parvum frustum liquiris rase qui masticetur inter dentes aut dregeta facta de liquiricia. Similiter confert sirupus de capillis veneris, sirupus de ysopo, sirupus borraginis, si sumatur cum aqua scabiose aqua lilii aqua sambucis aqua betonice aqua anthos ana vel fiat gargarismum tepidi in ore. Similiter confert dyera yeris Salamonis diapenidion dyagragantum frigidum conditum penidiarum grana pini et similia. Item si tucis sit cum reumate calido de quo sunt signa perfecta calor ardor in gula et salsedo magna sitis, in hoc sumatur diagragrantis frigidi aut diapenidii sine speciebus cum sirupo violato vel sirupo de papavere. et hoc sumatur lanbendo non subito transgluciendo, et hoc fiat sine quacumque comestione mane et sero. Post ea immediate recipe pannum lineum subtile et in oleo rose tepido extingatur et tepidus supra comissuram capitis aplicetur et hoc fiat bis in die.

Item in reumate (fol. 77^{r}) frigido caveat ab omni brodio et offis quantum possibile est et a potu superfluo. Sed comedat omnia assa non in aqua lixata et comedat omnia cibaria spissa ut risum et fabba fracta a cortice mundata et similia cum carnibus conditis.

Item in reumate calido comedat ordeatum amidum avenatum conditis cum lacte amigdalorum et zucarria pira et poma cocta cum zuccaria que etiam valent in reumate frigido. Item potetur vinum citrinum clarum et bene linphatum. Item similiter valet in hoc casu diagragantum frigidum diapenidion sine speciebus zuccarum violatum conditum penidiarum et similia. et hoc sufficiat quantum est de reuma.

Explicit Deo Gratis Amen Amen.

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SOME LEONINE SUMMARIES OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE AND OTHER POEMS

The Bibliothèque Municipale at Douai, France, has a fine collection of manuscripts. Among them are to be found two, which contain, in addition to other works, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. They are numbered *880* and *882*, and both belong to the end of the twelfth century. I shall refer to MS. 880 as D, and to MS. 882 as D_1.

These two MSS of Geoffrey deserve consideration, because they contain material not found in thirty-six other MSS of Geoffrey which I

have collated. In the first place, in the case of *D*, we know the name of the scribe, to whom reference is also made in the Catalogue of the Library of Douai (p. 636): ' . . . Une piéce de vers léonins se lit au folio I et une autre au folio 88vo. Cette dernière commence par ces vers qui nous révélent le nom d'écrivain:

Haec Bernardus ego, qui sub Domini cruce dego,
Scriptis allego scriptaque saepe lego.'

While the poem which begins with these lines reveals the name of the scribe, the other one, on fol. 1^{r}, which opens this MS. and precedes the first work in it, i.e. the *Historia Troianorum* of [Pseudo]-Dares (fol. 1^{v}–13^{r}), is also of importance. Since the same scribe wrote not only the *Historia Troianorum* and that of Geoffrey, but also the first and last poems, it must follow that these two leonine poems and all the other poems contained in this MS., which will be quoted below, are all due to the pen of Bernardus. Inasmuch then as the first piece of *D* throws some light on the personality of Bernardus and gives the reasons why he devoted his time and leisure to scribbling leonine verses (which are found in this MS. in greater number than is stated in the Catalogue), it will not be amiss to give a transcript of it. In this article I shall use the following *signa:/totidem litterae erasae;* ⟨ ⟩ *e coniectura addita;* [ ] *ex* D_1 *addita;* m_1 *manus librarii;* m_2 *manus correctoris;* ss. *suprascript.;* ras. *in rasura.*

The '*première pièce*' of Bernardus (*D*, fol. 1^{r}) consists of three columns, the third of which is mutilated because the margin has been cut off. But luckily here and there a part of a letter has been left, a fact that enabled me to supply or to conjecture the necessary endings. Here is the transcript:

Column I

Qui pater es meus,
o sator, o Deus,
haec tibi libo:

Dum quasi saxeus,
et miser et reus,
haec nova scribo.

Ergo, caro licet
improba dimicet,
hiis ego pello,

Quod mihi non licet,
et tibi displicet,
haut sine bello.

Haec nova lectio,
quam lego vel scio,
nuper adepta,

Ut modo sentio,
clamat ut actio,
pellit inepta.

Hac gula praeterit,
et mea deserit
optio curas,

Quas caro suggerit,
illecebras terit
haec nocituras.

COLUMN II

Scribere dum paro
quae replicat Maro,
iure poeta,

Dum calamis aro,
lenta silet caro
fitque quieta.

Clyo veni mea,
disce, quod antea
non habuisti,

Ut tibi postea
sit quasi lactea
gratia Christi.

Incipe texere
per metra, vellere
quomodo rapto

Pergama perdere
Graecia vespere
prevalet apto.

Navita mittitur,
hoc duce tollitur
aurea pellis;

Praedo revertitur,
undique vergitur
unda rebellis.

16 Pergama P/ergama.
22 Praedo P/redo.

COLUMN III

Curritur haec v ⟨ia⟩,
tendit hiant ⟨ia⟩
carbasa v ⟨entus⟩.

Troia fit obv ⟨ia⟩,
quam subit inv ⟨ia⟩
Graeca iuv ⟨entus⟩.

Troia fit hospi ⟨ta⟩
post mala praesti ⟨ta⟩
linquere por ⟨tae⟩,

Sed male terri ⟨ta⟩
cogitur incli ⟨ta⟩
turma coh ⟨orte⟩.

Graecia condol ⟨et⟩,
aequora transvol ⟨et⟩,
en sua ve ⟨la⟩!

Sternere nam vol ⟨et⟩,
ut reliquos sol ⟨et⟩,
hos ea te ⟨la⟩.

Illa piissi ⟨ma⟩,
nobilis, opti ⟨ma⟩,
proxima cae ⟨lis⟩,

Post mala pluri ⟨ma⟩
fit velut ulti ⟨ma⟩
Troia fide ⟨lis⟩.

This piece may be characterized as a kind of invocation, and, at the same time, a fitting prologue to the *Historia Troianorum* of [Pseudo]-Dares. It is not devoid of a personal touch. Bernardus finds pleasure in writing, an occupation which helps him to silence and to crush ' . . . quas caro suggerit illecebras.' Interesting, too, is his praise of Vergil.

II

But *illecebrae* of all sorts are not always silenced at once and for ever. No wonder then that Bernardus availed himself of every opportunity to compose fresh lines, whose quality must make one doubt whether Clio inspired them. In *D*, in the part containing Geoffrey's *Historia*, nine leonine pieces are to be found, which I shall give in numerical order. Their contents give us a brief outline of Geoffrey's *Historia*. Before quot-

ing them, however, a short description of that part of *D* containing the *Historia* of Geoffrey must be given, because it is with this part that we are chiefly concerned.

This part of *D* is written in minuscule script and is, on the whole, well preserved. At the same time, however, it lacks finishing touches; this may be classified under three headings. (1) Some chapters have painted initials (red and green), or initials sometimes completed, at other times merely sketched, in the same ink in which the MS. was written. (2) Some lack them entirely. (3) Some lack them in the space left for that purpose, but have them indicated in the margin. The same classification applies to the nine leonine summaries. Of these only the first has, in addition to painted capitals (red and green) for every line, a set of small letters on the margin for the purpose of indicating what letter was to be placed at the beginning of each line. Numbers 2, 4, 5, 6, have no capitals, but only small letters indicated on the margin. Numbers 3, 7, 8, lack even small letters, while number 9 has a double set of them.

In supplying the missing capitals for numbers 7 and 8 in *D*, D_1 was of great assistance because it contains 3 pieces corresponding to 7, 8, and 9 in *D*. D_1 was written by different scribes. The reason, however, for the presence of numbers 7, 8, and 9 only in D_1 can, in my opinion, be explained by the fact that fol. 181^r of D_1, on which number 7 appears, was started by a new scribe. He completed this MS. including in it numbers 8 and 9, and likewise the '*dernière pièce*' occurring in *D* (fol. 88^r). To this '*dernière pièce*' in D_1, the following reference is made in the Catalogue of the Library of Douai (p. 643): ' . . . A la fin se trouve une pièce en vers léonins, commençant, comme celle du n° 880[1],' par: "Haec Bernardus ego, qui sub domini cruce dego. . ." ' The presence then in D_1 of numbers 7, 8, and 9 and the '*dernière pièce*' allows no other conclusion than that the new scribe who began fol. 181^r of D_1 must either have been acquainted with *D* or had it before him. Let us now proceed to the leonine summaries, use being made once more of the *signa* given above.

I

Nota sit in regnis Corinei saeva bipennis — *D*, fol. 22^r.
Militis haut segnis et Bruti fama perennis.
Isti bellantum deleta plebe gigantum
Post spacium tantum faciunt urbem Trinovantum.
Iam calamum premimus, liber explicit hic quia primus; 5
Dum laetos gerimus animos, ad coepta redimus.
Explicit liber primus. Incipit secundus.

[1] 880 is my correction for 835, given erroneously in the Catalogue (p. 643).

II

Post obitum Bruti Britones nascendo secuti, *D*, fol. 27r.
Moenibus adiuti, regnant in bella soluti
Urbe, domo, villa. Pulsus Leir a Gonerilla
A Cordeilla revocatur; regnat et illa.
Hoc ita finito, lector studiose, venito
Ad nova, quae recito studio dictata perito.
Incipit liber tercius.

secuti] sequuti *MS.* | | Incipit — tercius m_2

III

⟨A⟩cceptando minus fratrem cessisse Belinus *D*, fol. 33v.
⟨F⟩it terrae dominus, quam post tenuit Guthelinus.
⟨H⟩oc ita regnante, sed bellum fratre parante,
⟨P⟩ax cladi tantae fit, matre sua mediante.
⟨Q⟩ui post priscorum deleta clade malorum
⟨P⟩ace data morum regnum subigunt Italorum.
Liber quartus

Liber quartus m_2.

IV

Cassibellani populos, in caede profani, *D*, fol. 40r.
Perdere Romani nisu nituntur inani.
Iulius ergo gravis remeat; Romanaque navis
A ⟨b⟩arte perit quavis, fixis sub flumine clavis.
Sed tamen, ut tutum sit, vulgus in arma solutum
Caesaris ad nutum solvunt ex more tributum.
Circa tempus idem Lucius qui regnat ibidem
Amplexando fidem Christi deservit eidem.
Incipit liber quintus.

Incipit — quintus m_2.

V

Asclepiodotus, Britonum de sanguine natus, *D*, fol. 46r.
Allecti motus reprimit; dolet unde senatus.
Iam non Conanus regnat, sed Maximianus,
Consul Romanus, quem turbarat Gratianus.
Ambo sedati Francos adeunt galeati.
Subdita cuncta quati videas horum feritati.
Liber sextus incipit.

Liber — incipit m_2

VI

Nobilis ornatu fit Constans de monachatu, *D*, fol. 54r.
Rex maior natu, Vortegirni famulatu.
Hoc interfecto, Vortegirno quoque lecto,
Gentilis lecto fruitur non ordine recto.
Deviat Hengisti monitis a tramite Christi,

Unde favens isti luit omnia funere tristi.
Incipit prologus in Prophetiam Merlini.

Incipit — Merlini *manu recentioris aetatis.*

VII

[E]ditus impura Merlinus de genitura, *D*, fol. 66^{v}; D_1, fol. 181^{r}.
[P]ervigili cura loquitur pandendo futura.
[A]urelii fulta sociis manus exit adulta,
[N]e caedes multa vel proditio sit inulta.
[H]unc perimit leno potu mortis lue pleno;
[I]nterit obsceno regnans Uther ipse veneno.
(*In fine paginae:* Explicit liber VIII incipit nonus m_2).

VIII

[C]ladibus emensis Arturi fulminat ensis, *D*, fol. 73^{v}; D_1, fol. 186^{v}.
[C]uius in expensis Dacus stupet et Norwensis.
[H]iis insignitus Flollonem, Marte peritus
[V]incit, et ipse citus redit ad sua laude potitus.
[T]alibus elatus applaudit rex hilaratus;
[P]ulchros ornatus perturbant scripta senatus.
Liber decimus

3 Marte] rte *ras.* D_1.‖ Liber decimus m_2.

IX

Regis perstantis fugit ictu vita gigantis, *D*, fol. 80^{r}; D_1, fol. 191^{v}.
Fama triumphantis fit cladibus agnita tantis.
Lucius impetitur, aditus gladiis aperitur,
Pugna gravis geritur, Arturus laude potitur.
Transgrediens foedus, nec miles nec citharoedus,
Sed raptor foedus presumit regna Modredus.

citharoedus] chitaroedus D_1.

III

I give now the transcript of the '*dernière pièce:*'

Haec Bernardus ego,
  qui sub domini cruce dego,
scriptis allego
  scriptaque saepe lego.

Hactenus ignota,
  quae nescit plebs idiota,
Nunc facio nota
  qualibet absque nota.

Lector quem fovi
  scriptis quae scribere vovi,
scribae qui vovi,
  scripta memento novi.

Huc oculos adhibe,
  capta, gusta, lege, scribe,
Bernardi scribae,
  musta iocosa bibe!

Si dictata notes
  Arturi gesta, nepotes,
regna, sacerdotes,
  cetera nosse potes:

Nosse genus Britonum,
  fines, urbes regionum
et cuiusque thronum,
  bellaque credo bonum.

Si mihi parueris,
o lector, qui nova quaeris,
haec lege, quae sequeris,
sicque peritus eris.

Dardanus exulat,
alta perambulat,
et Rutulorum

Rex nece vapulat,
unde repullulat
arx Phrigiorum.

Hac ab origine
prodiit omine
Brutus inico,

Qui quia sanguine
foedus, ab agmine
cessit amico.

Transmeat aequora,
figitur anchora,
fitque quietus;

Vendicat haut mora,
prospera tempora
flens Anacletus.

Ut Phrigios videt,
hiis cito providet
et prohibentur;

Curia dissidet,
ut mala praevidet[?],
ire iubentur.

Ignoge fit sua,
quae quasi mortua
maestaque plangit:

Iam loca congrua
vela per ardua
plebs ea tangit.

Dando piacula
consulit infula
templa deorum;

Sternitur insula
tela per aemula
caede suorum.

Haec Britonum via
fit modo regia;
sic prius invia
gens aliena,
cui Cathenesia
servit amoena.

10 vovi] novi D_1|| 23 thronum] trhonum D, thronum D_1|| 38 Qui quia] Quin quia D_1|| 50 dissidet] dissiidet D_1|| 51 praevidet] praevidet D, puentur D_1 m_1, *corr. in* proventur m_2||55 plangit] plaangi/t D_1 || 56 congrua] congruua D_1 || 58 tangit] ta/ngit D.

This long-winded poem — if it deserves that name at all — can be considered kindred to the '*première pièce*,' the difference being that the latter serves as a prologue to the *Historia Troianorum*, while the former may be called a kind of epilogue to Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. It will be observed that Bernardus, who at the same time takes pride in his accomplishment, included in it many a detail which he failed to insert in his leonine summaries, e.g., Brutus' marriage to Innogen, the voyage to Britain, and the founding of Britain.

As previously stated, however, Bernardus is reluctant to miss an opportunity of letting his genius shine. He had another chance to pour forth new lines, namely, after the conclusion of the first work in *D* and before starting Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Brittaniae*. The *Historia Troianorum* ends on fol. 13^{v}, while that of Geoffrey begins on fol. 14^{v}. Therefore, Bernardus devoted that entire space to new lines which his Clio in-

spired, or — *sit venia verbis* — 'misinspired.' Thus, in the second column of fol. 13^{v}, after the *Explicit Historia Troiana Daretis* we read a poem, the bombastic title of which arouses one's curiosity: *Threni de excidio Troiae.* A transcript of it follows:

Pergama flere volo, fato Danais data solo, *D*, fol. 13^{v}.
Solo capta dolo, capta redacta solo.
Ex Helicone sona, quae prima tenes Helicona,
Metra mihi dona promere possa bona.
Est Paris absque pare, quae ut videt amare
Audet, temptare furta, pericla, mare.
Vadit et accedit, clam tollit, clamque recedit,
Nauta solo cedit, fit fuga, praedo redit.
Tuta libido maris dat thura libidinis aris
Civibus ignaris quod parit arma Paris.
Post cursus Helenae currunt Larissa Michenae;
Mille rates plenae fortibus absque sene.
Exuperare ratus viduatorem viduatus
Foedere nudatus foederat ense latus.
Graeco ductori prohibet dolor esse timori
Pro consorte thori vivere sive mori.
Pergama dia secus figit tentoria Graecus,
Impetitur moechus et fabricatur ecus.
Plena malae prolis parit hostem machina molis
Destruiturque dolis tam populosa polis.
Tradunt cuncta neci, praedaeque cupidine caeci
Obfirmant G ⟨r⟩ aeci pectora clausa neci.
Hinc ardent aedes, hinc detruncat Diomedes
Per varias caedes brachia, crura, pedes.
Multatur caede praedo Paris a Diomede,
Seque suae taedae reddit alumna Ledae.
Femina digna mori redamatur amore priori,
Reddita victori deliciisque thori.
Saeva quid evadis? Non tradita cetera tradis?
Cur rea tu cladis non quoque clade cadis?
Si fueris lota, si vita sequens bona tota,
Non eris ignota, non eris absque nota. *D*, fol. 14^{v}.
Passa modo Paridem, Paridem modo tesca(?)pridem
Es passura fidem ne redeas in idem?
Rumor de veteri faciet ventura timeri,
Cras poterunt fieri turpia sicut heri.
Femina victa mero quod inhaereat ebria vero,
Haec fieri spero nec fideiussor ero.
Patrata caede superadditur Hecuba praedae,
Tractatur foede, cogitur ire pede.
In facie d ⟨e⟩ orum crinem laniata decorum
Subsequitur lorum per theatrale forum.
Vivit at invita, quia vivit paupere vita,
Et planctus inita vociferatur ita:

"Iuno quid est quod agis post tantae funera stragis?
Totne putas plagis addere posse magis?
Ergo reoccides hos quos occidit Atrides,
Occisos rides, occubuisse vides.
Nullum iam reperis, nullum nec sic misereris,
Immo persequeris relliquias cineris.
Nemo rebellatur et Iuno belligeratur,
Bellaque sectatur sanguine mucro satur.
Me, me Iuno feri! Feriendo potes misereri;
Fac obitu celeri corpus anile teri!
Usque modo flevi casus incommoda levi,
Quod supercrevi corripe fine brevi!
Institit ira dei dare cetera perniciei
Miror quod sit ei mentio nulla mei.
Nemo mei meminit! Gladius qui cetera finit
Mecum foedus init, me superesse sinit.
Concutit ossa metus, fit spiritus irrequietus,
Cum renovat coetus denuo causa vetus.
Urbs retro sublimis et habundans rebus opimis
Una fit ex minimis adnichilata nimis;
Urbs celebris dudum, dum terminat alea ludum,
Ecce solum nudum pastus erit pecudum.
Vae! tibi, Troia, peris, non iam mihi Troia videris;
Iamiam bobus eris pascua, lustra feris.
Urbs fortunata, si posses vincere fata,
Vel possent fata segnius esse rata!
Regna beata satis, donec nocuere beatis
Praeda voluptatis et malefacta ratis.
Plena potentatu, celeberrima, digna relatu,
O felicissima tu principe, cive, statu!
Urbs bona, plena bono, foris intus, cive, colono,
Praedita patrono, praeditus ille throno,
Curia personis, urbs civibus, arva colonis,
Terra suis donis, horrea plena bonis.
Si commendemus quae commendare solemus,
Cultus suppremus, rus, ager, unda, nemus?
Potum vineta, pastum dabat area laeta
Merces moneta, navigiumque freta.
Urbs vetus et clara, bona valde, tam bona, rara,
Tam bona, tam cara fit pecualis ara.
Dives ab antico dum fertur, iniquo
Deperit immodico, fit nichil ex aliquo.
Causa rei talis meretrix fuit exicialis,
Femina fatalis, femina feta malis!"

The poor taste of these lines does not call for any comment, and, if a modern parallel is in place, the term 'doggerel' will best characterize Bernardus' poetical accomplishment.

IV

Having put a finishing touch to his *Threni de excidio Troiae*, Bernardus found that before commencing Geoffrey's *Historia* (fol. 14^{v}), he still had some space left for new lines. This space he devoted to polemics in verse, as will be seen from the two small poems that follow:

Versus contra Daretem

Scribens ista Dares, qui claro carmine clares, *D*, fol. 14^{v}.
Non ea dictares forsan, nisi vera probares.
Non ita quam ponis valeat nota prodicionis,
Sensibus ut pronis reprobentur scripta Maronis.

Versus contra fidem Britonum

Arturi gesta, Clyo, mihi scribere praesta,
Quae non incesta nec falsa puto, sed honesta.
Id tamen impurum reor errorem subiturum
Quod putat Arturum Britto fatuus rediturum.
Post vitae cursum prohibet mors cuique recursum:
Si redit hic rursum, Britto vertetur in ursum.
Incipit prologus in sequenti opere.

With this latter poem may be compared two lines by a later hand found in D_1 (fol. 192^{r}):

Scripsimus Arturum quem Brito putat rediturum.
Si redit Arturus homo, capra fit vel caper urus.

Jacob Hammer,
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THE *REPETITIO:* AND A *REPETITIO*

By CARO LYNN

In Speculum I (1928), 104–105, Professor Lynn Thorndike, in a note on 'Public Recitals in Universities of the Fifteenth Century,' quoted from an Escorial manuscript of that century an item concerning John Alfonso of Benevento, doctor of decretals and afternoon professor of the *Decretum* at Salamanca, and his delivery of a *repetitio* before an assembly of that university on the Monday following Pentecost in 1444. This Salamancan professor is the subject of an encomium by Lucio Marineo, Sicilian humanist in Spain and professor of Latin poetry and oratory in Salamanca just forty years later, when the Sicilian was contemporary and colleague of Alfonso de Benavente the younger, morning professor of canon law, son and successor of the jurist mentioned above. The laudatory passage is found in Marineo's *De Hispaniae Laudibus;* and this volume affords also an instance

in itself of the reading aloud of new books in academic circles. Of this book, which Marineo began soon after coming to Salamanca in 1484, we have an edition printed about 1497; and in this the author speaks thus of his first edition, no copy of which is known:[1]

'I hated the haste with which it was published. — For Roderic Manrique, rector of the gymnasium, and all the magistrates and *equites* of Salamanca ordered me to send the book to the printer, and to read it aloud publicly as soon as possible after printing.'

In writing of the illustrious men of Spain, Marineo says of the elder Benavente:[2]

'And the illustrious doctor Juan Alfonso de Benavente deserves among men of letters no moderate praise. How learned and how able he was, his writings, many and noteworthy, easily declare. For while he was professing pontifical law in Salamanca he wrote many works, among them an excellent address, *De scientiarum laudibus*, which he delivered on St Luke's day in the Salamancan Gymnasium. He composed another, *De arte studendi legendique;* and still another, *De memoria et pronunciatione.* He wrote also twenty *repetitiones.* He published besides many interpretations in decretals and the *Decretum;* and being not unlearned in either theology or philosophy, he published works on the Gospels, on the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and on rhetoric; and many other treatises he published, so that the sum of his *opera* exceeded sixty. He was for many years a distinguished professor of canon law at Salamanca, and one who deeply benefitted his hearers. Now his son Alfonso de Benavente has succeeded him, who in my time is most adequately filling the same chair of canon law.'

This passage concerns in two points the matter of public academic recitals. The academic year in Salamanca began on St Luke's day (October 18) with a custom which still wins approval. After the conclusion of the formal religious ceremonies due the occasion, the school assembled in the chapel to hear an inspirational and invigorating address in praise of learning. For this address some eloquent and powerful speaker was chosen from among the members of the university; and sometimes the same speaker was chosen more than once for this honor. The titles of the addresses mentioned above, especially the first two, suggest their fitness for this occasion. All may have been so used.

Moreover, by the earliest extant *Constitutiones* of the university (those of Martin V, in 1422) there was made a distinct requirement of professorial *repetitiones*, as follows:[3]

'Likewise I ordain and establish that each and every salaried doctor and *maes-*

[1] Translated from the Latin of *De Hispaniae Laudibus*, LXXIII[r]. The same passage is found in Marineo, *Epistolarum Familiarium Libri* (Valladolid, 1514), I. 16.

[2] Marineo, De Hisp. Laud., LXX[r].

[3] *Constitutiones de Martin V*, Constitutio XIII.

tro reading regularly, and every licentiate holding a morning professorship of canon or civil law, be required to make in each year one *repetitio* about the content of the course which he has read, or is going to read, during that year. If he do not do this, from the salary assigned and due him he shall lose ten francs, *ipso facto:* said francs to be forfeit to the treasury of the university, and in no wise to be remitted to the offender.

'And the limit of the time within which these *repetitiones* may be made shall be, before the feast of St John the Baptist [June 24], on the days assigned by the rector as he shall please, considering the priority and the posterity [*sic*] of the ranks of those making the *repetitiones;* with the understanding that these may not be on Sundays, nor on days of religious festivals which are formally observed with a sermon in the Salamancan cathedral, or on which there is a university sermon; and that between one *repetitio* and another of the same faculty there be an interval of at least fifteen days.'

So the record of Juan de Benavente, including twenty *repetitiones*, shows one for each of the twenty years which led the holder of a proprietary chair to his jubilee and consequent release from routine. Parallel evidence from another faculty, that of grammar, is found in the *Repetitio Secunda* of Antonio de Lebrija, delivered and published in Salamanca in 1486, in which the writer says:[1]

'But now required by the ancient law and custom of our academy to make this *repetitio* in this year 1486, the second of my *magisterium,* I take the following passage from Quintilian . . . '

From here he takes up his theme, *De corruptis Hispanorum ignorantia quarundam litterarum vocibus.* The year 1486 was by no means the second of Lebrija's incumbency at Salamanca, for he had already been instructor there for a decade, but clearly the second since he had received the title of *magister artium;* so the public recital was prized as a duty of rank and honor. The statutes involved the invaluable services of the beadle to give formality to the occasion; and the school was expected to attend. The touches of Ciceronian invective which frequently creep into these productions suggest that attendance by others members of faculties might have been induced not only by professional courtesy but by a certain polemical necessity as well.

In this environment, the term *repetitio* had somewhat changed its meaning from that of the earlier days in Bologna and other studia, where the official or special 'repeater' reviewed to the students in the afternoon matter which the morning professor had presented. Although this custom still held in the Spanish university, the term *repetitio* had steadily approached in meaning that which had been called a *disputatio.* It had become the name for an eloquent and thoroughgoing discussion of a chosen theme, and

[1] *Antonii Aelii Nebrissensis grammatici repetitio secunda,* p. 1.

so became the term not only for a doctoral or magisterial dissertation, but for any like production. Thus the *repetitio* came to be a measure of scholarship; and not of personal scholarship merely; for a thoroughgoing *repetitio* like a satisfactory dissertation, indicated the sources, materials, and methods of research in a given field. If we had more of these productions in the fields of grammar and the liberal arts, we should find them materially aiding our comprehension of the methods and content of the literary teaching of their time.

One such production in the field of grammar is preserved in a *repetitio* composed by the above-mentioned Lucio Marineo Sículo, professor at Salamanca from 1484 to 1496, and afterward head of the Palace School at the court of the Catholic Kings. Marineo never held a proprietary chair at Salamanca, nor did he bear an academic degree. His *Repetitio de Verbo Fero* appeared under quite different circumstances. Published in 1514, it was the work of an earlier date, probably 1506 or 1507, written and ostensibly delivered in Segovia. It appears under the full title, *Siculi defensio apud iudices pro Antonio Porta discipulo et De Verbo Fero et eius compositis perutilis repetitio*:[1] and the occasion of its production was as follows. A favored Salamancan student, now become a professor of grammar in Segovia, found himself forced into rivalry with a contentious fellow of the same profession in that city: 'If indeed,' says Marineo, 'one entirely ignorant of Latin can be called a grammarian.' This upstart disputed a reading of Porta's which Marineo had approved, and cast ridicule upon both the Sicilian and his discipulus. For this the philologist summons his adversary in Ciceronian style, arraigns him before the judges, accusing him of attempted libel, of scandalous behaviour and of professional malpractice; he explains his own unwonted appearance in forensic circles; introduces the plaintiff, his client; hurls sudden invective at the defendant, and plunges into the case.

The matter rests on a point in textual criticism. The occasion is a passage from Gregory, in which one syllable was dubious—a prefix of *fero*. Porta had made it read,

> 'Sancta et immaculata virginitas,
> Quibus te laudibus *efferam* nescio!'

while the opposition read *referam*. Marineo, consulted, had supported *efferam;* and now after his few pages of phillipics enters on the *repetitio* proper to prove his point.

The first appeal had been to the manuscript:

'Since in some *emaculatis codicibus* the word *referam* is found falsely written

[1] Bound with Marineo, *Epistolarum Familiarium Libri* (Valladolid, 1514).

instead of *efferam* (Porta) restoring the true reading explained to his students that *efferam* should be read, proving his interpretation by argument and example.'

The adversary, who had approved the other reading before his students, promptly 'blew up' (*excanduit*), and maintaining the integrity of his own manuscripts, had hastened to reduce his arguments offensively *ad hominem*. Marineo thereupon left the codices, and proceeded to *ratio* and *res ipsa*. His plan is simple and thoroughgoing. He puts down as his foundation a study of the verb *fero*, which he pursues through its many and various meanings, to wit: *laudo, extollo; duco, traho, rapio; offero; dico; opto, cupio; capio; volo; patior, tolero; volvo; occido; praesto; vinco; sino, concedo, permitto; dirigo, emitto; impello; nuncio; propono, promulgo, publico; urgeo, insto, faveo; postulo; exhibeo, offero, declaro, ostendo; produco, pario, facio; acceptum fero; fero tibi impensum; habeo; differo; occurro; confero; venio; sustineo; effero;* and for each one of these, as synonymous with *fero*, he offers the authority of citations from one or more classical Latin authors. Next he expounds *refero* and *effero* in the same manner, presenting what he considers irrefutable proof of his contention, 'unless perhaps my adversary rejects the Latin authors whom either he has not read, or if he ever has read, has certainly not understood.' For the former is found to mean *retrofero, reduco, narro, reddo, restituo, remitto, reporto, numero, recenseo, respondeo, scribo, expono, propono, redeo, communico, accomodo, tribuo, cogito, mente volvo, considero, redigo, repraesento, pertineo, imputo, ascribo, offero, renovo;* the latter, *extollo, laudo, in altum elevo, extrafero, fero, produco, procreo.* This is the first half of the work.

The remainder of the exposition is a work of supererogation, toward the end quite blatantly so. It is Marineo's ambition to send his opponent home as much wiser as sadder. So he runs through all the compounds of *fero* — *affero, aufero, offero, infero, praefero, profero, confero, defero, differo, transfero, perfero, suffero,* and *circumfero,* with illustrative citations. This enumeration he follows with a catalogue of the noun compounds of fero: *aquilifer, vexilifer, scutifer, signifer, ignifer, stellifer, nubifer, aestifer, laetifer, ovifer, frugifer, lucifer, fructifer, glandifer, pomifer, odorifer, monstrifer, ostentifer, portentifer, opifer, salutifer, mortifer, ensifer, macherofer, ostrifer, turifer, pomifer, furcifer, gemmifer, margaritifer, legifer, aurifer, cistifer, septifer,* and *rumifer.* Unwearied, he goes on with a discussion of the idioms of *fero* with adverbs; and ends with a group of alleged derivatives of this prolific verb. The outline sounds long and dry; but the passages quoted so run from grave to gay, from didactic to piquant, from patristic exegeses to the *légèretés* of Ovid and back in haste to the sonorous lines of Lucan: so well, in short, did the speaker mingle the useful with the sweet, pleasing the judges while he instructed them, that in the end he got every vote,

vanquished his adversary, and won applause by a display of pure learning which occupied two hours of time, and tapped ten centuries of sources.

With our apparatus for critical study, especially our battening array of concordances, such a production would require thoughful but not stupendous exertion. What aid had a scholar who at the dawn of the sixteenth century wished thus to explore the field of Latin literature?

Most of the *Grammatici Latini* discuss the verb *fero*, but only with respect to morphology; and at that aspect Marineo has not glanced. Nonius made a study of its uses and meanings, citing classical authorities. This scrutiny runs through eleven lemmata, with suggested synonyms. Just half of these synonyms are found in Marineo; and of the nineteen illustrative quotations in Nonius the *Repetitio* has but five. Nonius discusses certain compounds of *fero*, of which only *defero* and *differo* are mentioned by Marineo. Lucan, whom next to Virgil and Cicero Marineo quotes most often, is not found once in Nonius; nor is Persius, Suetonius, Ovid, Martial, or Juvenal. Nonius may have given Marineo the plan for his study, but he added scanty material.

Nor is there a greater debt to Servius, though Marineo's familiarity with his commentary is manifest; nor to Donatus, though the Sicilian quotes and praises a comment of this grammarian. Acquaintance with Priscian appears, but unless in the possible (and not probable) instance of one passage from Horace, no borrowing. In etymological theories, there is much acknowledged indebtedness to Isidore, and less to Paulus Festus and Charisius. Varro's *Lingua Latina* seems to be quoted directly, rather than via the grammarians. We have collateral evidence of Marineo's familiarity with such current works as the *Miscellanea* of Politian, and Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*, in which he found inspiration and enjoyment. But apparently (and avowedly) he let nothing intervene between him and the authors themselves when he set out to prove a point of Latin usage. Appreciation of what this means confirms our respect for the scholarship of his time; there is as much difference between aids to classical research then and now as between modes of travel.

We can look then with a freshened interest at Marineo's citations, as suggesting the comparative emphasis placed on the Latin authors by a Latinist in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. In this *Repetitio*, besides passages coming from the Greek through Latin media, and half a hundred from the Christian Fathers, Marineo makes 368 excerpts from Latin authors, ranging in time from Plautus to Boethius. He does not place the passages, but merely names the author. Of this number, I find 350 in the works of the author cited, and two in a work formerly so ascribed. The few elusive ones are mostly exceedingly short and nondescript pas-

sages from such voluminous writers as Pliny, Quintilian, Seneca, and Livy, in whose wide and unindexed stretches I have no doubt they are safely hiding. The citations occur in the following proportions:

Virgil	73	Quintilian	4
Cicero	62	Seneca (Younger)	4
Lucan	48	Caesar	4
Juvenal	41	Macrobius	2
Ovid	24	Livy	3
Suetonius	15	Sallust	2
Pliny the Elder	16	Horace, Epistles	1
Terence	13	Tibullus	1
Martial	11	Ennius	1
Valerius Maximus	11	Varro	2
Quintus Curtius	10	Donatus on Terence	1
Plautus	7	Boethius	1
Persius	5	Apuleius	1
Lucilius	5		

The popularity of Virgil, Cicero, Lucan, Juvenal, and Ovid meets the eye. In proportion to the number of his lines, Persius stands equally high. The prominence of Valerius Maximus strikes us with dismay. Martial is more in evidence than Quintilian and Seneca. Suetonius and Curtius lead the historians. Pliny the Elder was at this time interpreted from a special *cátedra* in Salamanca. The references to Plautus and Terence and to certain works of Ovid, show an unexpected clerical leniency; for Marineo had taken orders.

Quite as interesting are the omissions from this roll-call of the authors. Of the poets, Horace appears but once, Tibullus as seldom. But Catullus is not mentioned once, nor Propertius, nor Lucretius. Petronius is absent; of course the *Cena* was still in hiding. Of prose writers, Tacitus is omitted, and Nepos, and Pliny the Younger, and the elder Seneca. The two citations from Sallust have not been found in his extant works, nor among the fragments; but neither have they been identified elsewhere. So they form a problem of their own. Two passages ascribed to Plinius Secundus are found in *De Viris Illustribus* of Aurelius Victor, a work formerly assigned to the elder Pliny. One reference to Varro is identified in the *Sententiae Varronis*, still of doubtful authenticity. But our accurate scholar has not been convicted of a single error in citation.

The *Repetitio* is a composition eminently fitted to serve as a sample-house from the writer's repertory, for by its nature no author is excluded, and its purpose is to make a wide display of learning. We can however confirm our inferences by other writings of the same author. Marineo has another monograph, *De Parcis*, written near the same time, and similarly

based on the Latin authors. It seems to differ from a *repetitio* in containing no combative element. Here we find latinized versions of Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, and Averroes; and Lactantius serves as a carrier for much classical lore. But there are still a hundred and twenty direct quotations from the Latin authors, of which ninety come from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Cicero, Juvenal, Martial, in the order indicated, and one to five from each of the following; Statius (*Thebaid*), Varro, Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, the younger Seneca, Claudian, Suetonius, Martianus Capella, Plautus, Augustine, Donatus (on Terence), Quintilian, Horace (*Epodes*), and one line from Juvenal wrongly ascribed to Horace. Marineo, who was at this time an itinerant professor following the court, has said in the introduction to this brochure that he is writing at a time and place where he has 'little access to any codices,' and must depend on memory for his authorities; and so prepares us for his one misquotation.

In his *Epistolarum Familiarium Libri*, we find Marineo answering many inquiries addressed to him as a member of the question-answering profession. These inquiries request literary enlightenment on widely varying matters, and are more provocative than many of the questionnaires addressed to the profession today. In answering these, Marineo adds to the previous list Macrobius (*Somnium Scipionis*), *Catonis Disticha*, Columella, Celsus, Naevius, Ulpian, Valerius Flaccus, and Pomponius Mela.

The Sicilian had a fondness for putting out little Latin Grammars, *brevis sed perutilis*, for the use of his students. One such tiny volume remains extant, dedicated to the little prince who was to become Philip II of Spain, at that time (1532) a child of five.[1] In this Marineo illustrates usage by quotations from the following authors; and we may safely conclude that these are the authors with whom he intends his students to make early acquaintance. They are in order of frequency Virgil, Terence, Ovid, Quintilian, Cicero, Juvenal. In a letter dedicating a similar *Grammatices Compendia* to Queen Isabella about 1497,[2] he explains that finding his students in deadly fear of their great and diffuse Latin grammars, he has drawn these simple precepts from reading the Latin authors.

Altogether he offers us 572 quotations. Out of these, he confuses but one. The occasional variation of his text from known editions presents a field for manuscript study. So far as the comparative literary influence of the Latin authors in Spain at the time can be judged from one source, Virgil stands first, followed in descending order by Cicero, Lucan, Juvenal, Ovid, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Suetonius, Terence, Valerius Maximus, Plautus,

[1] *Lucii Marinei Siculi Grammatica.* (Alcalá, 1532).

[2] *Ep. Fam. Lib.*, I, 7.

Quintus Curtius, and the younger Seneca; with Varro, Persius, Lucilius, Statius, Macrobius, and Quintilian standing *acie in secunda.*

It is interesting to observe which writings of these authors are most cited. In Virgil three-fourths of the references are to the *Aeneid*, and the *Georgics* have twice as many as the *Eclogues*. The works of Cicero are cited thus:

Epistolae ad Familiares	26	Paradoxa	3
Phillipicae	14	De Amicitia	2
De Officiis	7	De Senectute	2
Ad Brutum	4	De Natura Deorum	1
De Fato	4	Divinatio in Caecilium	1
Tusculanae Disputationes	4	Pro Lege Manilia	1
Verrines	3	Pro Rege Deiotaro	1
Ad Atticam	3		

The order of frequency of Ovid's works is: *Tristia, Ars Amatoria, Metamorphoses, Remedia Amoris, Fasti, Heroides, Amores, Pontus, Epistolae.* The plays of Terence quoted are *Andria, Hecyra, Adelphi, Eunuchus;* of Palutus, *Amphitruo, Truculentus, Asinaria, Bacchides, Casina, Cistellaria, Miles Gloriosus.*

Of still greater interest is the final absent list. Marineo was professor of Latin poetry; yet among all these references there is not one to Lucretius; not one to Catullus or Propertius, but one to Tibullus, one each to the *Epodes* and *Epistles* of Horace, none to his *Odes* or *Satires.* Marineo may have been influenced by Pomponio Laeto, with whom he had studied in Rome, to put the lyric and elegiac poets (excepting of course the indispensable Ovid) on his professional *index expurgatorius.* Yet it is odd to find the satires of Juvenal so pat, those of Horace taboo. The complete list of Latin authors of rank unnamed in these studies includes Lucretius, Catullus, Nepos, Propertius, Seneca the Elder, Vitruvius, Phaedrus, Paterculus, Petronius, Silius Italicus, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Frontinus, and Fronto.

In Marineo's *Letters* we do find a knowledge of the letters of Pliny, and we sometimes do suspect an assimilated if suppressed Horace. So we can not lean too heavily on negative evidence. But this, all told, is the contribution made to learning by one *repetitio.*

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A LOST MANUSCRIPT OF THE *DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI*

In his recent edition of the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Bernard of Morlas (or Morval) the editor, H. C. Hoskier, makes special point of his search for, and examination of, 'all the known manuscripts.'[1] Yet one text, and that an important one, has escaped his net. The manuscript in question is British Museum *Harley 4092*, dating from the thirteenth century. Bernard's poem begins on fol. 40b: *(H)ora novissima tempora pessima sunt uigilemus* and ends on fol. 83b: *Nos modo dirige postmodo collige ne pereamus.* With the exception of three or four lines omitted probably through carelessness, the text is complete. It is preceded by the usual prefatory letter to Abbot Peter of Cluny.

Not only does the reappearance of *Harley 4092* add another early copy to Hoskier's list of manuscripts of Bernard's work: it answers a question which has puzzled students ever since the publication of Thomas Wright's edition of the poem.[2] Wright cited variant readings from three sources which he named, without further description, *A*, *B*, and *P*. Up to the present his *B* has remained unidentified.[3] Now, comparison of the text of *Harley 4092* with Wright's variants makes it practically certain that this manuscript is Wright's *B*. Discounting the differences due to Wright's practice of transcribing medieval forms like *hec* and *accio* by the classical forms *haec* and *actio*, there are not more than eight instances, out of some 226 variants cited by Wright, where his *B* is not identical with *Harley 4092*. The few differences between the two may be explained plausibly as errors in collation or even in proofreading. For instance, Wright (p. 23, note 10) gives the *B* variant as *morientur*, whereas *Harley 4092* reads *moriantur;* or again, Wright reads *erit episcopus* for *B* (p. 87, n. 4), whereas *Harley 4092* has *exit episcopus*. On the other hand, the correspondences between *B* and *Harley 4092* are at once more numerous and more significant than the differences. *Harley 4092* makes the same peculiar mistake of writing *auniacensium* for *Cluniacensium* as *B* (p. 3, line 2); both insert the same glosses, as for instance, *robore* glossed *vel pondere* (p. 65, n. 2); and both omit and add the same number of lines (p. 46, n. 6; p. 50, n. 9; p. 51, n. 6, etc.). Moreover, a comparison of the readings common to *B* and *Harley 4092* with the variants cited by Hoskier shows these two agreeing in reading after reading distinct from that of any other manuscript. It is not likely, therefore, that *B* and *Harley 4092* merely belong to the same group

[1] H. C. Hoskier, *De Contemptu Mundi. . . . Re-edited, with Introduction and copious variants from all the known Manuscripts*, London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929.

[2] *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets. . . .* Rolls Ser., London, 1872, II, 3 ff.

[3] See *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1894–1899*, London, 1901, p. 148 under Addit. 35,091, Item 3; and Hoskier, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii f.

of manuscripts. Their close correspondence is more reasonably explained by regarding *B* and *Harley 4092* as one and the same text.

The task of evaluating at their full worth these *B-Harley 4092* variants must be left to the next editor or edition of *De Contemptu Mundi*. Even a hasty comparison of *Harley 4092* with Hoskier's edition of the poem shows this manuscript in closer agreement with the text accepted by Hoskier than with that accepted by Wright. On the other hand, it should be noted that *Harley 4092* does not support Hoskier's contention that, on the evidence of the earliest texts, Bernard's name should be written 'of Morval' rather than 'of Morlas.' *Harley 4092* distinctly names him 'Bernardus Morlanensis.'

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REVIEWS

CHARLES BÉMONT, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 1208–1265*. New Edition, translated by E. F. Jacob. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxix+303. $4.00.

FORTY-SIX years have passed since the first edition of the *Simon de Montfort* appeared. It has remained the best biography of the great earl, and still has very real merits. The new edition is a revision in which many of the results of investigations made since 1884 are embodied. Unfortunately, M. Bémont has not always fully assimiliated this new knowledge, expecially in the realm of institutional history. In addition to a number of slips in the narrative of Simon's career, there are occasional statements that would seem to indicate a rather hasty reading of some recent books.

There is ample evidence on every hand that the author has consulted the works of Tout, Jacob, McIlwain, Pasquet, Pollard, and other scholars who have written since 1884. Yet he has from time to time misread what they have had to say. The treasurer mentioned on page 158 as receiving an annual salary of 1000 marks was more accurately described by Tout as the justiciar (Tout, *Chapters*, I, 296), and there were three baronial justiciars, not treasurers, serving in less than seven years. The wording of the reference to the financing of the campaign of 1230 might easily lead to a confusion between the exchequer and the wardrobe (Cf. p. 138 and Tout, *op. cit.*, I, 198). After reading what is said about the chancellor and keeper of the wardrobe, it is difficult to understand 'the unity of the Wardrobe and the Chancery' (p. 231) until we turn to what Tout has written about Ralph de Sandwich (I, 309–312). The brief description of the functions of the exchequer (pp. 139–140) is inadequate. To describe the tax upon movables under Henry III as 'the tenth and fifteenth' (p. xxii) is a little unfortunate, for no distinction was made between the borough and rural rates until the days of Edward I, and the tenth and fifteenth, as such, did not appear until the reign of Edward III. The account of the position and composition of parliament (pp. 143–147), though greatly changed from that of 1884 (pp. 105 ff.), hardly embodies the results of recent research. It may be added that while the books of Lunt and McIlwain are named in notes, their titles do not appear in the bibliography.

The defects of the new edition may not be overlooked, yet everyone will appreciate the fine spirit that led M. Bémont, after the lapse of over a generation, to revise and reissue what has long been considered the standard biography of a great medieval hero. To elect that this edition should appear in England and in an English translation by E. F. Jacob, was very gracious.

JAMES F. WILLARD,
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J. F. Bonnefoy, *Le Saint-Esprit et Ses Dons selon Saint Bonaventure.* Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1929. Paper. Pp. 237.

In this thorough and scientific treatise, the author gives an accurate, ordered, and clear exposition of the doctrine of Saint Bonaventura on the gifts of the Holy Ghost. We find in the introduction a synthetic but critical life of the Seraphic Doctor and a list of his works according to chronology and authenticity. The author briefly states the rôle which the Saint took in the University Question. The work is divided into three parts. 1. *de Dono Increato;* 2. *de donis Spiritus Sancti in genere;* 3. *de donis singillatim sumptis.*

In the first part, the general doctrine of Saint Bonaventura *de Trinitate* is given. The Seraphic Doctor, in explaining the divine processions, does not follow the psychological method of Augustine but the metaphysical method of Pseudo-Dionysius. This method was common in the Franciscan School. We find here explained the reasons for placing a plurality of persons in God, the procession of the *Donum Increatum*, his relations with the Father and the Son and with creatures, and the *donatio temporalis.*

The arguments adduced in this part are subtle. The name *Donum* belongs to the Holy Ghost *ab aeterno* without any reference to the *donatio temporalis.* The author enumerates and describes the various effects of grace without entering into the manner of the *donatio temporalis.* It is quite manifest here that Saint Bonaventura takes much of his doctrine from Pseudo-Dionysius without rejecting any truth which the found among other philosophers. Damascene the Aristotelian asserts that *Qui est* is the first name of God. Dionysius the Platonist avers that *Bonum* is the first name of God. Saint Bonaventura, avoiding controversy, accepts both solutions with a pronounced leaning to the Dionysian doctrine.

In the second part, the author treats of the gifts of the Holy Ghost in general. He describes the origin of all the gratuitous gifts, their division their advantages, their relation to charity, and their immediate subject of inherence. He shows the agreement and the disagreement of Saint Bonaventura and Saint Thomas in this doctrine. Since there is a threefold degree of perfection, there is necessarily a threefold degree of habits: namely virtues, gifts, and beatitudes. The use of the virtues is necessary to those beginning the spiritual life, of gifts to those progressing in it, of beatitudes to those who are perfect in it. Perfection having been obtained, the soul is in the state of delectation in which two things concur, spiritual refection and the perception of this perfection. These two acts are termed *fructus et sensus*, which, since they are acts, should be translated into French not by *fruits et sens spirituels*, but by *fruitions et sensations spirituelles.* The arguments for the sevenfold number are mostly arguments of convenience or from tradition.

In the third part, the author outlines the gifts of the Holy Ghost *in specie*. Here the principal points of his mystical doctrine are given. Having explained the superior gifts of intellect and of wisdom, the author adds a chapter on contemplation, the special and perfect gift given to chosen purified souls. Saint Bonaventura is again vindicated of the charge of ontologism.

Four appendices explain some diffculties. In the first *fructus et sensus spirituales* is explained; in the second, the purgative, illuminative, and unitive ways. In the third is expounded the relation of the seven gifts with the seven petitions of the Lord's prayer, with the faculties of the soul, with the seven capital sins, with the virtues and the beatitudes. The fourth is a French translation of *XXV memorialia*.

This work is not only useful for theologians and philosophers, but is also devotional. Pious souls can taste and enjoy the divine liberality and goodness through this comforting doctrine of Saint Bonaventura on the mystery of Sanctification. Pious readers learn that God is all truth and philosophers learn that all truth is ultimately brought back to God *per Spiritum Sanctum qui datus est nobis*.

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British Museum, *Schools of Illumination; Reproductions from Manuscripts in the British Museum, part VI: French mid-14th to 16th centuries*. London: British Museum, 1930. Boards. 15 plates. £1/5.

The Sixth section of the magnificent publication by the British Museum of selections from its illuminated manuscripts carries the student to the close of mediaeval illumination in France. There are fifteen plates, 11×23 inches in size, two of which are colored in the famliar and admirable manner of the postcards sold at the British Museum. The folios are well-chosen to show the rapid changes in French illumination during the late period. The text, though brief, is a suggestive guide, and the annotations for each reproduction are superior examples of terse but adequate description. The miniatures provide a basis for serious study of Flemish and Italian influences in backgrounds and figure-style. The development of borders is particularly well shown, from simple bar-borders to intricate ivy-leaf patterns with inserted figures and, in the xv century, the intrusion of the naturalistic flower and leaf forms and gold roundels of Italy. At first, these are inserted quite frankly beside the delicate flat leaves of the French, but eventully they are assimilated into characteristic designs differentiated from the Italian, even in such an Italianate border as that of the *Horae* of Amédée of Savoy (plate 11 b), by the retention of grotesques, the French inheritance from the native 'animal style.' The publication is

recommended for beginners as well as for more advanced students of late French illumination.

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ROBERT B. BURKE, trans., *Gabriel Biel's Treatise on the Power and Utility of Moneys.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. 39. $2.50.

THIS treatise of the second half of the fifteenth century enjoyed an extensive circulation in manuscript for a considerable period and passed through three editions in print: Nürnberg, 1542; Cologne, 1547; Lyons, 1605. It enjoys the distinction of being the second formal treatise devoted exclusively to the subject of money, though it must be confessed that the large general works of the mediaeval and nearly modern period covered substantially the same ground.

Except in respect of the attitude toward usury, the treatise follows the Aristotelian doctrines which had been given renewed currency in the fourteenth century by Oresme, though the feudal concept of coinage as a source of revenue was still so widely held that the reiteration of the Aristotelian doctrine by Biel was of undoubted significance. The serious debasements of the coinage in the sixteenth century gave continued vitality to the treatise. The problem is approached by Biel from the ethical point of view, and there is no discussion of the economic aspects of debasement such as one finds in Copernicus. The treatise is cast in the form of a scholastic disputation with its propositions, its major and minor premises, and its conclusions. The interest of the treatise for the modern student of monetary theory is thus somewhat special: for mediaeval doctrine, the writings of Acquinas and Oresme are more significant; for the early modern period, the writings of Copernicus, Malestroit, and Bodin are much more important. The publication of a translation of this essentially mediaeval treatise is thus somewhat of a luxury, although the original text is hardly as accessible as the originals of the other notable treatises of the early period.

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LOUIS-HENRI CHAMPLY, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Cluny* (3rd edition). Paris: Librairie Centrale des Sciences, 1930. Paper. Pp. xx+367; 75 illustrations by René Champly. Frs. 30.

THE book under review represents perhaps the last flicker of the literary tradition of the monks at Cluny. It was written by a scholarly local *notaire* whose work took him among the documents which the monks had left behind them, and who appreciated, as did few of his generation, what a loss had been sustained through the disappearance of the abbey. The work

first appeared in 1866; the second edition, revised and enlarged, in 1878. Its literary style has worn well, and scholars will be glad to welcome the new edition of this valuable work, which since 1900 has been available only in libraries. The new edition contains several of the preliminary restorations of the abbey church published in SPECULUM, and gives a brief account of the Mediaeval Academy's Work on the site in Mr René Champly's preface. Aside from this preface, the text is that of 1878 without change.

The book is admirably planned. It is long enough to give the whole history of the abbey in detail, and to allow for a considerable amount of biographical material, but it is not so long as to give the discouraging impression of an encyclopedic work. Casual students and specialists may both read it with profit. It deserves a place in the library of any one interested in the Benedictines in general or Cluny in particular as a compact, thoughtful, and readable account of the mighty rise, the spectacular apogee, and the long decline of the Cluniac Congregation.

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THOMAS CALDICOT CHUBB, *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio*. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xi+286.

MR CHUBB is the first American to write a life of Boccaccio and, with the exception of the earlier Edward Hutton, the first to write such a life in the English language, the still earlier sketch by John Addington Symonds hardly deserving the name of biography.

One may regret or rejoice—according to the nature of one's temperament—that Mr Chubb did not see fit to model his life of the Florentine poet after the pattern of the New Biography. One seeks in vain for the imaginative analysis of motive so dear to the heart of Strachey and his followers. It may well be that Mr Chubb schooled himself to resist the allurement of 'playing up' the sex side of his subject, even when an opportunity so tempting as the relation of the poet with Maria d'Aquino presented itself. With equal success, though perhaps without the need of equal fortitude, has he refrained from the attempt to formulate a psychopathic theory of his own to account for the particular variety of religious experience undergone by the author of the *Decameron* when later in life he was visited by the beate who had ridden post-haste to inform him that his fellow-beate had just beheld a deathbed vision of Boccaccio stewing in hell-fire by reason of the licentiousness of his 'hundred tales of love.' What temptations these to the apostle of the new school of biography, and how many a reader may well have approached this new American life with

appetite whetted for some subjective interpretation of these supreme sexual and religious crises in the life of the poet!

Instead, Mr Chubb has produced a singularly temperate, objective and conscientious study, written in a grave, well-mannered style, if one except an occasional fling at the supposedly pedantic dulness of the professional scholar without whose labors the book could not have been written. Particularly noteworthy is the abundant — almost at times superabundant — attention paid to social, economic, and historical backgrounds. Of special interest and indicative of no slight research is the author's minute description of the Florentine guilds of the period. In a word, the book is instructive rather than sensational, scholarly rather than dramatic. At the same time the use of more boldness of imagination would certainly not have been out of place in dealing with the personality of Boccaccio. In his extensive attention to the external aspects of Florentine life in the Fourteenth Century, the author seems rather to have lost sight of the proper subject of his book. One here feels that the wealth of illustrative material is hardly made to illustrate. There is too little penetrating interpretation of the poet himself. One misses evidence of an imaginative projection into any one of the many rôles played by one who as lover, poet, and novelist, as friend to Petrarch, biographer of Dante, and interpreter of the *Divine Comedy*, as diligent reader of Homer and profound student of antiquity, was in versatility of accomplishment second to but few geniuses that the world has ever produced. Of this amazing complexity and many-sidedness of the man and of the circumstances that accompanied and may in part be called upon to explain this huge mental growth, we gain from the book that lies before us little notion.

The biography suffers from two mechanical defects. Mr Chubb has left his chapters without titles, and often writes mere clauses (and even phrases) as though they were complete sentences, a fault for which the publisher's reader may rather be responsible.

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T. P. Ellis and John Lloyd, transll. *The Mabinogion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, and New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1929. Cloth. 2 vol., pp. xi+232 and 253.

It is now nearly one hundred years since Lady Guest made her translation of the Mabinogion, one of the gems of medieval literature; since that time our knowledge of medieval Welsh has advanced greatly, and other texts better than that from which she worked have been found, so that it seemed there was a place for an entirely new translation. This the authors of the present work have undertaken to supply. They have taken as their

basic text a combination of those found in the *White Book*[1] and the *Red Book*, the latter being the one used by Lady Guest; variations between the two they indicate in foot-notes, but sometimes it is difficult to interpret these without reference to the original texts. They give also variant readings from fragments found in other manuscripts, and in the case of the Peredur they found it necessary to translate entire the versions in *Peniarth 7* and *Peniarth 14*, so greatly do these differ from the others. There are also brief introductions to each tale, and a goodly number of explanatory notes, some of them of the greatest value in helping to an understanding of the materials embodied in the texts.

Under ordinary circumstances there is no reason why a work such as this should not prove highly satisfactory. It takes account of the different versions, it follows them closely, and except for an occasional awkwardness where the translation is too literal, it is in good English. But the circumstances in this case are not ordinary. Those who read the Mabinogion for pleasure will probably continue to read it in the earlier version, leaving this one largely to the scholars who wish to get as close to the literal meaning as they can, but who do not have the command of Welsh which would enable them to use the original texts. The mediaeval Welshman probably had little concern over the words in which a prose passage was expressed, so long as it conveyed his meaning, but until modern scholars come to his point of view it is well not to mislead them, and they might reasonably assume that in a translation so literal that it renders *kanu da itt* by 'sing well of you,' and *a allwyf nerth ywch* by 'I can be of strength unto you' they are getting very close to the original. In this assumption they would be only partly correct.

It should be axiomatic that when two texts are brought together for the purpose of comparison, passages identical in the originals should be the same in the translations, but the present work ignores this rule completely. There is no reason why *mae Arthur* in the *White Book* and the *Red Book* should mean 'Where is Arthur?' (II, 78.17), but in *Peniarth 14* 'Is Arthur here?' (142.24), or why *yn rith eglwys ef a gant y pader* in *W.B.-R.B.* should mean 'in the illusion of a church, he said his paternoster' (76.7), but the same words in *Peniarth 14* should mean 'thinking it a church, he sang his Paternoster' (141.2–3). *Gressaw* and *graessaw* are merely variant spellings of the same word, yet one from *R.B.* is rendered 'welcome,' the other from *W.B.* is rendered 'grace' (76.20). *Dyrneit* in *W.B.-R.B.* is 'handfull'

[1] I use the term *White Book* to indicate the *White Book Manuscript, Peniarth 4;* Ellis and Lloyd introduce confusion by using it for J. Gwenogvryn Evans's reprint of this manuscript (Pwllheli, 1907), which includes also texts taken from other manuscripts, so that some of their 'White Book texts' have nothing to do with the real *White Book*.

(76.1), but in *Pen. 14* it is 'bundle' (140.27). On 149.13 'to the meadow' which is in the other texts is omitted, although the Welsh has it here also; but on 141.14 'gladly' is inserted without anything to correspond to it in the Welsh of this text, although *R.B.* and *Pen. 7* have *yn llawen; W.B* does not, yet the foot-note (p. 76) indicates that it does but that *R.B.* does not. The present translation, then, does not indicate truly the relationship of the different texts to each other.

Where they had a choice of English words the translators have not always selected the most appropriate one: 'Dragging the man behind by his arms' (i.e., armor) (144.21–22) is unnecessarily ambiguous, and 'of a truth' (150.7) is too mild to represent *yrof i a duw*, besides making no distinction between this text and others which have here *dioer*, likewise translated 'of a truth.' Peredur is hardly 'excommunicate' (p. 88) but rather 'accursed,' and *kyflavan* is 'outrage' rather than merely 'act' (142.18). (*W.B.* also has *kyflavan* here but this is not noted on 78.9 where the *R.B* text is followed.) The translators persist in rendering *urdaw yn varchawc urdawl* as 'honour as an honourable knight' although they seem aware of the meaning 'dub knight.' *Gwellgwr . . . yth wna o hynny* which is variously given as 'She will make you, for that reason, a better man' (73.23) and 'She will consider you a better man' (140.25–26; this text does not have *o hynny*) is more simply 'It will make you a better man thereafter.' Sometimes Ellis and Lloyd seem to be satisfied with a mere dictionary translation whether it means anything or not. 'Bloom of crystal' (158.28) conveys no sense of whiteness to my mind; 'powdered crystal,' which is just as much justified by *blawt y grissiant*, at least makes sense, and Dafydd ap Gwilym compares the swan to the color of *maen crisiant*. 'Fresh fire' (146.9) is another puzzle unless one considers that a slight emendation of long *s* to *f* is sufficient (since *e*, *i*, and *y* are often interchanged in medieval Welsh manuscripts) to bring this text into harmony with the others which have here 'main fire;' what reason there is for translating it 'steady fire' I am unable to discover, since *prif* is such a common prefix. The first paragraph on page 81 is so literally translated that it needs to be provided with a gloss. Lady Guest gives the thought of it, but she knew only the *Red Book* text, which in one sentence is decidedly inferior to that in the *White Book;* this, ignored by the present translators, might be rendered, 'If he is slain the dishonor will go on as before, and the sin of it [his death] will be upon you besides.'

These are all minor mistakes, but the list might be prolonged almost indefinitely, and they interfere seriously with the usefulness of the book for scholarly purposes. They are for the most part not due to lack of knowledge but to lack of care. There are some really difficult passages in the

Mabinogion, and no reasonable person would find fault if in some of these the translators were not able to make any improvement upon Loth's rendering; but when they give us a version far inferior to that which they themselves are capable of producing, one feels justified in protesting, even at the risk of seeming ungrateful for the very real contributions that in some respects they have made.

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H. FINKE, ed., *Acta Concilii Constanciensis Herausgegeben in Verbindung mit J. Hollnsteiner und H. Heimpel.* Vierter Band. Münster i. W.: Regensberg, 1928. Paper. Pp. ciii+1024.

ALMOST forty years have passed since Dr Heinrich Finke of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau published his first collection of documents relevant to the Sixteenth Œcumenical Council, which was held at Constance in Switzerland (1414–1418). This initial publication (*Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils*) appeared in 1889, and was practically the first effort in nearly two centuries to supplement Van der Hardt's *Magnum Oecumenicum Constansiense Concilium*, and Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, which works were published within the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Until Dr Finke began his work of research and compilation, the volumes of these two notable scholars were the sole sources of study on the subject of this very interesting Council.

The volume of Finke dealt largely with some preliminaries of the Council and was in a way a preparation for the great work *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, which has just been completed. A study of the documents already published by his predecessors suggested convincingly the mass of material yet to be gathered. It is doubtful, however, if Dr Finke himself realized the magnitude of the task which he had undertaken. His first volume of the *Acta* was ready in 1896, and with it came the admission that another, possibly a third, volume would be necessary. However, the second volume, so eagerly awaited by mediaeval scholars, did not appear until twenty-seven years later (1923). Good and sufficient reasons could be adduced for this.

First of all, time is no measure for the thoroughness of manner with which the editor undertook his task in the field which so fascinated him. Other endeavors also claimed his forced attention. The World War and the subsequent economic upheaval in Europe as well as his own frail health handicapped him severely in the pursuit of his work, so much so, that, as the present volume bears witness, he has been compelled to accept the cooperation of two younger scholars.

The first volume of the *Acta* dealt with the earlier activities of the three

claimants to the Papacy (Gregory XII, John XXIII, and Benedict XIII) whose rights to the title the Council was to decide. It likewise held some interesting data concerning the Emperor Sigismund, who essayed to convoke the Council, and the knightly Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, the faithful defender and supporter of Gregory.

The second volume might be called the most important of the series, since it contains diaries of members of the Council, together with sermons and discussions on the proposed reforms. These documents lifted the veil from much that had been previously unintelligible in the general estimate of the Council and its accomplishments, or we might say, its failures. A third volume which appeared after an interval of three years (1926) contained documents concerning the three claimants and Martin V, who was elected to the Papacy at the Council.

The volume now under discussion contains a preface to the whole work and an account of Dr Finke's labors. Of the six groups of documentary material which it embraces, the first is a number of Spanish documents which portray the correspondence between the Council, and the Rulers of Castile and Aragon. These papers throw some light on the mental attitude of those who, after the Treaty of Narbonne and the election of Martin V, continued to support Benedict XIII despite the almost universal condemnation of the leaders in Church and State. Additional data on the election, coronation, and recognition of the new Pontiff are also given.

Documents dealing with the discussion of Tyrannicide and the astonishing proposals of Jean Petit and John Falkenberg are set forth in the second group. Affairs of the Empire, notably the work of Sigismund in preparation for the Council and his embassies to France, Spain, and England during its sessions, occupy the third group of documents, twenty-five in number. The fourth group contains some interesting material on the trial of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as well as the reaction of their fellow Bohemians following their punishment. The next group is devoted almost entirely to the *Avisamenta*—the Reform Proposals—of Dietrich Nieheim, the secretary of John XXIII. This extensive treatise supplements and improves upon the text published by Van der Hardt. There is also in this section the *Capitula Agendorum* which is attributed to Cardinal Peter D'Ailly. The final group contains matter supplementary to documents already published in Finke's previous volumes. Of particular interest here are the minute reports of the Commission that was appointed to examine the charges that were leveled against John XXIII. Concluding the work is an index of one hundred and thirty pages which was compiled by Heimpel.

With the publication of this final volume of the *Acta*, we may agree with Dr Finke that the *History of the Council of Constance* may now be

written. Beyond doubt there is still material to be gathered, but the writer of this history may rest secure in the assurance that such documents as may be controlled by scholars are now readily available in the respective collections of Van der Hardt, Lenfant, and Finke.

It need hardly be said that the present volume follows the high standard of critical scholarship set by the earlier volumes. The same dispassionate judgment in presenting documents that come as new witnesses into century-old controversies is evident in the editor's latest work as in his first. If we agree as to the importance of the Council of Constance in the history of the Church and in the politics of the state, we must concede that much of what transpired at that Council, and the motives which actuated the members, might still be hidden from us, had not the volumes of Dr Finke spoken *open sesame*. His painstaking efforts have been brought to bear upon this monumental work and his verdict upon its contents may be followed with entire confidence. It is a privilege to pay tribute to the fine and ripe scholarship which the monument of these volumes enshrines.

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Florence Alden Gragg, ed., *Latin Writings of the Italian Humanists*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. Cloth. Pp. xxxiv+434.

Professor Gragg's years of study in the Latin writings of the Renaissance have borne fruit in this volume of selections, as pleasing to the eye as it is satisfying to the mind. The book includes extracts from forty-one different authors, beginning with Dante and ending with Adamo Fumani. Of the text the editor says in her preface: 'The great mass of material has made the consulting of manuscripts out of the question. In the rare cases where there is an authoritative critical edition that text has been followed; otherwise I have depended upon such early editions as have been accessible and I have ventured upon some half dozen emendations of untranslatable passages.' The first two pages of the Introduction give a general estimate of the period which is remarkable for its clarity, suggestiveness, and sympathetic appreciation; then follows a very brief biographical sketch of each of the authors represented. An index lists 'names of authors and of other persons who receive more than passing mention.' There are no notes on the text.

The book offers a wide range of form and content. Scientific treatises and most of the strictly philosophical works have been excluded; but we find treatises of other sorts, literary criticism, biography, history, letters, sermons, funeral orations, anecdotes and fables, as well as poems in hexameters, elegiacs, and the lyric meters of Catullus and Horace.

A few of the selections afford glimpses of the personal experiences of the authors—Petrarch's lines on the death of his mother, for instance, and the brief but touching record of his love for Laura which he set down on the first page of his manuscript of Vergil; Boccaccio's account of how he came to make literature his life work. The friendships of the Humanists are charmingly revealed in letters of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio Salutati to and about one another; in the tributes of Leonardo Bruni and Poggio to Coluccio, the correspondence of Sadoleto with Erasmus, and the poems by Pietro Bembo on the death of Sannazaro and by Giano Vitale on Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. Bembo and Castiglione record the death of Raphael and Flaminio writes of the martyrdom of Savonarola. Other selections throw light on the history and life of the period. A chapter of Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum* describes the ceremony, resembling the ancient worship of the Lares, which Boccaccio's father used to perform on New Year's Eve; letters of Coluccio tell of the arrival of Pope Urban V in Rome, and the devotions of the 'white penitents' at Luca and Pistoia. We can picture the congregation at Mantua whom Piccolomini exhorted to go forth to battle against the Turks, and the alarm of the people of Florence at the portents which, according to Poliziano, preceded the death of Lorenzo di Medici; we share Petrarch's joy in the discovery of the letters of Cicero, and Poggio's indignation that precious manuscripts of classical authors have been allowed to lie neglected in a foul dungeon of St. Gall; we stand with Flavio Biondo on the Esquiline, where the women on the street point out the tower from which Nero watched the burning of the city, and view with Sannazaro the ruins of Cumae.

Professor Gragg expresses a modest hope that her book may give the reader 'some feeling for the personality of the writers, some familiarity with the typical forms in which they chose to express themselves, and a fresh realization of the quickening force of the love of classical antiquity in the lives of scholars and citizens, priests and soldiers.' This hope has surely been realized.

Cornelia C. Coulter,
Mount Holyoke College

Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xiii–463.

A debt of gratitude is due to Miss Graham for gathering together into a single volume these sixteen valuable essays. Previously published in various learned magazines, it would have been a pity to have allowed them to remain scattered. The first six deal with Cluny itself and its relations with the houses of the Order in England. The essays following treat the intel-

lectual influence of English monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries, Battle Abbey, and the Order of Grandmont and its houses in England. These are succeeded by four essays dealing with various phases of ecclesiastical finance (especially at the Gilbertine Priory of Malton in East Yorks) and the levies imposed both by the Pope and King, with especial reference to the economic bases of assessment. There is a study of the little known interdict imposed on Dover by Archbishop Winchelsey in 1298–1299, and a masterly and highly informative study of a visitation of the Diocese of Worcester by that same prelate in 1301. The final essay considers certain phases of the civic position of women at common law before 1800. This latter is connected with the preceding essays by reason of the position of women as churchwardens.

This volume will be of value to all who are interested in monastic and diocesan matters during the mediaeval period. While the author treats chiefly the Cluniac and Grandmontine houses only, there are frequent references to, and very informative parallels drawn with, other monastic institutes, though reference to the Mendicants is rarely made. Though the ground actually covered is quite limited, the amount of research involved is extensive. The documents cited and commented upon (and they are numerous) have been thoroughly studied; and the result is a capital piece of interpretation, remarkably free from bias even in the provocative field of papal taxation, in spite of a slight tendency to view the resistance to excessive papal taxation from an exclusive Anglican angle. The book fairly bristles with references of the utmost service to students of Church history, of social customs and economics and of ecclesiastical administration. Antiquarians and architects will also find much of interest. It must, however, be admitted that the book is of little appeal to the general reader, not only on account of the minuteness of its details, but also because names and allusions are frequent which postulate no inconsiderable knowledge of the period. To the student, however, the really remarkable index, which runs to 82 pages, combined with references to authorities for almost every statement of fact, and the copious use of cited quotations, render these studies, perhaps unintentionally, a splendid indication of sources for men and matters, ecclesiastical and secular, in the limited field which it covers. In view of the plentiful bibliographical data in the footnotes there is no bibliography.

PETER GUILDAY,
Catholic University of America

LORD FRANCIS HERVEY, ed., *The History of King Eadmund the Martyr and of the Early Years of his Abbey*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+61. $2.50.

THIS volume falls into two main parts: the first, a reprint of a fragment

of a manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford dealing with the early years of Saint Edmund's Abbey at Bury St Edmunds; the second, in the nature of an excursus, describing the life and death of the royal Saint, the growth of his *cultus* and the story of his abbey under its three first abbots.

The manuscript (numbered 197 in the Corpus collection) contains the Rule of Saint Benedict in Latin and Anglo-Saxon; this section is most probably contemporaneous with King Cnut (1016–1035) and may have been brought to Bury from Hulme whence the Abbey of St Edmund was founded in 1020. The manuscript was also used for memoranda concerning principally the economic affairs of the abbey, the entries being made at different dates during the eleventh century. The fragment here transcribed contains a brief paragraph in Latin under the year 1020, noting the foundation of the abbey; there is a second Latin paragraph dated 1032, informing us of the consecration of the church built in the reign of Cnut, the ceremony being performed by Asthelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury. Then follows, apparently as of the same date though obviously later, an Anglo-Saxon account of the lands, rents, and other resources of the abbey, closing with a list of certain alms given to the brethren by Baldwin (1065–97), the first Norman abbot. This latter has a Latin text, mingled with Anglo-Saxon words, above each line. An English translation appears on the opposite pages. This brief fragment will be of especial interest to philologists and students of East Anglian history. The translator has frequently noted that words used in the manuscript are not to be found in the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries.

Following this section comes an excursus which comprises more than four-fifths of the slender volume, describing the life and martyrdom of King Eadmund, his *cultus*, his interment at Beaduriceworth, where his remains were entrusted to the care of secular canons who, as a result of their negligence, were replaced by Benedictine monks. There follows an account of the erection of the abbey, the change of the name of the burgh to St Edmundsbury, the struggle of the abbey to preserve itself from the authority of the diocesan (it may be noted in passing that during the last century the abbey church was made the cathedral church of the modern Anglican diocese of Saint Edmundsbury and Ipswich), and the rule of the first abbots, Uvius or Wig (1020–44), Leofstan (1044–65), and Baldwin (1066–97). This part is well written. Though authorities are cited in footnotes, there is no bibliography or index. The volume is finely printed and elegantly bound.

Peter Guilday,
Catholic University of America

GUSTAV HÜBENER, *England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte, Studien zur Englandkunde.* Frankfurt-am-Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1930. Boards. Pp. v+325.

PROFESSOR HÜBENER'S thoughtful book is presented as a group of studies rather than a continuous narrative, but nevertheless he has managed to give to it a genuine unity. The studies themselves are ten in number. The first, from which the volume has its title, discusses briefly the origin, early home and *gesittung* of the Germanic race; in particular, the author compares the Germans with their neighbors to the west and to the east. In the second study, which discusses the Germanic conquest of Britain, the author is chiefly concerned with determining the motives which brought about the migration from the Continent. The third study is devoted to Beowulf's fights with Grendel, Grendel's dam and the dragon; these are interpreted as examples of heroic exorcism. The author rejects the current theory that the Grendel adventure is a *märchen;* he looks upon it as a reflection of reality. All three studies deal primarily with Germanic psychology in the migration period. The author reads everywhere a development from passivity to activity, from dream to reality, from traditionalism to rationalism. The fourth study seeks the same development in the English language of mediaeval times. The remaining studies consider the conversion of the English, the career of Alfred the Great, the Norman Conquest, witchcraft, the rise of standard English, and *Piers Plowman* as a political and religious document. The whole is a presentation of what the author thinks to be the fundamental tendencies or drifts in the English Middle Ages, a presentation made concrete by being built up around specific problems, events, and persons. The author has done well what he set out to do. He has not given us a history of mediaeval English civilization, but his interpretation of the period will have to be considered by the future historian of that civilization. It must, however, be added that an interpretation such as the author's, however suggestive, cannot be more than point of view. The author's analysis leaves out too many factors to admit of a full and final synthesis. The riddle of the mediaeval centuries remains unread.

Various matters of detail in the volume call for comment or correction. I will first touch upon a question of terminology. The author is very fond of the term *Anglo-Saxon*, which he uses some 222 times. Unluckily, he uses it in a variety of meanings, and it is often doubtful which meaning he has in mind. When he writes (p. 9) of '*das angelsächsische Volkstum unter der Führung vor allem der Tudors*,' the context makes it clear enough that *Anglo-Saxon* is here used in its original and at the present time most familiar sense, viz., 'English' in the broad or unrestricted meaning of the term.

Likewise we find clear cases of *Anglo-Saxon* in other meanings, as 'pre-English' (p. 60), 'Old English' (p. 187), and 'native English' (p. 251). But often the context fails to help us. Thus, the frequent *Anglo-Saxon* of Chapter IV seems to mean 'mediaeval English,' but at least two other meanings strike me as possibilities. I am accustomed to use *Anglo-Saxon* freely as a synonym for 'English' in the broad sense, but to shun it in its various narrow meanings, and I flatter myself that thereby I avoid misunderstanding. If only Mr Hübener had limited his *Anglo-Saxon* in this or some other way, his readers would have been grateful.

The theory that the Goidels were driven from Britain to Ireland by the Brythons (p. 15) has no evidence to support it and can hardly be maintained. I am sceptical of the etymologies given (pp. 22, 24) for Slavic *gospodĭ* and the tribal name *Cwenas*. The notion that the neighbors of the Germans to the east held women in higher esteem than did the Germans (p. 25) has little to commend it. There is no reason for supposing (p. 38) that the husband of Nerthus was Ing; Olsen has made it clear that her proper husband was Tew; see K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 317. Ing was in fact the son of Nerthus, as Norse mythology reveals. King Alfred nowhere says that the Angles ever lived on the Danish islands (p. 57); he does not mention Selund (p. 70). Heardred was not killed on an expedition against the Swedes (p. 69); unlike Hygelac, he fell at home. Since *Beowulf* has a plot which does not involve the Angles, the failure of the English poet to mention that tribe is not surprising (p. 70); he goes out of his way to mention Offa, the famous Anglian king, and thus does more than his duty by the Angles. The author upholds (p. 71) the theory that *Beowulf* was composed toward the end of the ninth century by an Englishman of the Danelaw, who got his material from Scandinavians then living in England and wrote for a Scandinavian court. According to this theory, *Beowulf* was contemporaneous with the famous Danish poem *Bjarkamál*, which Olrik dates *ca.* 900. But anyone who has compared the two poems must recognize at once the fact that *Beowulf* represents a far older tradition. We have no reason to think that so old a tradition was current in ninth century Scandinavia. Had the English poem actually been composed as Mr Hübener thinks, Hrothulf, not Hrothgar, would have been the Danish king served by the hero, and the historical allusions would have been more in keeping with Scandinavian tradition as we know it in Saxo and the Icelandic monuments. If comparative study of the Scandinavian and English monuments shows anything, it shows that the English poem reflects a sixth century tradition, exceedingly close to history and far older than anything preserved in Scandinavia. It is obviously unsound to derive this tradition from Scandinavians of the ninth century, when we possess

a Scandinavian poem of that century which demonstrates that the tradition then current in Scandinavia was fundamentally different. No, *Beowulf* would not have gone well before a Scandinavian audience of the ninth century, which had other ideas altogether about the Scylding kings and their respective fates. In his consideration of the influence of Celtic Christianity on the English (pp. 143 ff.) the author ought to have distinguished sharply the Irish (Scotch) from the Britons. Wulfstan was probably an Englishman (pp. 171, 186); see W. A. Craigie, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XXIV (1925) 396 ff. The author's insistence on Alfred's *Ostsæ* as a *vereinzelte deutsche Form* (p. 182) reflects misplaced German patriotism rather than sound scientific method. For the Gothic kingdom on the Vistula (p. 187), see Otto von Friesen, *Rökstenen*, p. 122. The etymology offered for *Truso* (p. 190) is phonetically weak. The fact that the governing class among the Ests drank mares' milk (p. 196) indicates the nomadic origin of that class; see F. Peisker, *Camb. Med. Hist.* II, 432. We have here, in all likelihood, a reflection of a conquest of Estland by the Avars. I cannot agree with the author's characterization of William the Conqueror as a French viking (p. 203). William and his army were to a very limited extent of viking blood and are best considered simply as Frenchmen. The chapter on English witchcraft (pp. 214 ff.) seems to have been written without reference to Professor Kittredge's monumental work on the subject. Robert Bacon (p. 246) was a Dominican, not a Franciscan. It is hardly right to call Langland a prophet (p. 282); he seems rather to have been a primitivist. I find it hard to believe that the Lowlanders of Scotland are known as Erse (p. 309).

KEMP MALONE,
Johns Hopkins University

PUTNAM F. JONES, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede*. Published for the Concordance Society by the Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no. 2. Cambridge, Mass., 1929. Paper. Pp. ix+585. $6.50.

THE best service from a review of a concordance is testimony to its reliability. This volume has been for weeks in the hands of Mr Arthur E. Hutson of the University of California, who has verified in Bede's text many hundreds of lines from the concordance, and in the concordance many hundreds of words from Bede. He has found no omissions and no wrong references, and only two misprints of the most negligible kind in the head-words and quotations; besides these, *presbiter* is five times slightly misspelled in entries for I, 33. This is a good record with the millions of errors possible in fifty thousand entries, whether or not the editor used the technique for proofreading which is so serviceable with a volume like this. One of the chief uses of a concordance is to enable the user to make safe

general statements about the work concordanced without reading it all through for every statement with Argus eyes,—to write that word 'not' which is sometimes the longest word in the language. This a user of Dr Jones' book can, I judge, do with security.

It will be useful to linguistic students for its organized picture of Bede's vocabulary and grammar; and to historians of many brands as a complete index to what the *Historia* mentions or ignores. Even without the full text, it exhibits his weakness for visions and miracles, demons and virgins.

The concordance is based on the late Charles Plummer's edition (Oxford, 1896), in which the spelling is almost wholly classical. Dr Jones lists all Plummer's variants except certain late interpolations. In the cross-references it is not easy to detect bad omissions, unless of *Phylacteria* for Bede's *Fylacteria*. As to the words so voluminous or colorless as to be disregarded, two things may be animadverted on; no specimens are given of peculiar and unclassical uses of such prepositions, etc., and no full list of the omitted words, but merely a note in each place. Where an unessential phrase in a quotation is replaced by three dots, a comma after it should be printed as well as one before. It is convenient that different personages of the same name are separated and identified. In the plan and technique, there are several other good points. In the make-up, one matter is distinctly regrettable,—that at no very great extra expense better and especially lighter paper was not used. The volume weighs quite too much for a tool-book which users may wish to carry about, and especially for a volume with only paper binding. But the typography is judicious and almost always well executed.

It is an uncovenanted grace to have a concordance to Bede's *Historia* at all, to say nothing of one so good. The Academy doubtless will continue to publish a due proportion of works which expedite and solidify more alluring scholarship. As to the suitability of such works for doctoral dissertations opinions may vary, but at any rate they have as much originality as some theses belonging to orthodox types, together with more of other scholarly qualities and far more utility. A writer's consciousness that he is producing something sure to be published and used affords stimulus often to go on contributing.

John S. P. Tatlock,
University of California

V. M. Istrin, *Khronika Georgija Amartola v Drevnem Slavjanorusskom Perevode* (*The Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus in the Old Slavic-Russian Translation*). Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Paper. I, *Text* (1920), pp. xviii+612; II, *The Greek Text of the Continuation of Hamartolus; Studies* (1922), pp. xxix+454; III, *Greek-Slavic and Slavic-Greek Lexicon* (1930), pp. I+348.

While the compass of this monumental work considerably exceeds the in-

trinsic historical value of the second-rate Byzantine Chronicle with which it deals, any study from the pen of the greatest living Russian student of the reflexes of Byzantine annals in Slavic literature merits the respectful attention of all scholars concerning themselves with the mediaeval history of Eastern Europe, especially since Professor Istrin's investigations of Old Russian literature in general, and in particular of the Old Russian Chronicles and Chronographs, the Russian *Alexandria*, the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*, and the Slavic translation of John Malalas, rank among the outstanding contributions to these closely interrelated subjects.

Georgius Hamartolus himself was a contemporary of the Emperor Theophilus; his Chronicle extends from Creation to the first year of Michael III (843). His point of view was zealously monastic, and the latter portion of his work presents the ebullitions of a fanatical opponent of iconoclasm. Georgius' work has come down to us in a considerable variety of badly interpolated texts, to some of which has been added a supplement derived from Symeon the Logothete and carrying the narrative to the death of Romanus Lecapenus on July 15, 948.[1] The first complete edition of the Greek text, prepared by von Muralt from a Moscow codex, represents an interpolated text with continuation. The modern critical text of de Boor satisfies all current requirements. The *Chronicle* of Georgius Hamartolus, however unimportant as an historical source, plays a conspicuous rôle in Early Slavic literature, for the reason that it was translated at an early date, and some twelve MSS of such translations are now extant. The exact date and place of translation is a matter of dispute; Hamartolus was, in any case, known in translation to the compiler of the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, finished *ca.* 1116.[2]

Since the publication of Professor Istrin's second volume, a considerable complex of polemical literature has arisen around this particular point, which is crucial for its bearing on questions of the influence of South Slavic intellectual progress upon Early Russian literature and especially of the amount of activity in translation from the Greek which characterized the reign of Yaroslav the Wise in Kiev (1018–1054). The chief recent participants in this argument have been Professor Miloš Weingart of Prague, whose three-volume study of *Byzantine Chronicles in Church Slavic Literature* is the chief modern treatment of the subject, N. N. Durnovo,[3] the late

[1] Cf. J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire, 802–867* (London, 1912), pp. 453–459; E. von Muralt, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* (Leingrad, 1859); K. de Boor, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* (Leipzig, 1904); M. Weingart, *Byzantské Kroniky v Literatuře Církevněslovanské* (Bratislava, 1923), II, pts. 1–2.

[2] Cf. S. H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 99–101, 109–115.

[3] 'K Voprosu o Natsionalnosti Slavjanskogo Perevodčika Khroniki Georgija Amartola,' *Slavia* IV (Prague, 1925), 446–460.

P. A. Lavrov,[1] and V. Rozov.[2] The disagreement largely centers on a division of opinion as to whether Hamartolus was translated in Bulgaria itself or in Russia either by a Russian schoolman or by a Bulgarian scholar in Russian service, aided to some extent by Russian associates. In a lengthy chapter prefixed to his third volume, Professor Istrin attentively analyzes the opinions of his critics, and reasserts his original basic conclusion that the present translation of Hamartolus was made in Russia by a Russian toward the end of the first half of the Eleventh Century.

Beside the full text of the Old Slavic translation, Professor Istrin (II, 3–65) supplies the Greek text of the continuation of Hamartolus according to *Vat. 153*, and an impressive array of studies dealing both with the linguistic peculiarities of the translation and its relation to other Old Russian works. His third and last volume, which offers a Greek-Slavic and Slavic-Greek lexicon of the Hamartolus text, is a highly valuable contribution to Church Slavic lexicography in view of the facilities it supplies for a study of the expansion of the Slavic vocabulary. It is more than sufficient, in any case, to refute Professor A. Brückner's characterization of the Slavic translations of Hamartolus as 'niederträchtig wörtlich.'

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

Gertrude Leigh, *New Light on the Youth of Dante.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930. Pp. viii+278. $5.00.

Writers on Dante may be classified as those who believe that when he makes a definite statement he means what he says, and those who believe that he means something quite different. It is difficult for a critic belonging to the former class to judge with equanimity one who belongs to the latter. We may, however, as Miss Leigh 'ventures to entreat,' keep an open mind for a short space, 'admitting the possibility that such a Hell as Dante seems to picture may have been no less antagonistic to the ideals of Christianity framed by his mighty intellect than to those of our own day.' She maintains that Dante set himself to teach his generation a profound religious philosophy, as developed by the 'Spirituals' Joachim and Olivi, which is incompatible with 'the ostensible literal meaning of the *Inferno.*' The poem is therefore a figurative account of Dante's struggle against the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. In other words, he believed neither in eternal damnation nor in the spiritual authority of the Church; but for fear of the Inquisition he concealed his lack of belief under the form of ironical acquiescence. If this was his purpose, we must admit that he

[1] 'Georgii Amartol v Izdanii V. M. Istrina,' *Slavia* IV, 461–484; 657–683.

[2] In a review of Weingart's book, *Slavia* IV, 361–370.

was singularly unsuccessful in avoiding persecution, and only too successful in concealing his meaning. Miss Leigh does not cite writers so important for her investigation as Croce, Flamini, and Vossler, who show that Dante was not an original theological thinker, but in the main followed traditional beliefs. With this view she would doubtless agree, so far as literal interpretation is concerned; but she maintains that the conformity is superficial. She makes out a remarkable concordance between the narrative of the *Commedia* and the historical events of Dante's lifetime, the present volume covering the first thirteen cantos of the *Inferno* and the years up to 1290. We shall not attempt to judge the accuracy of her historical and philosophical erudition, but something must be said concerning her treatment of Dante.

In order to win approval, any system of interpreting Dante must be based on accurate knowledge; Miss Leigh has studied minutely, but the results which she presents are fantastic. Her fluent blank-verse translation of the text sometimes departs intentionally from accepted interpretations, sometimes contains errors caused by insufficient knowledge of Italian. Thus in *Inferno* VIII, the city of Dis is said to be the University of Bologna frequented by Dante in 1283; the *piovuti dal cielo* are the discordant jurists, and their simple phrase *provi se sa*, 'let him try (to return) if he can,' is rendered 'let him, an if he knows, bring proof'; their racing back to the gate *a prova* is rendered 'each betook himself to proof.' The 'fantastic Florentine' in the Styx is really Charles d'Anjou, and when the souls of the wrathful shout *a Filippo Argenti* they are not naming him, but are urging him to turn to Philip III of France for money (!). In *Inferno* XIII, the wood of the suicides is an allegory of the battle of Campaldino (1289); the tree from which Dante breaks a twig is not Pier de la Vigna, whom the text seems to suggest, but Guido da Montefeltro, who was in the confidence of Frederick's heart, namely his grandson *Cor*-radino. Thus, in a passage that his 'inner circle of readers' would understand, Dante tries to make amends for having killed Guido's son Buonconte at Campaldino. Miss Leigh here calmly ignores the fact that Guido da Montefeltro appears later in *Inferno* among the counsellors of evil.

She has apparently used only a few annotated editions of the *Commedia;* otherwise she could hardly say that the commentators 'unanimously' identify the leopard of the first canto with the city of Florence. The leopard is of course an obstacle which for a time Dante hoped to circumvent, not an ally on which he 'set good hope.' *Arena* means 'sand,' not 'arena'; *tu gridi a voto* certainly does not mean 'thou callest for a vow'; *Caina* is a region of hell, not the fratricide in person.

These instances of wrong interpretation, among many, are perhaps

sufficient to show that, before Miss Leigh's revolutionary system can be seriously considered, her conclusions must be based on evidence which is less unsound. Much of the historical material in her book is of real interest, and possibly Dante scholars had not hitherto paid enough attention to the practices of the hierarchy, which Dante in fact condemns in no uncertain terms. It is easy to say that aggressive hostility to the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines is not the attitude in which one should approach Dante; Miss Leigh has an answer ready for that. Her whole argument however is vitiated not only by frequent misunderstanding of the text but by failure to consider the mediaeval point of view. Her bias is so strong that in her admiration for Dante as a man (she shows little appreciation of him as a poet), she is unwilling to admit that he did not believe as she believes. She seems to forget that the doctrines which she deems inacceptable were accepted in the Middle Ages by all except a few 'heretics,' and are literally accepted today by many both in and out of the Catholic Church.

K. McKenzie,
Princeton University

Violet R. Markham, *Romanesque France. Studies in the Archaeology and History of the 12th century.* London: John Murray, 1929. Cloth. xviii+521 pp.+34 pages of half-tone plates.

The first sentence in the introduction of this work clearly states its purpose—'to make better known to English travellers the beauty and interest of the ancient churches of France.' The aim is well achieved; indeed, the reviewer knows of no book which achieves this purpose better. To begin with, the style is agreeable, not encumbered with gallicisms or technical terms. Any work of this character must necessarily be a work of compilation to a certain extent; here the authorities are well chosen and well understood. The arrangement, structure, and decoration of the churches is made clear, and set off with historical, liturgical, biographical, and philosophic observations in a most praiseworthy way. This book will delight those who have a good deal to learn about the Romanesque, and will serve as a convenient reference book for those who have advanced in their studies of the period.

K. J. Conant,
Harvard University

Sister Marie Antoinette Martin, *The Use of Indirect Discourse in the Works of St Ambrose.* The Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies. Vol. xx. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xviii+165. $3.50.

This volume, the twentieth in the *Patristic Studies* of the Catholic Uni-

versity of America, is a study of the constructions employed by St Ambrose for the expression of indirect discourse, including the indirect statement, question, command, and wish. The first chapter (pp. 1–14) gives a satisfactory summary of the studies which have already been made of the use in post-classical Latin of a clause, introduced by *quod*, *quia*, *quoniam*, etc., instead of the accusative and infinitive and of the use of the indicative instead of the more common subjunctive in indirect questions. Each of the succeeding chapters gives complete statistics, with brief comparisons with classical and late usage, of the various forms of indirect quotation occuring in the entire corpus of St Ambrose. The concluding chapter (pp. 149–160) contains a brief summary of the author's findings and a comparison of them with the results obtained from similar studies of other late writers both pagan and Christian.

The practice of St Ambrose, Sister Marie finds, agrees with that of other patristic writers in his free use of a clause with a finite mood, 2133 instances against 5504 instances of the infinitive, whereas he is more careful than others in his avoidance of a mixed construction (clause and accusative and infinitive in dependence upon the same verb of saying) of which only eight examples occur. In the later works, the use of the clause increases at the expense of the infinitive. This free use of the clause in patristic Latin stands in strong contrast, she notes (pp. 154–5), to the preference on the part of profane writers of the early centuries for the classical construction of the infinitive. Both the subjunctive and indicative moods are used in these clauses, and Sister Marie concludes that their use by St Ambrose is in substantial agreement with the views formulated chiefly by Löfstedt and his followers, that the indicative is employed when 'the speaker himself wishes to state something as actual and certain, whereas the subjunctive is employed if either the content of the subordinate clause is to be shown as something false or improbable or if the speaker does not wish to commit himself regarding the truth of the statement in the subordinate clause' (p. 151). In spite of the value of Löfstedt's insistence upon the psychological factor, it is noteworthy that in Ambrose, as in the patristic writers generally, *quod* comes to be associated with the subjunctive, *quia* with the indicative; there are 733 examples of *quod* with the subjunctive, 247 of *quod* with the indicative; 122 examples of *quia* with the subjunctive, 826 of *quia* with the indicative. As the author herself puts it (p. 117), 'the choice of the particle may have a levelling influence on the mood.'

In the indirect question, St Ambrose throughout much prefers the subjunctive, with 1927 examples of this mood against 124 of the indicative, and his use of the introductory particles conforms on the whole, except for the increase of *si*, with the classic norm. Nor is there any deviation from

this norm in the indirect expression of a wish; on the other hand, there is quite an increase, as there is in late Latin generally, in the use of the infinitive with verbs which, in classic prose, at least, have their object in the form of an *ut*-clause. Here the influence of poetry may, I think, have played a part, since in most cases the construction appears first in poetry.

This possible influence of poetic diction and syntax as a factor in causing these differences between patristic Latin and classical prose in the expression of indirect discourse has not received the attention it deserves, and the author might have given it, I feel, more consideration than she has. She recognizes the influence of the Greek ecclesiastical language in giving currency to the *quod*, *quia* clauses, but very properly assigns the origin of such uses to native Latin idiom and to the analogical extension of object clauses with *quod*, *quia*. There are, however, bothersome questions which arise in connection with this matter of Greek influence. Why, for example, if 'the use of *quia* and *quoniam* is in direct imitation of the ὅτι construction of Greek syntax,' (p. 3), does Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek writing Latin, confine himself to the *quod* clause? And why should profane writers, as contrasted with patristic, likewise prefer *quod* to *quia*? There is a possibility, also, it seems to me, which the author might have considered, that the shift between indicative and subjunctive moods in dependence upon the same verb of saying may have been due, not to psychological factors, but to rhetoric, to the effort to secure variety or a good clausula or parallelism of sound (cf., p. 123, *deferantur . . . . pensantur*, instead of the subjunctive, *pensentur*).

However these things may be, such a study as this will be of very great value in helping toward a final solution of such problems, and Sister Marie has performed a laborious and tedious task with commendable care and exactness. There are a few instances of carelessness in expression, especially in her summaries on pp. 125 and 158, and I cannot forebear protesting against one of them, her explanation (p. 12) of the frequent use of the indicative to indirect questions in Early Latin as due to 'the paratactic tendency of primitive speech;' the Latin of Plautus is not 'primitive' and such a construction should be assigned to the affective, in contrast to the intellectual, mode of speech. The many references have been verified, as far as one may judge from a test check, with great care. There is a helpful 'Select Bibliography' (pp. xi-xiv) and a good *Index verborum et locutionum* (pp. 161–165).

Marbury B. Ogle,
Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

RUTH ELLIS MESSENGER, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England. Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, ed. by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.* No. 321. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 210. $3.50.

CHAPTER I of this book is a meritorious gathering together of material that will prove of no little value to students of Latin liturgical hymns in Medieval England. The rest of the book, with the introduction, is a thesis not above reproach of a bit of special pleading. The inspirational background of hymns that were deemed worthy of being incorporated in the breviary and the missal is too narrowly sought in the moral-philosophic speculations of serious teachers and ethicists, whether Hellenic or Christian, that led to definite categorizations of virtues and vices. Religion naturally seeks God and godliness through the heart as well as, if not more than, through the mind; and hymnody, if it be true lyric expression, must bemoan—always poetically, of course—all that hinders as well as belaud the needful and helpful. But categories of virtues and vices, or of aught else, belong to the schoolroom, are the pronunciamentos from the philosopher's cathedra, and could but ill supply the fire necessary for the fine poetic songs of St Ambrose and the *Ambrosiani*, to pass over Gregory I, Prudentius, and many a later hymnist. Moreover, most of the hymns of the Psalter at least cited by the author of the study belong to a period half a millenium or more before the time that categories of virtues or vices had anything like the official validity in the Church assumed for them. Therein the author leans all too heavily on Zöckler's two treatises, excellent as these are for the presentation of historical data in regard to the development of virtue and vice lists, but vitiated by an ultra-Evangelical bias that led the course of his investigations and the conclusions derived therefrom to a definitely projected *terminus ad quem*.[1] I miss as corrective thereto W. H. V. Reade's *Moral System of Dante's Inferno* (Oxford, 1909) among the books cited. Is the author aware, too, that the capital vices are, perhaps a bit unfortunately, almost extinct in sermonizing and in catechetical instruction in the Catholic Church today;[2] that neither the horrific list of chief vices nor yet any heptadic or other category of virtues occurs in either the catechism that came out of the decree of the Council of Trent or in the *Acta* of the Council;[3] and that where the lists occur they seem rath-

[1] *Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden* (München, 1893) especially p. 98, and *Tugendlehre des Christentums* (Gütersloh, 1904) especially p. 373.

[2] Evidence of a revived interest is seen in Father M. V. McDonough's *The Seven Capital Vices* (1910), and in the Anglican or Episcopal Norman MacLeod Caie's *The Seven Deadly Sins* (1923) and Steward Stone's *The Seven Capital Sins* (1926).

[3] *Catechismus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini*, etc. (Taurini, Petrus Marietti, 1924) and *Concilium Tridentinum Diariorum, Actorum, Epistolarum, Tractatuum* (Freiburg, B. Herder, 1900 ff.).

er to have come through a local tradition?[1] I am not belittling the great role the Seven Deadly Sins have played in English literature; but we may well be on our guard, since the stimulation of the Manly-Jusserand controversy, against making that role more impressive than its deserts warrant.

The physical make-up of the book is beyond cavil, and the bibliographical material of real value to students of the Middle Ages. Typographical errors noted are the following: 'contracting' for 'contrasting' on p. 104; 'deutschen' for 'deutsche' under 'Wackernagel' on p. 195.

Francis J. Hemelt,
Catholic University of America

Sister Margaret Gertrude Murphy, *St Basil and Monasticism*. The Catholic University of America Patristic Series, xv. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930. Pp. xix+112. $3.50.

The aim of this dissertation, as we are informed in the preface, is (1) to correct the conclusions of W. K. L. Clarke in his *St Basil the Great, a Study in Monasticism*, and (2) to discuss the practice of Monasticism as a system of spirituality and not of external practice. That Dr Clarke has done some thorough work in this field is evident, but that he should be able to give a complete study on Monasticism could not be expected, since he has no understanding of the spiritual basis upon which it is built. This full exposition of the system must come from one who understands not only the external works and rules but also the principle which underlies them. Sister Margaret Gertrude is admirably fitted both by study and by the practice of the life to bring to completion the work begun by Dr Clarke, and she has presented it in a clear and interesting manner in her dissertation.

A survey of pre-Basilian asceticism from the first followers of Christ through St Anthony, the founder of eremitical monasticism, and St Pachomius, the founder of cenobitical monasticism, who were the immediate predecessors of St Basil, introduces the subject. Then by a careful annotation of St Basil's letters, principally Letters II, XIV, XXII, and CCXXIII, the different elements in St Basil's concept of the ascetical life are enumerated.

In the second part are set forth the regulations of St Basil, as given in the Rules, on the three vows of Religion: chastity, obedience, and poverty. An interesting point brought out in regard to obedience is the fact that St Basil requires obedience to the totality of Scriptural precepts instead

[1] *Cf.* the history of the Baltimore catechism, Peter Guilday: *The Life and Times of John England*, I (New York, 1927), 313–314, and John K. Sharp (*The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXI, 573–586).

of to a given monastic rule as is usual in Religious Orders. This follows from the conclusion arrived at by the author that St Basil's Rules were in all probability not intended as complete monastic rules, but as supplements to render more explicit the Divine Scriptures, which were regarded by him as the actual Rules of his Institute.

Under the title of 'Lesser External Disciplines,' the author discusses St Basil's system of work, which involves a twofold obligation (1) by reason of the power to work with which man is endowed, and (2) in virtue of the charity which he owes his neighbor. We receive here the interesting information that this last principle was included in monastic regulations for the first time by St Basil.

A resumé of the teaching on humility or interior training follows. From his teaching on this point, Sister Margaret Gertrude proclaims St Basil the forerunner of St Benedict, the Patriarch of the Monks of the West. St Basil's theory and practice of charity and his teaching concerning both vocal and mental prayer are next dealt with in a clear and scholarly manner.

The conclusion of this valuable dissertation sets forth in a summarized form the contributions which the writer has made to our knowledge of Western Monasticism as well as some excellent corrections on points inadequately treated by Dr Clarke.

As to the questions of authenticity discussed in the appendix, I do not see that the language differs in any marked degree from that of St Basil's Letters. The interpretation of the passages regarded as inconsistent by Dr Clarke seem to me to admit of no other interpretation than that which Sister Margaret Gertrude has given them.

Sister Agnes Clare Way,
Our Lady of the Lake College,
San Antonio, Texas

James Morton Paton, ed., and others, *The Erechtheum, Measured, Drawn, and Restored by G. P. Stevens.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927. Cloth. Quarto, pp. xxvi+673; plans and other illustrations; album of 54 plates in folio (drawings and heliotype prints). $40.00.

While the interest of a strict mediaevalist in the Erechtheum would be confined to the structure during its service as a Christian church and a Turkish harem, no student of the fine arts ought to be without a knowledge of this queenly classical structure. The monograph sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens is a model of its kind; it is a beautifully achieved piece of complete and careful descriptive work. When definitive monographs are prepared on great mediaeval buildings which have a similar interest and have passed through similar vicissitudes,

it will have to be on the basis of excavations as careful as those carried out at the Erechtheum, and the evidence—all of it—will have to be assembled as conscientiously as is done in the American School's great publication. This work is surprisingly easy reading, considering the vast amount of information it affords, and the painstaking completeness which it attains.

The story of the building is given with all possible detail; there is a thorough-going presentation of the building itself, collateral evidence on its construction, and an attempt to explain its peculiarities. The last is the only part of the work which is open to any discussion. It is a tribute to the authors' work that other students are unanimously using the book as a mine of source-material with which to disprove this or that contention of the authors. Apparently their ideas on the primitive and intermediate state of the building are not entirely precise; the application of the evidence is not always perfect, and further work is necessary to clarify certain problems. This criticism applies, however, only to the conjectural part of the work. The rest stands firm, and is deserving of all praise. The format chosen for the book is excellent; the pages are agreeable to read, the illustrations are at a good scale and easy to find, and the drawings are admirably clear and beautifully executed.

K. J. Conant,
Harvard University

Theodore F. T. Plucknett, ed., *Year Books of Richard II: 13 Richard II, 1389–1390.* London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. l+205. £1/11/6.

Readers of *Speculum* who are interested in mediaeval English law will welcome the resumption of the publication of Year Books by the Ames Foundation. They will also be grateful for the higher standard of scholarship now displayed, for the editing and translation of the earlier Year Book issued by the Foundation, that of 12 Richard II, left much to be desired.

To those who are familiar with the Year Books of the reign of Edward II, the one now published will seem rather lifeless at times, despite its great value as a source of information. Mr Plucknett has pointed out (pp. xvi, xvii) that the older diffuseness has given place to 'greater attention to substance,' and also 'that legal thought is markedly more orderly, and is more inclined to seek principles for its expression.' Despite a wholly illogical liking for the earlier loquaciousness, I must subscribe to both of these statements.

In the midst of cases that illustrate the finer points of legal principles and procedure, there are a few that are of value to the economic and social

historian. One deals with the vexed question of 'reasonable cause' for leaving an employer of labor (p. 31). The matter of luring an apprentice from his master is taken under consideration (p. 38). The question of the accountability of a husband for the financial transactions of his wife, who was a dealer in wine, is faced (p. 79). There are also a few cases dealing with manorial tenants and tenures (e.g., pp. 47, 94, 108, 122).

The introduction contains much solid information about the manuscripts used and a valuable series of observations on a number of cases.

James F. Willard,
University of Colorado

F. M. Stenton, ed., *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptionshire Collections*. D. M. Stenton, ed., *The Earliest Northamptonshire Assize Rolls, A.D. 1202 and 1203*. Northamptonshire Record Society Publications, vols. iv and v, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxviii +214; xxv+179.

Since its foundation in 1920, the Northamptonshire Record Society has been very generous to the Middle Ages. Three of the volumes of its publications, including those now under review, have been devoted to that period, and each of these has added materially to the equipment of mediaevalists.

The first volume, issued to members for the years 1926 and 1927, will appeal especially to scholars interested in the development of the forms of royal and private charters and writs. It contains transcripts and facsimiles of writs of William II, Henry I, Henry II, and John, charters of Henry I, Richard I and John, and a number of private documents of the same character and period. The greater number of the manuscripts were found in private collections. Several of the writs and charters contain information that will be of value by students of rural landholding in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The contents of the second volume are of more general interest. In it are found the returns of the general eyre of 1202 held in Northamptonshire and the adjoining countries and also the records of the work of the justices who visited the same region in 1203. 'In a general eyre,' so states Mrs. Stenton, 'the justices were commissioned to hear all manner of pleas and were expected to collect replies to certain definite questions' (p. xx). The latter are frequently of great service to the student of social and economic history. In 1202, however, the answers of the jurors dealt mainly with disputes over land and with crime. We read of market days being changed from Sunday to Saturday (pp. 3, 9), of wine sold contrary to the assize (pp. 2, 8, 16), and of tolls levied on salt-laden carts passing through Northamptonshire (pp. 10–11), but matters of this sort are rarely dealt with. On the other hand, in both 1202 and 1203, there is a wealth of references

to crime and its punishment, to villeinage and its services, and to the various forms of legal procedure in use in the early thirteenth century. The very human desire for delay whenever court proceedings are to the fore shows itself in the use of essoins. Many and plausible were the excuses offered in both 1202 and 1203 by those who wished to postpone their appearance before the justices. Mrs. Stenton (pp. xxvii–xxviii) has given a careful summary of the essoins that might be accepted by the court.

The fact that neither of the above volumes is on sale to the general public should increase the number of members of the Northamptonshire Record Society.

James F. Willard,
University of Colorado

B. L. Ullman, ed., *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII.* Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol., vi. Rome: The American Academy in Rome, 1928. Cloth. Pp. lii+520.

Professor Ullman in the present volume has presented us not only with the *editio princeps* but also the definitive edition of Sicco's most pretentious book. This edition is based entirely on the autograph manuscript in the Vatican, *Ottob. lat. 1915. siglum O*, although Professor Ullman necessarily gives some consideration to other manuscripts in order to determine the development of the work, the date of publication, the extent of its diffusion, etc. Under such circumstances, where the text-maker has at his disposal an autograph manuscript carefully revised by the author himself, the critical apparatus is necessarily brief. Except to indicate purely mechanical errors in the copying of *O*, the chief purpose of the apparatus is to note those corrections in *O* 'which, so far as they can be made out, seem to bear on Sicco's immediate and subsequent revision of the text and on his growth in knowledge of correct Latin usage.' There are also notes below the text giving in the main only the sources of Sicco's actual quotations. A complete study of Sicco's sources is promised us by Professor Ullman as the doctoral dissertation of one of his students.

An Introduction, brief but adequate, covers the following topics: the Revival of Learning, Sicco Polenton, the *Lives of Famous Latin Authors*, publication and manuscripts of the *Lives*, the other manuscripts, the relation of the manuscripts, the date of the 'second' edition, Sicco's sources and his use of them, published portions of the *Lives*, Sicco's latinity, Sicco's spelling, manuscripts of Sicco's other works, Sicco's library, the Portrait of Sicco, and the critical apparatus.

Sicco's great work admittedly is, for the most part, of historical interest to us. Although not itself a literary masterpiece, it gives a fine idea of the extent of the knowledge of Classical Latin authors in the first half of the

fifteenth century, and it often throws valuable light on the text and text tradition of these authors.

The text and its prolegomena are very carefully and intelligently executed, and Professor Ullman has presented us with a most useful volume for the History of Classical scholarship in particular. It may seem a little forced to complain of workmanship in book-making.

Roy J. Deferrari,
Catholic University of America

E. W. Williamson, ed., *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminister*. London, Oxford University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 232. $5.00.

The present edition of the Letters of Osbert of Clare is based on the Cotton manuscript of the British Museum, the only surviving volume of the letters. The letters appear also in the so-called Gale's *Transcript* of the seventeenth century. The latter has some value in that it provides readings where the Cotton manuscript suffered in the fire. With so little by way of a manuscript tradition, the critical apparatus is necessarily very scanty. In the margin of the text, sources Scriptural, patristic, and classical are noted. It would have aided the reader greatly if the text itself, by italics or otherwise, indicated the exact portion affected by Scripture or other literature. The commentary accompanying each letter is very brief, but at least the important problems are treated capably if succintly.

The Introduction, as far as it goes, contains very valuable material. First we have 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career' by J. Armitage Robinson, a slightly adapted article printed before in *The Church Quarterly Review* (July, 1909) under the title, 'Westminister in the Twelfth Century: Osbert of Clare.' This original title really befits the article, which the new title in the present volume does not. It would have been better had Mr. Williamson written a real 'Sketch of Osbert's Career,' drawing of course on the valuable material of Dr Robinson.

The section on 'Osbert's Works' gives us much well-handled new material. It contains not only a worthy literary treatment of the same, but also gives full information on the manuscripts and editions, and the problems concerned with each as to authenticity, date, etc. Finally, we have a discussion of the two manuscripts of the Letters and a table of the Letters, showing how the present edition has changed the traditional order in an effort to procure a chronological arrangement. As I have said, what we have by way of prolegomena is excellent, but I feel that the average reader would have benefitted much by an essay on Osbert's career written specifically for this edition, as well as by a special treatment of

the language and literary qualities of the letters and their historical significance. The author has, however, amply realized his modest purpose of supplying 'a complete and fairly accurate text [of the letters] in which the historian and the humanist might find what they wanted with the least distraction.'

Roy J. Deferrari,
Catholic University of America

Helen Waddell, Mediaeval Latin Lyrics. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1929. Cloth. Pp. viii+352. 21 shillings.

The great body of Latin mediaeval poetry has but to be known (at least in its better parts) to be admired; and no one who has once tasted its delights, varying as they do from meters of an implicate Swinburnian thunder and richness to songs as light as those of a solitary flute and as tender as sighs, fails to become an enthusiast. The pity is that this beauty is not better known to poetry lovers everywhere. Since the days of John Addington Symonds, no true poet has entered this strange, enchanted garden—none, that is, until the happy arrival of Miss Helen Waddell. Fortunately Miss Waddell is not only thoroughly seen in the scholarship of mediaeval Latin, as her *The Wandering Scholars* (however one may disagree with particular judgments in that brilliant book) attests, but she is also a true poet of insight, literary tact, and metrical mastery.

The task of the translator of Latin mediaeval verse is an extraordinarily difficult one. He must, to begin with, look beneath the incrustations of a diction, often conventional and frayed, for the poetic fires smouldering underneath. He must then, without undue violence to the original, divine the poet's meaning; and turn a vocabulary that, literally rendered, would often be merely literary and rhetorical, into language that shall be simple, sensuous and passionate, sensing, for example, which of its innumerable meanings a word like '*laetitia*' is to have in his translation, determining whether such a phrase as '*per ramos fragiles*' means that it is trees, twigs, branches, or boughs that are thus delicate, and deciding, since 'quadrupeds' will not do, what kind of animals he will install in dens from such a line as '*struunt lustra quadrupedes.*' As though these difficulties were not sufficient, there is finally the eternal problem of the meter, a problem more baffling in Latin of this kind, I think, than in classical poetry. No meter and no combination of words in English as yet invented will secure the light dance and liquid melody of '*Dum Diane vitrea Sero lampas oritur*' on the one hand, just as no English stanza and no English blank verse quite carry the tune and cadence of mediaeval elegiac verse.

Miss Waddell meets these tests, and for the most part triumphantly survives them. Nothing can be more superb as poetry or as translation

than her rendering of the '*Tempora lapsa volant, fugitivis fallimur horis*' of Venantius Fortunatus:

> 'Time that is fallen is flying, we are fooled by the passing hours . . . . .
> Likeness is none between us, but we go to the selfsame end.
> The foot that hath crossed that threshold shall no man withdraw again.
> . . . . What help in the arms of the fighters? Hector, and vengeful Achilles
> Fallen, Ajax is fallen, whose shield was the wall of Greece.'

Her admirable rendering of Abelard's '*Sabbato ad Vesperas*' equals, indeed it surpasses, Neal's *Hora Novissima*. In her versions from the *Carmina Burana* she is as musical as Symonds and closer to the sense. I despairingly envy the inspiration which led her to open her version of Prudentius' '*Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum*' with the delicate lines

> 'Take him, earth, for cherishing,
> To thy tender breast receive him.'

Nothing can be lovelier, nothing truer to the spirit of the original, than her chorus for '*Tempus est iocundum*,' of which I give both the Latin and the English:

> 'O.o. totus floreo,
> iam amore virginali
> totus ardeo,
> totus novus amor
> est, quo pereo.'
>
> 'With the love of a maid
> Aflower,
> With the love of a maid
> Afire,
> New love, new love,
> Dying of desire.'

Here, where a literal translation is simply impossible, Miss Waddell has taken the only possible alternative and created an English stanza as fragile and delicate as the original.

Indeed, where Miss Waddell fails of an adequate rendering, it is because her very virtues carry with them their defects. A lyrist of passion and power in the best tradition of English verse, she seeks to cram every rift with ore. I do not think that the *hic nullus labor est ruborque nullus* of Pretronius's rather shameless '*Foeda est in coitu*' is well rendered by any such elegance as 'no weariness is here, no shamefastness,' just as I do not think that the lewd implication of a Pavia '*ubi Venus digito Iuvenes venatur*' appears in the Petrarchan picture of

> 'Pavia, where Beauty draws
> Youth with finger-tips.'

One reading the English will scarcely picture a *Venus meretrix* in front

of a brothel. So, too, to avoid these questions of taste, I wonder at a Rome, 'with lightning swept' (*'cum bulla fulminante'*); marvel that *'virginalis sancta frequentia'* comes out as 'the crowding maidens'; question whether a sparrow *'alta sub ulmo'* is really 'high underneath the elm;' am puzzled to know on what principle she condenses and omits in many poems; and protest until my dying day that the slow dignity of *'parcite vos misero, Christe Maria, viro'* is *not* in English any such anti-climax as 'O Mary, Christ, have mercy on your man.'

But though I may quarrel with Miss Waddell at a hundred points, though I can not see why she rendered *'Heriger, urbis'* in a version that is neither poetry nor humor, or why, with the falling cadence of *'Iam, dulcis amica, venito'* in her ears, she prefers the stubby line, 'Come, sweetheart, come,' I marvel and delight at her genius. In the very poem which contains the sparrow I speak of (*'vestiunt silve tenera merorem'*) she has such an astonishing triumph as 'down dropping from her height and changing note' (the lark is in question) for *'desursum vergit dissimili modo'*; and no sooner do I find something to question on one page than the next poem amazes and delights me with its triumph over difficulties, its sure entrance into the field of unforgettable song. Particularly in the love songs and in variants of the *ubi sunt* theme, Miss Waddell is simply unsurpassable. The shades of mediaeval poets may say of her what Paulinus of Nola said of his saint's day:

> 'Nunc libet ora modis et carmina solvere votis
> Vocibus et vernare novis.'

Howard Mumford Jones,
The University of Michigan

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

K. Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, vol. IV (*Aus Petrarcas Aeltestem Deutschen Schülerkreise:* vol. VI (*Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt*, 1er Teil). Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1929–1930. Paper. Pp. viii+277, 209. RM. 19 und 14.

H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (*Fourth to Seventh Centuries*), ed. and completed by E. B. Smith, Part I. Princeton University: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1929. Paper. Pp. x+274.

O. Cargill, *Drama and Liturgy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930 Cloth. Pp. viii+151. $2.50.

H. G. Enelow, ed., *Menorat ha-Maor by R. Israel Ibn Al-Nakawa*, vol. II. New York: Bloch, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 48+460. $6.00.

W. H. French and C. B. Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+1041.

P. Hartig and W. Schellberg, edd., *Handbuch der Englandkunde*. Frankfurt a/M: Diesterweg. 1929. 2 vols. Cloth. Pp. xv+350, xii+370.

P. Hartig and W. Schellberg, edd., *Handbuch der Frankreichkunde*. Frankfurt a/M: Diesterweg, 1930. 2 vols. Cloth. Pp. x+324, xv+358.

V. M. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola V Drevnem Slavyanorusskom Perevode*. I, Slavic text, Leningrad: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1920. Paper. Pp. xviii+612. II, Greek Continuation of Hamartolus and Studies, *ibid.*, 1922. Paper. Pp. xxxi+454. III, Lexicon, *ibid.*, 1930. Pp. l+348.

M. W. Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. viii+313. $3.75.

W. W. Lawrence, *Selected Bibliography of Mediaeval Literature in England from the Beginnings to the Death of Chaucer*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Paper. Pp. 25.

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THE 'ENGLISH COMPANY' OF 1343 AND A MERCHANT'S OATH

By GEORGE SAYLES

THE careful study of detail which is generally the mark of scholars whose work deals with original material is apt not to meet with unqualified approval. Yet mediaeval economic history in particular can have no firm foundation in truth save by the labors of specialists who are not ashamed of the accusation that they seek to know more and more about less and less. For the sources of information, where such exist at all, teem with petty detail which yields its secrets only to microscopic research, and an easy credence has been too long given to generalizations which a consideration of documentary evidence would easily have controverted.[1] The commercial policy of Edward III calls loudly for precise examination. We have been told by Dr Cunningham that underneath the rapid and disconcerting fluctuations of royal policy we can discern the working out of an ordered plan for developing the resources and trade of England and its dependencies. His later modifications of this view would seem not to have deprived Edward III of the title of 'Father of English Commerce.'[2] In opposition we have the sturdy judgement of Stubbs, endorsed recently by the late Professor Unwin,[3] that Edward III was simply an unscrupulous opportunist, ready always to mortgage the

[1] Thus, the researches of Professor Gras, set out in his valuable *Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, 1918), have completely discredited the conclusions of previous writers. The view of Dr Cunningham that credit played little or no part in business transactions during the Middle Ages has also failed to survive recent criticism.

[2] *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (2d. ed., Cambridge, 1890), I, 246, 276 ff.

[3] In an illuminating essay on 'The Estate of Merchants, 1336–1365,' contained in *Finance and Trade under Edward III* (Manchester University Press, 1918), ed. George Unwin.

future in the interests of present gain. With such divergence of interpretation there is evidently ample scope for investigation of the most profitable kind. The abundance of surviving material has been the main obstacle, but it is one that should not be regarded as insuperable. For though Dr Tout was mainly interested in the system of accounting and the financial relations between the various administrative departments, yet his work has set up invaluable landmarks for those who venture into the domain of exchequer records.[1] Moreover, Edward III's commercial policy is well suited to treatment by monographs, which can be given a logical beginning and end without demanding an exhaustive examination of the problems of the whole reign.

The aim of this paper is to describe the chequered career of one of the earliest syndicates of English merchants, the 'English Company' founded in 1343. While we can always confidently expect to learn much about what we may call the exoteric history of such associations — the clauses of the contracts with the king and private individuals, the details of the accounting with the exchequer auditors — we have so far been entirely in the dark about their inner domestic history. For once the gloom is dissipated by the evidence of a remarkable document, recently found in the Public Record Office.[2] It vividly describes the bickerings of merchants and provides us with our earliest known text of a merchant's oath, taken by no less a person than William de la Pole, the famous Hull financier, whose connection with the 'English Company' has been totally unsuspected.

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the revenues of the crown tended to alter in inverse proportion to the needs of government: as administration became more complex and costly and as prices gradually rose, the sources for financing such administration slowly dwindled. Feudal dues were falling into desuetude or becoming fixed in the amount they yielded; subsidies from the clergy and the laity failed to restore the balance and had themselves become

[1] *Chapters in the Administrative History of England* (Manchester University Press, 1928, 1930), III-V.

[2] Exchequer Plea Roll, 28 Edw. III (E. 13/79), mm. 56–58.

stereotyped in assessment by 1334.[1] A short war was always sufficient to precipitate financial anarchy; indeed, the protracted struggle with France begun in 1337 would have been impossible if some very profitable source of revenue had not been tapped. This was found in a systematic levy on trade, especially in wool, easily the most important article of export. It is true that an embryonic customs system can be faintly seen shortly after the Norman Conquest,[2] but conditions were unsuited to its development and it can hardly be regarded as the forbear of the well-known levy on wool and leather in 1275 with which the institutional history of the customs is usually taken to begin.[3] The *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 gave protection and privileges to foreign merchants in return for the payment of yet higher rates.[4] But in times of desperate necessity, the wool trade was made not only to bear customs duties but also to provide subsidies: as England had almost a monopoly of the markets of northwest Europe for her raw wool, there was no reason to fear that a decline in trade would inevitably result. The occasional subsidies levied by Edward I and Edward II[5] became permanent under Edward III who followed the usual procedure of continuing in times of peace taxation imposed for purposes of war. Parliament gave a wise sanction to what it could not prevent, realizing that the income of the king must be augmented to meet increased costs.[6] Edward III accordingly farmed out the customs and subsidies to foreign or native merchants in return for immediate grants of money. The history of the 'English Company' is the history of an early, if not the earliest, attempt by a group of English merchants to take over the collection of the taxation on wool and to manipulate the wool trade to their own and the King's advantage.

[1] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, I, 273 ff.: a fifteenth and a tenth henceforward implied a grant of about £39,000.

[2] Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

[3] *Parliamentary Writs* (Record Commission, 2 vols. in 4, London, 1827–34), I, i, 2: all merchants were to pay half a mark on each sack of wool and every 300 woolfells and one mark on each last of hides, exported from England, Ireland, and Wales.

[4] Gras, *op. cit.*, 259–264: foreign merchants were to pay an additional 50 per cent on the above rates.

[5] In 1294 (*Cal. Fine Rolls*, 1272–1307, p. 347); in 1322 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1321–1324, p. 282). For detailed accounts of these subsidies, see Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 516–522.

[6] Under Edward III the rate was usually 40/– a sack.

Before discussing the activities of the 'English Company,' we must outline briefly the circumstances which explain how it came about that its intimate story was openly revealed in a court of law.[1]

On May 21, 1346, an agreement was made by the King with two prominent merchants, Walter Chiriton and Thomas Swanland, whereby they were granted the farm of the customs and subsidies for two years from the following Michaelmas in return for a guaranteed sum of £50,000 a year and an immediate advance of £4,000.[2] The arrangement proved to the advantage of both parties. The King was able to carry through the campaign of Crécy and the long seige of Calais; if we can believe the *ex parte* statement of the commons in the Lent parliament of 1348,[3] the subsidy on wools amounted to £60,000 a year, so that the firm of Chiriton and Swanland, which had the backing of other merchants,[4] had a considerable margin of profit. In consequence, on May 2, 1348, the King renewed the contract for a further period of three years from the ensuing Michaelmas at the same annual fee of £50,000, but now associated Gilbert Wendlingburgh as equal partner with the two merchants.[5] But an unforeseen event cut short the period of prosperity: the Black Death reached English shores in August, 1348, and soon brought all business to a standstill.[6] Chiriton and Co. could not bide by their agreement and on March 15, 1349, the King suspended the export of wool and seized the possessions of the three merchants until they made suitable ar-

[1] S. B. Terry, *The Financing of the Hundred Years' War, 1337–1360* (London: Constable, 1914) is the only work which purports to give a detailed survey of fiscal policy. Its general conclusions are not obvious and its value as a compendium of facts is destroyed by the inaccuracies to be found on almost every page.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1346–1349), p. 72. The custom of wine and the ancient custom of ½ mark on each sack of wool were retained by the King to meet certain obligations already incurred. Other clauses were inserted to remove the dangers resulting from outbreak of war, smuggling, fraudulent customs officers and overdrafts by the King. The contract was confirmed by letters patent of the same date, signifying that it was made in the King's presence, with his knowledge and by his express command; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345–1348), p. 133.

[3] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* ([1765]; no pub., no date), II, 200b.

[4] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1346–1349), p. 122; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345–1348), pp. 130, 133, 277, 453, 569.

[5] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1348–1350), pp. 99, 145.

[6] The courts ceased to hear pleas from Hilary until Michaelmas 1349 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1349–1354, pp. 1, 28); parliament itself, summoned to meet in January 1349, was first adjourned and then indefinitely suspended (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1346–1349, p. 613; 1349–1354, p. 66).

rangements for settling their debts.[1] This they managed to do on April 21 at a meeting 'in the new chamber, near the receipt of the exchequer, ordained for the council': a body of thirty-two merchants offered to act as guarantors of Chiriton and Co. on condition that four of them could have joint control of the cocket seals in all the ports of England and of the issues of the customs and subsidies. Thereupon, the farm was restored to the three merchants, who were to be solely held to account for debts which had already been incurred since Michaelmas, 1348, though their guarantors assumed equal responsibility for the payment of the £125,000 due on the remaining two and a half years of the original contract.[2]

What exactly happened during the next twelve months is far from clear, though the new arrangement held good during that time.[3] But it failed in its purpose and seems from the start to have had little chance of success.[4] On June 16, 1350, the lands of Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh were again in the King's hands for debts,[5] and four days later the supervision of all business relating to the customs was entrusted to two attorneys of the group of guarantors.[6] They acted for what was left of the three years' contract,[7] although responsibility still lay, of course, with all the merchants involved.[8] At Michaelmas, 1351, they were called to strict account. William Melchebourn, the most influential of the guarantors, was arrested at the exchequer for debts due to the King and released on mainprise on October 12;[9] the following week Chiriton and Swanland

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1349–1354), pp. 59, 61.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 30, 33; cf. *Cal. Fine Rolls* (1347–1356), p. 186.

[3] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1348–1350), p. 441; *Cal. Close Rolls* (1349–1354), p. 175.

[4] The collectors of the customs were with difficulty induced to give up the cocket seals (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1348–1350, p. 323; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1349–1354, p. 46) or to render their accounts (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1349–1354, p. 101 f.).

[5] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1348–1350), p. 548.

[6] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1349–1354), p. 196. Cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1348–1350), p. 557 for a somewhat different version of this arrangement.

[7] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1348–1350), p. 579, (1350–1354), p. 2: it was by their sole assent that Richard Melchebourn was appointed to supervise the weighing of wool in the ports on the east coast. *Cal. Close Rolls* (1354–1360), p. 465: the accounts of John Malewayn, one of the two attorneys, covered the period up to Michaelmas, 1351.

[8] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1349–1354), pp. 287, 296.

[9] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1350–1354), p. 148.

obtained similar release on condition that they constantly held themselves in readiness to appear at the exchequer to make a settlement with the King.[1] But the King was not easily satisfied, and the merchants were all by this time bankrupt. No other creditors could press their claims until the King had been fully paid.[2] This prohibition of private suits[3] caused an outcry in the January parliament of 1352 but little consolation was given: judgements might be obtained against the merchants but they were not to be executed until the King's demands had been met.[4] The proceedings dragged their weary length along for several years, Those who had lent their reputations to Chiriton and Co. but possessed nothing of the issues of the customs did not get their liberty till February, 1356.[5] In October, John Bole of Lincoln was so reduced that he had not the wherewithal to live and his chattels were restored to him.[6] In December, small yearly pittances were given to other guarantors for the maintenance of themselves, their wives, and their children so long as their property remained in the King's custody.[7] Not until October, 1358, were the surviving eighteen guarantors and the heirs of those deceased discharged of their responsibility for debts due to the King and their lands restored to them free of any further claims.[8] With the collapse of Chiriton and Co., involving in ruin countless lesser men, the day of the high financier and the monopolist was over for a time; the Ordinances of the Staple of 1353 established home staples and freedom of trade which left no opening for their activities, if there still existed any bold enough to tempt fortune and the King.

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1349–1354), p. 394.

[2] Cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1350–1354), p. 265: imprisonment of John Piel for accepting part payment of his claims prior to the settlement of those of the King. Also *Cal. Close Rolls* (1354–1360), p. 380: one Walter Payle languished in the Fleet prison for eight years for accepting similar payments.

[3] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1350–1354), pp. 303, 350, 360, 361, 423, 496.

[4] *Rot. Parl.*, II, 242 (49).

[5] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1354–1360), p. 301.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 284 f.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 291. Walter Chiriton presented a petition in July, 1355, which exhibited the distress of himself and his children (*ibid.*, p. 140).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 465. The statement that in 1376 'on the petition of parliament, Edward III cancelled his claim against de Chiriton and his partners' (Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 160) is based on *Rot. Parl.* II, 365, which says not a word to that effect.

It was in the course of proceedings in the exchequer that the story of the 'English Company' was brought to light. For Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh had taken solemn oath before the council that they would divulge the names of those who were in debt to them so that the King might recover those debts in part cancellation of what was owing to himself. On November 26, 1353, they appeared before the barons of the exchequer and disclosed the inner history of the syndicate of 1343.

It had come into existence in this way. Until the end of 1342, Edward III had relied in financial matters mainly upon the foreign merchants of such societies as the Bardi and the Perruzzi,[1] the Astioli and the Albertini, and on the merchants of the Hanse. Complaints had long been voiced in parliament against their hold upon English commerce, but native merchants had not been strong enough to contest their supremacy and to take their place. But the years taught them coöperation and organization and they joined issue with the foreigners in 1343. During the Easter parliament, they indignantly protested that they 'were impoverished by the Companies of the Peruzzi and the Bardi and other Companies, who had the greater part of their goods in their custody,'[2] and arrangements were made that at last implied the partial ousting of the foreigner. On June 22, the collectors of the customs at London, Southampton, Boston, and Kingston-upon-Hull were forbidden after Midsummer Day to pay any part of the subsidy on wool and hides to the merchants of Lucca and Almain, to whom it had been previously granted.[3] On July 8, 1343, a bargain was made between the King and a body of thirty-three merchants who formed the 'English Company':[4] in return for a grant of the customs and subsidies from Midsummer until three

[1] It has been calculated that these companies alone advanced nearly £360,000 to Edward III before that King repudiated his debts to them; E. Russell, 'The Societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi,' in *Trade and Finance under Edward III*, p. 131.

[2] *Rot. Parl.* II, 143a.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 266 f. The Calendar, followed by Unwin (*op. cit.*, p. 215), gives the names of thirty-four merchants of the Company, but this is due to reading two members into the 'William de Roderham attorne William de Amyas' of the original. That William of Rotherham was acting as the attorney of William Amyas is shown by the writ printed in the *Lords' Reports* (London, 1820–1829), IV, 555. The Company took all precautions against royal chi-

years after the following Michaelmas, they agreed to pay 1000 marks into the wardrobe every four weeks and account quarterly for the balance. Besides thus paying over the whole of the customs and subsidies to the King, they were to provide him in addition with 10,000 marks each year. The question at once arises concerning the sources of profit which made this undertaking advantageous to the Company. In the first place, it is certain that the thirty-three merchants enjoyed a monopoly of the export of wool and could therefore fix their own selling price at the staple at Bruges. In the second place, they stood to gain a good deal by arrangements recently made with regard to the Dordrecht claimants. In 1337 a syndicate of merchants, armed with the royal prerogative of pre-emption, had undertaken to purchase 20,000 sacks of wool, sell them at a profit by using a monopoly, and therefrom to provide the King with £200,000. Nearly 15,000 sacks had been exported to Dordrecht for sale when in May, 1338, the King seized the wool and gave in return mere paper acknowledgments of indebtedness which were not likely to be met directly or immediately. Edward's action, precipitated by the needs of the moment, hampered his movements in all his later years. He had to continue business relations with the wool-growers and traders whom he had cheated; their only hope of saving something from the wreck was to obtain total or partial exemption from customs dues when they exported wool in future.[1] Such exemptions for the amount he owed Edward could hardly refuse to grant, but they were not likely to be honored so long as the customs remained under the King's control. They must therefore be placed in the hands of those who would have an interest in giving practical effect to the exemptions. Therein lies one important reason for the formation of the 'English Company.' But by 1343 many merchants who had exported wool in 1337

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canery: it was to appoint the customs officers at the ports, control the cocket seals, and have just allowances if anything occurred to obstruct the wool trade. Another copy of the indenture is to be found on Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll, 17 Edw. III (E. 159/120), Michaelmas Recorda.

[1] Such a method of payment was frequently agreed upon and it partly explains the willingness of the merchants to grant the subsidy of 40/–. But the repayment of what has been calculated as £60,000 (Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 21) was extremely slow and the Dordrecht problem never vanished until the end of the reign.

had died or were no longer in a position to engage in trade. The Company was therefore authorized to buy up and use the licences of exemption. It was in a position to dictate its own prices and bitter complaints were later made of ruinous discounts.[1] Since on July 16, 1343,[2] some 230 merchants or their executors had been granted exemptions to the amount of nearly £50,000,[3] there was ample room for profitable bargaining on the part of the Company.

On July 28, 1343, the officials of the ports were ordered to deliver the customs and subsidies to the representatives of the merchants.[4] For a full year the Company went on its way undisturbed and flourished sufficiently to be able to make additional loans to the King and to discharge some of his more pressing debts.[5] In April, 1344, the King confirmed the agreement that the keeper of the wardrobe should accept monthly payments of 1000 marks until Michaelmas, 1346.[6] But to the country in general and to the merchant class as a whole it must have seemed as though the wool trade was designed merely for the benefit of a few men who, under existing arrangements, had excellent chances of acquiring wealth. The Dordrecht claimants had more definite reasons for indignation. Resentment expressed itself in the Midsummer parliament of 1344, when a demand was made that the monopoly of exporting wool should be abolished and that trade and the seas should be free to all merchants.[7] The King was moved to give his consent,[8] perhaps by the thought that thereby he would more easily obtain a grant of tenths and fifteenths;[9] as the subsidy on wool had more than two years still to go, he need not scruple about deserting the Company and alienating some of the most powerful English merchants. On the other hand, he may well have considered

[1] *Rot. Parl.* II, 169b, 170: only one to two shillings were obtained in the pound.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 101: on May 26, 1343, a general proclamation was made that all to whom the King was indebted should come before the council at Westminster on June 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, (1343–1346), pp. 138–151.

[4] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 78.

[5] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1343–1345), p. 115 f. (August 30, 1343); p. 156 (January 20, 1344); p. 206 (February, 15, 1344).

[6] *Cal. Fine Rolls* (1337–1347), p. 365.

[7] *Rot. Parl.* II, 150 (no. 5); p. 151 (no. 16).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 156 (no. 49).

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 148. See Unwin, *op. cit.*, p. 215 f.

that the Company had too much the best of the bargain and could afford to forgo some of its profits. As soon as free trade took the place of monopoly, the syndicate showed signs of disintegration. On August 20, Reginald Conduit withdrew on the plea that other business considerations prevented his being able to devote time to the Company's affairs; in less than a month twenty other members retired on similar grounds.[1] But the Company believed that it could yet face the future boldly. It may have had in its possession a stock of the Dordrecht licences of exemption from customs which would yield considerable profit if the customs still remained under its control. Certainly, the twelve merchants remaining were willing to fulfil the original obligations, to hand over a not inconsiderable sum to their former colleagues on their retiral, and to agree in March, 1345, to pay £50,000 a year to the King in lieu of the complicated system whereby they accounted to the King for sums for which the collectors accounted to them.[2] The resumption of war, however, in the spring of 1345 and the consequent interference with the wool trade brought the activities of the Company to a close. Its affairs were evidently the subject of serious discussion in July: the twelve merchants were summoned to Westminster on July 9, along with the veterans John Pulteny and William de la Pole;[3] the next day saw the dispatch of writs to nineteen of the twenty-one former members of the Company and twenty-three other merchants, ordering them to assemble at Westminster on July 13;[4] then once more the twelve merchants with Reginald Conduit were to be at Westminster on July 18.[5] There is no clue to the exact purport of the deliberations; we only know that they did not prevent the winding up of the 'English Company.' On August 30, 1345, the King allowed the contract to be broken as from the preceding Midsummer on payment of 5000 marks, provided that the Company, which vaguely attributed its fall to war 'and other losses,' remained responsible for the full £100,000 due to the King

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1343–1345), p. 340.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 573 f. The '14 Edward III' of the *Calendar* is a slip for '19 Edward III,' as the original patent roll shows.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 637.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 638; *Lords' Reports*, IV, 555.

[5] *Ut supra.*

from the operations of the last two years.[1] Melchebourn was busy accounting with the exchequer on behalf of the Company in the early months of 1346.[2] We may perhaps infer that satisfaction was made to the King from the fact that the merchants who had been foremost in the Company were soon equally as prominent in new contracts with the crown.

If no other sources of information except chancery enrolments had been at our disposal, we should have remained in complete ignorance of the important part played by William Pole in the Company's affairs. For all they have to tell us is that in July, 1343, some of his Dordrecht claims were sold to a member of the Company,[3] and that in June, 1345, the Company was instructed to pay him the arrears of an annual sum granted to him in 1337 by the King from the customs at Kingston-upon-Hull.[4] In 1341 Pole had come under the displeasure of the King and been committed to prison for some time,[5] and it has been somewhat naturally assumed that he then forsook the world of speculation[6] which had brought him wealth enough to be the first business man to found a noble house.[7] But we are now provided with the assurance of credible witnesses in what must have been a *cause célèbre* of the time that Pole was the founder and principal director of the 'English Company.'

The pleadings in the exchequer are given with an unusual wealth

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 648 f. and cf. also p. 601. This agreement was confirmed by an order of December 4, 1345, to the treasurer and barons (*ibid.*, p. 630). The entry is misread by Terry (*op. cit.*, p. 122) to mean an acquittance of the whole £100,000. The farm of the customs was in the hands of John Wesenham, Simon his brother, and Richard de Salteby from Midsummer, 1345, until Michaelmas, 1346 (Chancery Miscellanea, 87/6/96). Then came the agreement with Chiriton and Swanland; see above, p. 180.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1346–1349), p. 4; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345–1348), p. 55.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 156.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 616.

[5] Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum* (Rolls Series, London, 1889), p. 117; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1340–1343), p. 110 f. He was imprisoned in the castle at Devizes; Aungier, *French Chronicle of London* (London: Camden Society, 1844), p. 85.

[6] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLVI, 48–50; Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 101: 'De la Pole seems to have formally retired from active life with his acquittance.'

[7] The financial transactions of Pole with Edward III from 1327 are tabulated in H. A. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme in the County of Oxford* (Oxford, 1858), pp. 271 ff. There is a popular and laudatory life of Pole in H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants* (3d. ed., London, 1898), I, 33 ff.

of detail, but, like most of the important law-suits in the Middle Ages, the case does not reach a final judgement. We purpose, therefore, to state the evidence and the procedure without comment and afterwards proceed to our own judicial summing up.

On November 26, 1353, Chiriton, Swanland, and Wendlingburgh came before the barons of the exchequer and deposed that thirty-three merchants, including themselves[1] whose names they carefully recount, had formed a company at the suggestion of William Pole, and had been thereafter ruled by his advice. In the course of its operations, this 'English Company' had incurred debts to some forty persons amounting to £7340/11/4. Though all solvent members of the Company were equally responsible for the payment of these sums, yet Chiriton and his two colleagues alone had discharged the debts out of the proceeds of the customs when they were under their control. They had thus exonerated Pole from his obligation, though he had been well able to pay his share at the time. They now asked that Pole should now be made to shoulder these debts, for he was still solvent, while they had not realized that they could not square their accounts with the King and were virtually bankrupts when they had made payment. The sum could then be deducted from the amount they owed the King as a result of the contract of 1348.

An order was issued for the appearance of William Pole on the morrow. He then came in person before the council in the exchequer and took a solemn oath that he had never been a member of the Company and had never as such had anything to do with its affairs or directed its concerns. The way was now open for the examination of evidence.

The plaintiffs put forward in proof of their statements a notarial instrument, dated July 10, 1344,[2] alleged to contain the terms of an oath, set out in French, by which Pole had sworn allegiance to the 'English Company.' This oath, it was said, was taken in Chiriton's

[1] But in actual fact excluding Gilbert Wendlingburgh who, though a party to the action was never a member of the Company. Pole eventually put forward this objection and Wendlingburgh was accordingly non-suited; see below, p. 192.

[2] The oath seems to have been taken at this particular time as a result of re-arrangements in the Company's affairs, for the wool monopoly had just been abolished at parliament's request; see p. 182 above.

house in London in the presence of Chiriton himself and of two other members of the Company, Walter Prest and Henry Tideswell, specially summoned as witnesses. The instrument containing it was specially drawn up by Thomas Hammond of Ashwell, clerk and apostolic notary in the diocese of Lincoln. This oath is of unique interest for, so far as we know, nothing similar to it has yet come to light. Its twelve clauses are admirably brief:

(a) The ordinances of the Company shall be kept strictly secret and revealed to no one save by its consent and to its advantage.

(b) Pole shall give the utmost of advice to the Company, concealing nothing that might promote its interests.

(c) He shall urge no course of procedure which he knows will lead to his own personal profit but prove detrimental to the Company.

(d) He shall be loyal to whatever is done by the Company and not seek to make a personal profit out of such transactions.

(e) If he acts as the Company's agent in financial matters, he shall render true account of every penny and hide nothing.

(f) If the Company incurs losses, he shall contribute his share in any expenses necessary to maintain the Company, and this without demur.

(g) He shall not oppose any ordinance profitable to the Company which relates to their contract and is made during the term of their agreement, nor shall he quash any such ordinance without the Company's assent.

(h) He shall be obedient to all present and future ordinances of the Company.

(i) He shall be humble and reasonable both in word and deed in his relations with present and future members of the Company.

(j) Should a quarrel arise between him and another member of the Company, he shall not proceed against him nor reveal aught of the quarrel save only to the Company. Should there be an altercation amongst the other partners, he shall do his best to provide a reasonable remedy in accordance with the advice of the rest of the Company.

(k) He shall, to the best of his ability, see that debts due from the

King to others of the Company get as favorable consideration as such debts to himself.

(l) He shall always give his advice to the Company in private and never openly interfere in its ordinances and accounts unless at the Company's express request.

In addition to this document, the plaintiffs produced for the inspection of the court the transcript of a chancery writ of *dedimus potestatem* dated August 28, 1344, and addressed to William Pole and Roger de Wollesthorpe, another member of the Company. It gave them authority to examine twelve members of the Company who pleaded that other business considerations demanded their withdrawal from active partnership. On the strength of this writ, it was asserted, Pole as a member of the Company had removed twenty-one of the partners and paid them nearly £2000 from the proceeds of the customs and subsidies, presumably as representing the amount of their financial interest. Thereafter Pole proceeded to a further reconstruction of the Company. Six of the remaining twelve members[1] took joint oath with Pole that they would act in matters affecting the Company in accordance with his instructions, and four of them[2] were appointed to act as receivers of the Company's moneys. The other six members[3] were to become sleeping partners and four of them[4] were given nearly £500 from the customs receipts, probably in order to lessen their risk somewhat by diminishing the amount of their investment.

Faced with such specific charges, Pole thought it discreet to ask that he might be given till the next day to prepare his reply. His request was granted. The court further ordered the appearance of the three witnesses of the notarial instrument, Thomas Hammond, Walter Chiriton, and Henry Tideswell, and of two of the best-known men in the Company, William Melchebourn who had continued as one of the active members and Hugh de Ulseby who became a sleeping partner.

[1] William Melchebourn, Richard Melchebourn, Walter Prest, Henry Tideswell, Walter Chiriton, and Roger de Wollesthorpe.

[2] The last four mentioned in the previous note.

[3] Adam Lucas, John Astwyk, Hugh de Ulseby, Thomas Swanland, William de Lodelowe, and William de Rotherham.

[4] The last four mentioned in the previous note.

On November 28, 1353, therefore, came the examination in chief. Thomas Hammond, placed on oath, maintained that he had written the notarial instrument, that he had been present when the things contained in it were done, and had seen Pole swear his oath in Chiriton's house in London on June 10.[1] Moreover, he exhibited in court another instrument made by him in Pole's name alone and of the same date and place, which contained an identical version of the clauses of the oath. Walter Chiriton declared that at Pole's request he had agreed to be a witness to these matters, and that he had heard Pole ask the notary to draw up an instrument containing their substance. He further stated that Pole was indeed a member of the Company and that it was by his advice that its reconstruction was carried through. Henry Tideswell gave exactly similar evidence and added that, whenever William Pole was residing in his own local district, he had made Henry his deputy in transacting the Company's business. Nor, said Tideswell, would he ever have taken any oath in these matters if Pole had not first sworn loyalty to the above agreement. Thomas Swanland and William Melchebourn likewise stated that Pole was the founder and principal director of the Company and entirely responsible for whatever it had done. In answer to questions put point-blank to them, the last four witnesses agreed that William Pole founded the Company, sued out the chancery writ for the removal of the twenty-one partners, and arranged that they should receive the sums of money already specified.

The last witness, Hugh de Ulseby, had a more circumstantial tale to tell. William Pole was a member of the Company and, acting in that capacity, he had promised Hugh £200 to refrain from any further participation in the business. Pole had paid him £100 only, and Hugh had therefore commissioned him to give two-thirds of the remainder to Henry Tideswell in part payment of a loan which the latter had made to Hugh. This sum Pole had never paid to Henry but had kept it and the rest of the £100 in his pocket. Further, Hugh stated that Pole had promised to indemnify him against any demands

[1] Chiriton and Swanland seem to have shared a house in London; *Exchequer Plea Roll*, 28 Edw. III (E. 13/79), m. 59: 'in communi domo habitacionis eorumdem mercatorum in parochia Omnium Sanctorum in Temestrete in warda de Dounegate.'

made either by the King or the Company and that an indenture to that effect, which remained in the custody of Pole, had been made between Hugh and the merchants of the Company.

Pole seems to have made no attempt then to answer these charges. He eventually proffered a writ of privy seal, dated at Westminster on December 14, 1353, and addressed to the chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the exchequer, and others of the council: the King announced that it was his pleasure that all processes begun against Pole either in the exchequer or before the council, whether the King was a party to them or Chiriton and his colleagues, should be postponed until the Morrow of the Purification. Thereupon, Pole was ordered to appear on that day and found mainprise on December 15 that he would do so.

The rest of the case need not delay us long, for it came to no satisfactory conclusion. In the Hilary term, Pole brought another writ of privy seal ordering an adjournment until Easter; then, on the plea that he had not yet fully prepared his defence, Pole obtained another adjournment until the Trinity term. This time he failed to put in an appearance at the stipulated time and was committed to the Fleet prison for contempt. He still asserted that he could not yet reply to the charges made against him 'because the process needed great examination,' and the plaintiffs consented that he should be given a day in the Michaelmas term. On October 13, 1354, Pole made fine with the King for his contempt of court and regained his liberty, but still he avoided answering his opponents by bringing yet another writ of privy seal ordering the continuation of the case until the Hilary term of 1355. On this occasion Pole and Wendlingburgh appeared, but not the other two plaintiffs, who were therefore ordered to be arrested. Pole protested that he ought not to be called upon to answer Wendlingburgh who certainly never was a member of the Company. This Wendlingburgh could not gainsay, therefore Pole was acquitted so far as his suit was concerned and Wendlingburgh was fined for making an unjust claim. Swanland came into court later in this term and was committed to the Fleet for contempt but he was immediately allowed to make fine for his release, for ade-

quate testimony was brought to show that he had been seriously ill.[1] Then once more came Pole with the inevitable writ, this time under the great seal,[2] ordering the plea to be continued until the Easter term. Then at last the plea in the exchequer reached its inconclusive end. Pole brought a writ under the great seal, dated as far back as November 20, 1354,[3] which granted many concessions in return for Pole's remission of the King's debts to him, 'although they amount to a great sum.' It was contained, *inter alia*, that if it should happen that Pole, his heirs, executors, or tenants of his lands were impleaded by the King in connection with any 'societas' or other contract so that judgement was given for the King and against them and others of the 'societas,' then they were to be exonerated from the payment of their share of any sum of money that might be awarded to the King. If through the insolvency of others the burden of the whole amount should fall on them, then still they were to be exonerated. Should Pole be impleaded in the exchequer and judgement go against him, he was to be pardoned any fine that might fall due to the King, while any other party to the suit was to seek recovery at common law. Indeed, henceforth William Pole was to be impleaded only in the courts where common law held good and nowhere else. So came to an abrupt close the proceedings in the exchequer; so far as the action of the King was concerned Pole was acquitted *sine die*.

It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that Pole had indeed founded and controlled the 'English Company.' A few circumstances may give rise to some doubt, but they are not difficult to explain away. Pole's emphatic denial was, of course, merely the formal rebuttal of the charge made against him and was later given the support of not one jot of evidence. A captious litigant might have sought in a more formal court of law to take shelter behind apparent discrepancies in the record: since the writ of *dedimus potestatem*

[1] On March 11, 1355, the keeper of the Fleet prison was ordered to release Walter Chiriton on mainprise to appear in the exchequer on the Morrow of the Close of Easter (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1354–1360, p. 183).

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1354–1360), p. 183.

[3] This writ is also to be found on the Patent Roll. The compiler of the *Calendar* (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1354–1358, p. 158) summarized the first part of the writ but completely ignored the latter part which has direct reference to this case.

spoke only of removing twelve members of the Company, how could it be the authority for the retiral of twenty-one members?[1] But the real puzzle lies in the fact that Pole's connection with the Company remained unmentioned amongst the numerous references contained in the chancery rolls. Two reasons can be put forward in explanation. Henry Tideswell had asserted that he was appointed Pole's deputy to act during his absence, and it was not unknown for those who were made the attorneys of merchants of the Company to be alluded to as members to the complete suppression of the names of those they represented.[2] The most likely reason, however, is to be found in the last clause of the oath: Pole was to give advice privately and never openly to interfere. It is easy to surmise why this stipulation was made. Pole had been mainly responsible for the arrangements made in 1337 which had ultimately resulted in the confiscation of wool at Dordrecht and great financial loss to many merchants. For some time his usefulness to the King made his position impregnable, but even the royal favor was temporarily lost in 1341 when he was sent to prison and a commission was set up in parliament to examine his accounts.[3] Nor did he receive his full discharge until August, 1344.[4] It might well have seemed bad policy to reveal *coram populo* that Pole was the originator of yet another syndicate; to do so would be to create prejudice against the Company at once. Yet any group of merchants may well have hesitated before rejecting proposals made by a financier of such undoubted ability and experience as William Pole. An obvious solution was for Pole to become an active but also a secret participator in the enterprise. But whatever the motives may be for hiding the fact of his connection with the Company,

[1] But the patent roll (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1343–1345, p. 340) supports the plaintiff's contention in general, though it adds itself a little mystification. For though the writ of *dedimus potestatem* was dated August 28, Reginald Conduit would seem to have retired on August 20. Twenty others were given permission to leave the Company on September 16.

[2] William of Rotherham was the attorney of William Amyas (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1343–1346, p. 266; *Lords' Reports*, IV, 555), yet in the list of the members of the Company, given in the document printed below, his name appears alone. See *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1345–1348) p. 48 for another example of a merchant of the Company appointing an attorney.

[3] *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1340–1343), p. 313. There is a hint of Pole's malpractices in the exchequer in *Year Book, 15 Edward III* (Rolls Series, London, 1891), p. 189.

[4] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 423.

this can hardly be denied in face of the unanimous testimony of men like Melchebourn and Ulseby. The outburst of Tideswell that he would never have taken any oath if he had not known first that Pole had solemnly sworn adherence to the Company has all the ring of truth. Many of the details of the Company's operations square with the facts revealed by other records. Thus, there were thirty-three members in 1343;[1] twenty-one of them certainly retired a year later;[2] the six members who were alleged at the trial to have constituted the active group among the remaining twelve partners are named together on May 28, 1345, as acting for themselves and their fellow-merchants.[3] Lastly, and most conclusive of all, it is evident that Pole could find no answer to the imputations. Time after time he simply took shelter behind the King and ultimately bought his acquittal. The references in the royal letters of pardon[4] to his connection with a 'societas' make only one verdict possible. When the life of William Pole comes to be written, it is unlikely that he will retain the title of 'the most honest and honorable of subjects,'[5] but further research will hardly deprive him of the fame accorded to him by a contemporary chronicler, 'nulli Angligenae mercatori secundus fuit.'[6]

APPENDIX

Exchequer Plea Roll, 28 Edward III (E. 13/79), ms. 56–58.

Adhuc de quindena sancti Michaelis anno xxviij.

London.

Memorandum quod cum Walterus de Chiriton' Thomas de Swanlund' et Gilbertus de Wendlyngburgh' pro se et sociis suis regi teneantur in xiiij.m^{l}. Dxv. li'. x.d.ob'. q^{a}. de remanencia xxv.m^{l}. Dcccii^{xx}.ix li'. xvij d. ob'.q^{a}. de arreragiis L.m^{l}. li'. de arreragiis firme pro omnibus custumis magnis et paruis regi debitis in quibuscumque portubus Anglie de anno xxij regis nunc, custuma vinorum excepta, et in aliis debitis diuersis sicut continentur in

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 266 f.

[2] See above, p. 182 n. 4.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls* (1343–1346), p. 572.

[4] See above, p. 193.

[5] Bourne, *English Merchants*, I, 44. Pole obtained another pardon in May, 1363, for deceitful practices, for which he had been indicted in the king's bench (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1361–1364, p. 342).

[6] *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (Rolls Series, London, 1866–1868), III, 48.

magno rotulo de anno xxv^to^ regis nunc in London', Midd', iidemque Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus et socii sui minus sufficientes existant ad debita predicta regi soluenda.

Et predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus prestiterunt sacramentum coram consilio regis ad demonstrandum et declarandum eidem consilio vbi qualiter et quo modo denarii regis quos idem rex perdidit super cheuanciis per dictos Walterum Thomam et Gilbertum et socios suos factis deuenerunt. Ita quod, si aliquis inuentus foret debitor prefatis Waltero Thome et Gilberto et sociis suis per veram et iustam causam, quod rex propter insufficienciam eorumdem Walteri Thome et Gilberti et sociorum suorum capere posset ad dictos debitores et dictos denarios versus eos in exoneracionem dictorum Walteri Thome et Gilberti et sociorum suorum recuperare vt eidem regi cicius satisfiat de debitis suis predictis iuxta prerogatiuam suam in hac parte. ¶Predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus veniunt coram baronibus xxvj^to^ die Nouembris hoc anno et dicunt pro rege et se ipsis quod cum predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus et socii sui, videlicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton', Willelmus de Melchebourn', Thomas de Swanlund', Adam Lucas, Iohannes de Astwyk', Hugo de Vlseby, Willelmus de Lodelowe, Willelmus de Roderham, Reginaldus de Conductu, Robertus de Shiluyngton', Henricus Goldbetere, Thomas de Yafford', Willelmus Bat, Thomas Gouk', Henricus de Alyngton', Robertus Pynsson', Thomas de Drayton', Robertus de Penreth', Robertus Coksid, Gilbertus Aliland', Hugo Cokheued', Ricardus Galeway, Iohannes de Bole, Rogerus Hardegray, Adam Tirewhit, Robertus Stuffyn, Robertus Dalderby, Walterus de Kelsterne et Thomas de Berwyk' mercatores de societate Angl',[1] de qua societate quidam Willelmus de la Pole vnus et inceptor eiusdem extitit et per consilium et ordinacionem suam omnia fiebant tempore quo dicta societas separauit, videlicet tenebantur diuersis personis in diuersis debitis, videlicet,

Rogero Fynch' vinetario London'	viij. li'.
Item domino Iohanni de Wynkefeld'	xx. li'.
Item Thome de Frelonde	L. li'.
Item Stephano Treiew de Wynchelse	Cxxiij. li'. xix.s. ii.d.
Item Hugoni de Portesmouth'	Cxl. li'.
Item Willelmo Clapitus et Henrico de Strete	CCCxlii. li'.
Item domino Iohanni de Pulteneye	CCC. li'.
Item dicto domino Iohanni de Pulteneye pro Iohanne de Wesenham	DCCii^xx^. li'.

[1] As there are two possible extensions of this word, either 'Anglie' or 'Anglicorum,' we have preferred to leave it in its contracted form.

Item Iohanni Herewardstoke	CC. li'.
Item Simoni Benyngton'	xxxix. li'. xiii.s. iiii.d.
Item Henrico Brokon' pro Iohanne de Coloigne	xl. li'.
Item Ricardo de Stondon'	Cx.s. viii.d.
Item Thome de Mussenden' pro Thoma Coteller de Gippewico	xiiii. li'.
Item Thome Cotiller predicto	xxvi.li'. vi.s. iii. d. ob.
Item Willelmo Watford' piscatori	CC. li'.
Item Andree Aubrey	Dxx. li'.
Item Willelmo de Tudenham pro Franicsco Bochel	Lxvi. li'. xiii.s. iiii.d.
Item Ricardo Chaucer	CCCC. li'.
Item eidem Ricardo	xx li'.
Item Iohanni de Bucham et Iohanni de Pacton'	Clxii. li'. x.s.
Item Roberto Ropere	Lxx. li'. xviii.s. iiii.d.
Item Willelmo de Wircestre	CClxvi. li'. xiii.s. iiiid.
Item Stephano Michel et Iohanni de Colewell'	CC. li'.
Item Iohanni Reynbergh' mercatori Alemannie	L. li'.
Item Ricardo Lacer	CCCC. li'.
Item Tidemanno Wasshmod' et Iohanni Reynbergh' Alemannie mercatoribus	Clxxv. li.'
Item Egidio Horn' de Couentre	Lx. li'.
Item Nicholao Pychford'	ii^{xx}. li'.
Item Ade Leuot	Cii^{xx}.xviii.li'. viii.s.
Item Iohanni Neuow	ix li'. xv.s.
Item Willelmo de Lodelowe	xviii. li'. xvii.s.
Item Thome Dysny	xii. li'.
Item Petro Fauelore	Cii^{xx}.viii. li'. x.s.
Item Roberto Lyndraper	xxviii. li'.
Item Bartholomeo Thomasin	Cxl. li'. iiii.s. viii.d.
Item eidem Bartholomeo	Cxx. li'.
Item Hugoni Roubury glouere	xl. li'. iiii.s. iiii.d.
Item Henrico de Strete	Cxxxiii li'. vi.s. viii.d.
Item eidem Henrico	Cx. li'.
Item Tidemanno de Lymbergh'	Clxx. li'. vii.s.x.d.
Item Willelmo Clapitus Henrico de Strete et Arnaldo Bernaters Gascoign'	DCCCC. li'.
Item Thome Worsship'	xl. li'.
Item Willelmo de Caue Pellipar'	Cii^{xx}.x. li'.
Item Bartholomeo Denmarcz	Lxxvii. li'. vi.s. viii.d.
Item Willelmo Boox	CCxxxv. li'. vi.[s] viii.d.

Vnde summa totalis vii.m[l].ccc.xl. li'. xi.s. iiii.d. ¶Ad que debita soluenda, quilibet sufficiens de societate predicta, aliis insufficientibus, tenebatur. Et licet idem Willelmus de la Pole tempore separacionis societatis predicte ad solucionem debitorum predictorum sufficiens extitisset et adhuc existit, predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus debita predicta prefatis debitoribus de denariis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis eis ad firmam dimissis soluerunt in exoneracionem predicti Willelmi de la Pole et aliorum de societate predicta vbi idem rex in satisfaccione debiti sui precessisse debuit aliis creditoribus etc. iuxta prerogatiuam predictam etc. Et petunt pro rege et se ipsis quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole, in cuius exoneracionem denarii predicti soluti extiterant, respondeat regi de denariis predictis in exoneracionem predictorum Walteri Thome et Gilberti propter insufficienciam suam etc. in partem solucionis xiiii.m[l]. Dxv. li'. [vii s.][1] x.d. ob.q[a]. predictorum.

Et super hoc mandatum est prefato Willelmo de la Pole per breue huius scaccarii quod sit hic ad crastinum diem super premissis responsurus etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero Thome et Gilberto.

Ad quem diem iidem Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus veniunt. Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole similiter venit in propria persona sua. Et iidem Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus dicunt vt prius etc. Et idem Willelmus de premissis per barones allocutus dicit super sacramentum suum quod gratis prestitit coram consilio quod ipse nunquam extitit socius de societate predicta neque se inde vt vnus de eadem societate aliqualiter intromisit nec aliquid per consilium seu ordinacionem suam vt vnus eiusdem societatis fiebat. Et super hoc predicti Walterus Thomas et Gilbertus dicunt quod ipse fuit socius de societate predicta et in euidenciam inde ostendunt curie quoddam instrumentum in hec verba:

In Dei nomine Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum appareat evidenter quod anno ab incarnacione domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglicane millesimo trescentesimo quadragesimo quarto, indiccione duodecima, die[2] mensis Iunii, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis diuina prouidencia pape sexti anno tercio, in mei notarii publici infrascripti et testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitutus nobilis vir dominus Willelmus atte Pole miles iurauit a[3] sacra dei ewangelia corporaliter tacta et inspecta per eundem ac fide sua mediante se astrinxit omnes et singulos conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones seu articulos infrascriptos in ligna gallicana in presenti instrumento

[1] An interlineation which has been omitted in the opening paragraph of the record. The deficit is given as £13,643/14/7 in *Cal. Close Rolls* (1354–1360), pp. 248, 465, and as £13,000 in *ibid.*, p. 494.

[2] The day of the month has been omitted; it was June 10. See below, p. 203.

[3] Rectius *super*. The mistake is the result of thinking in French and writing in Latin.

contentos fideliter firmiterque tenere obseruare et adimplere et nullo tempore contra eosdem vel aliquam partem eorum facere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios aliqua racione vel causa. Conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones seu articuli quos dictus dominus Willelmus firmiter, ut profertur, obseruare et adimplere iurauit ac fide sua mediante se astrinxit in ligna gallicana secuuntur sub hac forma:

Ieo William atte Pole chiualer en presence de notarie et tesmoignes soutescriptes iure a cestes seintes ewangelies de dieu corporelment par moy veues et touchez et me estreyne par ma foi les couenantz condiciones ordynances et articles southescriptes fermement et fiablement tenir garder et parfournir et ne mye fere en countre eaux par moy ne par autri persone. Primerement, qe toutes eschoses qi sount ou serront ordeynez entre nous de la campaignie des marchantz soient tenutz en secret et en conseil et a nuly descouertz sil ne soit dil assent et al profit de la compaignie. Item qe ieo serra aydant et conseillant por profit de la compaignie en quant come sache et puisse saunz ascune chose celer qi purra tourner al profit ou honour de la compaignie. Item qe ieo ne ordeynera ne consillera nule chose por mon singuler profit qi purra tourner a damage ou vylaynie de la compaignie solome ma conscience. Item qe ieo serra loial en quant come ieo sache et puisse a la compaignie de tenir ceo qi serra ordeyne par eux saunz fere singuler profit a moy de nule chose qi touche nostre bargayn. Item si ieo mette ascunes[1] ou trauail por la compaignie ou ascun gayn puisse auoir par nule voye de chose de la compaignie qi ieo rendray loial acompte a la compaignie de chescun dener solome ma conscience saunz rien celer. Item si peril aueigne, qe dieu defende, dascun perde ala compaignie et ascunes custages soient myses par assent de la compaignie por meyntenir le profit et le honour de la compaignie qe ieo paiera ma porcion en quanque a moy appent saunz ascun countredit ou debat fere. Item qe ieo ne serra encountre nule ordeynance profitable por la compaignie qest fet ou serra fet de deinz nostre terme touchant nostre bargayn ne qe nul ordeynance ne serra defet ne debruse par moy saunz assent de la compaignie. Item qe ieo tendra le ordeynances qi serront ordeynetz apres ces houres auxint bien come les ordeynances qi sount ordeynetz meyntenant. Item qe ieo serra vmble et resonable en dit et en fet a ceux de la compaignie qi sount entre iurez et qi serront iurez apres ces houres. Item si ascun debat sourde entre ascun de la compaignie et moy qe ieo ne fra nule partie deuers lui ne rien descouera de tiel debat forsqe soulement a la compaignie, et si debat sourde entre altres de la compaignie qe ieo fray ma diligence par auisement des altres de la compaignie qe resonable remedie soit mys. Item qe serray aydant et conseillant en quant come ieo sache et puisse dentrer la dette due a ceux de la

[1] MS. *sic*.

compaignie par nostre seigneur le roi auxint bien come ma dette demene. Item qe ieo serra toutz iours aydant et conseillant en tant come ieo sache et puisse en priue manere al profit de la compaignie saunz rien medler ouertement dascun ordeynance ou accompte fet entre la compaignie sil ne soit a la requeste de la compaignie.

Acta sunt hec prout supra scribuntur London' in domo habitacionis Walteri de Chiriton' ciuis et mercatoris London' sub anno indiccione die mense et pontificatu predictis. Presentibus dicto Waltero de Chiriton' Waltero Prest et Henrico de Tichewell' mercatoribus dicte societatis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Thomas Hamund de Asshewell' clericus Linc' diocesis publicus apostolica auctoritate notarius predictis omnibus et singulis dum sic vt premittitur agerentur vna cum dictis testibus personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, scripsi publicaui et in hanc publicam formam redegi meisque nomine et signo consueto signaui, rogatus in fidem et testimonium premissorum.

Et dicunt vlterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole vt vnus de societate predicta ordinauit quod xxi, videlicet Reginaldus de Conductu, Robertus de Shiluyngton', Henricus Goldbetere, Thomas de Yafford', Willelmus But, Thomas Gouk', Henricus de Alyngton', Robertus Pynsson', Thomas de Drayton', Robertus de Penreth', Robertus Cokside, Gilbertus Aliland, Hugo Cokheued, Ricardus Galewey, Iohannes de Bole, Rogerus Hardegray, Adam Tirewhit, Robertus Stuffyn, Robertus Dalderby, Walterus de Kelsterne et Thomas Berewyk' de xxxiii predictis amoueri deberent de societate predicta. Et super hoc prosecutus fuit quoddam breue de cancellaria quod dicitur 'dedimus potestatem' sibi et Rogero de Wollesthorp' alii de societate predicta directum de ipsos xxi amouendo, cuius quidem breuis ostendunt curie transcriptum in hec verba: Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Willelmo de la Pole et Rogero de Wollesthorp' salutem. Sciatis quod cum nuper concesserimus Thome de Melchebourn' et quibusdam aliis mercatoribus regni nostri Anglie omnia custumas magnas et paruas et subsidia nobis debita de lanis et aliis quibuscumque mercandisis extra dictum regnum nostrum Anglie eductis et infra idem regnum nostrum adductis a festo Natiuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste anno regni nostri Anglie decimo septimo vsque ad festum sancti Michaelis tunc proximo sequentis et ab eodem festo sancti Michaelis per tres annos proximo sequentes plenarie completos sub certis formis et modis in quibusdam indenturis, inter nos et ipsos inde confectis et sigillis dictorum mercatorum consignatis, contentis, ac iam ex parte Ricardi Galewey, Roberti Stuffyn, Roberti Cokside, Thome Berewyk', Thome de Yafford', Hugonis Cokheued', Iohannis de Bole, Willelmi But, Rogeri Hardegray, Roberti Pynsson', Henrici de Alyngton' et Thome de Drayton' nobis est supplicatum vt, cum ipsi aliis diuersis negociis occupati circa contenta in indenturis predictis non possunt comode laborare, velimus eos a

predictis conuencionibus et omnibus aliis contentis in dictis indenturis absoluere et omnino acquietare. Nos, volentes per vos vel alterum vestrum super contentis in supplicacione predicta plenius certiorari, dedimus vobis potestatem ad predictos Ricardum, Robertum[1], Thomam, Thomam, Hugonem, Iohannem, Willelmum, Rogerum, Robertum, Henricum et Thomam et eorum quemlibet super premissis diligencius examinandos et ad cogniciones quas ipsi et eorum quilibet coram vobis vel altero vestrum inde facere voluerint recipiendas. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod cum vos vel alter vestrum cogniciones predictas receperitis, nobis inde in cancellaria nostra sub sigillis vestris vel alterius vestrum distincte et aperte sine dilacione constare faciatis, hoc breue nobis remittentes. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium xxviii die Augusti anno xviii.

Et dicunt quod ipse Willelmus de la Pole pretextu eiusdem breuis, cum vnus de societate predicta, predictos xxi. mercatores amouit de eadem societate et ordinauit quod ipsi haberent pro amocione sua predicta summas subscriptas, videlicet predictus

Reginaldus de Conductu	DC. mr.
Robertus Shiluyngton'	C. mr.
Henricus Goldbetere	C. mr.
Thomas de Yafford	C. mr.
Willelmus But	C. mr.
Thomas Gouk'	CC. mr.
Henricus Alyngton'	C. mr.
Robertus Pynsson'	C. mr.
Thomas Drayton'	C. mr.
Robertus de Penreth'	C. mr.
Robertus Cokside	C. mr.
Gilbertus Aliland	CC. mr.
Hugo Cokheued'	C. mr.
Ricardus Galewey	C. mr.
Iohannes de Bole	C. mr.
Rogerus Hardegray	C. mr.
Adam Tirewhit	C. mr.
Robertus Stuffin	C. mr.
Robertus Dalderby	C. mr.
Walterus Kelsterne	C. mr.
Thomas de Berwyk'	CC. mr.

Vnde summa totalis est m[l].Dcccc. xxxiii. li'. vi. s. viii. d. ¶Qui soluti fuerunt eisdem mercatoribus per assensum et ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole de denariis regis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis predictis.

[1] A 'Robertum' has been omitted.

Et sic remanserunt in eadem societate xii, scilicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton', Willelmus de Melchebourn', Adam Lucas, Iohannes de Astwyk', Thomas de Swanlund', Hugo de Vlseby, Willelmus de Lodelowe et Willelmus de Roderham.

De quibus sex, videlicet Thomas de Melchebourn', Rogerus de Wolssthorp', Henricus de Tideswell', Walterus Prest, Walterus de Chiriton' et Willelmus de Melchebourn' vna cum predicto Willelmo de la Pole interiurati fuerunt ad tenendum omnia dictam societatem tangencia per assensum et ordinacionem predicti Willelmi de la Pole. ¶Et predicti sex residui assensu et ordinacione dicti Willelmi de la Pole habuerunt certam summam denariorum propter denominacionem suam in eadem societate continuandam et ne ipsi quicquam de eadem societate intromitterent, videlicet

Adam Lucas	
Iohannes Astwyk'	
Hugo de Vlseby	CCC. mr.
Thomas de Swanlund	CC. mr.
Willelmus de Lodelowe	C. mr.
Willelmus de Roderham	C. mr.

de denariis regis prouenientibus de custumis et subsidiis supradictis.

Vnde summa totalis est CCCC. lxvi. li'. xiii. s. iiii.d. ¶Et dicunt quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole ordinauit vna cum aliis de societate predicta quatuor mercatores ad omnes denarios eiusdem societatis recipiendos, videlicet Rogerum de Wolssthorp', Walterum Prest, Henricum de Tideswell' et Walterum de Chiriton'. Et petunt pro rege vt prius etc.

Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole inde allocutus petit licenciam inde loquendi vsque in crastinum diem etc. Et habet diem etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero de Chiriton', Thome de Swanlund' et Gilberto de Wendlyngburgh'.

Et visum est curie expediens esse quod predictus Thomas Hamond de Asshewell' notarius, Walterus de Chiriton' et Henricus de Tideswell' testes in predicto instrumento nominati veniant hic ad informandum curiam super premissis antequam etc. Et mandatum est eis per breuia huius scaccarii quod sint hic ad eundem crastinum. Mandatum est eciam prefatis Hugoni de Vlseby et Willelmo de Melchebourn' mercatoribus de societate predicta quod similiter veniant hic ad informandum inde etc.

Ad quem crastinum predicti Walterus, Thomas de Swanlund' et Gilbertus veniunt. Et predicti Thomas Hamond' de Asshewell' et Henricus de Tideswell', Hugo de Vlseby et Willelmus de Melchebourn' similiter veniunt. Et predictus Thomas Hamond' de Asshewell', examinatus super sacramentum suum si ipse scripsit et fecit instrumentum predictum etc., dicit super

sacramentum suum quod sic et quod ipse personaliter cum testibus in dicto instrumento nominatis interfuit omnibus et singulis in eodem instrumento contentis dum agerentur. Et dicit quod idem Willelmus de la Pole in domo habitacionis Walteri de Chiriton' in London' predicto x die mensis Iunii iurauit super sacra euangelia fideliter et firmiter tenere obseruare et adimplere omnes conuenciones condiciones ordinaciones et articulos in dicto instrumento contentos, dictis testibus presentibus et ad hoc vocatis et rogatis. Et dicit quod ipse omnia et singula in eodem instrumento contenta audiuit scripsit et signo suo signauit in testimonium inde etc. Et ostendit curie quoddam alium instrumentum per ipsum Thomam Hamond' de Asshewell' sub nomine ipsius Willelmi de la Pole solomodo solomodo[1] confectum sub eisdem data loco et anno, continens omnes articulos condiciones et conuenciones in predicto [primo] instrumento contentos. Et predictus Walterus de Chiriton' dicit super sacramentum suum quod ipse rogatus fuit per dictum Willelmum de la Pole vt perhiberet testimonium in premissis. Et dicit quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole in presencia sua in domo habitacionis predicti Walteri de Chiriton' in London' iurauit super sacra euangelia fideliter tenere obseruare et adimplere omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta, predicto Thoma Hamond' ibidem presente et rogato per ipsum Willelmum de la Pole ad componendum instrumentum super premissis. Et dicit vlterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius de societate predicta et per ordinacionem consilium et assensum eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole omnia et singula superius ei imposita fiebant.

Et predictus Henricus de Tideswell' dicit super sacramentum suum quod ipse per dictum Willelmum de la Pole rogatus extitit ad perhibendum testimonium in premissis et quod dictus Willelmus de la Pole in presencia sua in domo habitacionis predicti Walteri de Chiriton' iurauit super sacra euangelia predicta fideliter tenere obseruare et adimplere omnia et singula in dicto instrumento contenta, predicto Thoma Hamond' ibidem presente et rogato per ipsum Willelmum de la Pole ad componendum instrumentum super premissis. Et dicit vlterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius societatis predicte et quod, dicto Willelmo de la Pole in partibus suis existente, idem Henricus tenuit locum dicti Willelmi de la Pole in societate predicta per deputacionem et assensum ipsius Willelmi de la Pole et ibidem morabatur pro se ipso et dicto Willelmo de la Pole ad negocium eiusdem societatis cum aliis sociis suis exequendum et faciendum. Et dicit quod, nisi dictus Willelmus de la Pole prius iurasset ad premissa implenda, ipse Henricus in premissis nunquam iuramentum prestitisset.

Et predictus Thomas de Swanlund' dicit super sacramentum suum quod predictus Willelmus fuit socius de societate predicta et inceptor eiusdem et

[1] MS. *sic.*

per ipsum et assensum et consilium suum omnia et singula in eadem societate fiebant.

Et predictus Willelmus de Melchebourn' dicit similiter super sacramentum suum quod idem Willelmus de la Pole fuit principalis socius eiusdem societatis et inceptor eiusdem et dicta societas agebat omnia per ordinacionem eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole et per ipsum omnia fiebant.

Requisiti predicti Walterus de Chiriton', Henricus de Tideswell', Thomas de Swanlund' et Willelmus de Melchebourn' per quorum vel cuius consilium dicta societas primo incepit, dicunt quod per ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole et quod ipse fuit fundator eiusdem. Requisiti vlterius si predicti xxi mercatores de societate predicta amoti fuerunt per assensum et ordinacionem dicti Willelmi de la Pole, dicunt quod sic et quod ipse Willelmus de la Pole prosecutus fuit breue predictum in cancellaria predicta et pro amocione sua predicta et per ordinacionem et assensum ipsius Willelmi de la Pole predicti xxi mercatores habuerunt particulariter summas prescriptas.

Et predictus Hugo de Vlseby dicit super sacramentum suum quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole fuit socius de societate predicta. Et idem Willelmus, cum vnus de eadem societate, amouit prefatum Hugonem de eadem societate, promittendo ei CC. libras ne vlterius inde intromitteret. De quibus dictus Willelmus de la Pole soluit prefato Hugoni C. libras tantum et idem Hugo assignauit prefatum Willelmum ad soluendum C. marcas Henrico de Tideswell' de residuis C. libris in partem solucionis CCCC. librarum quas idem Hugo in partibus transmarinis ex mutuo recepit de prefato Henrico seu attornatis suis ad opus prefati Willelmi de la Pole tanquam attornatus suus ibidem ad implendam quandam cheuanciam de M^1M^1. libris per dictum Willelmum de la Pole regi ibidem faciendam, de quibus quidem C. marcis dictus Willelmus eidem Henrico nondum satisfecit set eas penes [se] detinuit vna cum L. marcis residuis dictarum C. librarum. Et dicit vlterius quod predictus Willelmus de la Pole promisit eidem Hugoni ipsum conseruare indempnem erga regem et mercatores de societate sua predicta etc. Et per consilium et ordinacionem eiusdem Willelmi de la Pole quedam indentura de indempnitate predicta fiebat inter dictum Hugonem et dictos mercatores, que quidem indentura remanet penes dictum Willelmum de la Pole.

Et predictus Willelmus de la Pole similiter venit. Et detulit hic quoddam breue de priuato sigillo quod est inter communia de anno xxviii, termino videlicet sancti Michaelis, in hec verba: Edward par la grace de dieu roi Dengleterre et de Fraunce et seigneur Dirlande a noz chers et foialx chaunceller, tresorer, barons de nostre escheqer et autres de nostre conseil saluz. Come de nostre grace especiale eons grauntez a nostre cher et foial William de la Pole respit de touz proces faitz ou comencez contre lui en dit escheqer

ou deuant nostre consail, si bien des choses qi sont entre nous et lui come des autres choses qi sont parentre lui et Wauter de Chiriton' et ses compaignons, iusqes a lendemain de la Puryficacion de nostre dame prochein auenir, vous mandons qe le dit respit lui facez auer en la forme desusdite sanz destresce ou empechement a lui faire en le meen temps par cel encheson. Don' souz nostre priue seal a Westmoustier le xiiii iour de Decembre lan de nostre regne Dengleterre vint septisme et de France quatorzisme.

Pretextu cuius breuis datus est dies prefato Willelmo de la Pole in premissis eodem statu quo nunc vsque predictum crastinum Purificacionis beate Marie per manucapcionem Iohannis de Tyssyngton' de comitatu Eboraci et Henrici de Tideswell' de comitatu Lincolnie, qui presentes in curia xv die Decembris hoc anno manuceperunt corpus pro corpore de habendo corpus predicti Willelmi de la Pole hic ad predictum crastinum ad respondendum super premissis et vlterius faciendum et recipiendum quod curia etc. Et idem dies datus est prefatis Waltero, Thome de Swanlund et Gilberto.

. . . . . [1]

[1] The rest of the record deals with the formalities of process. These have been summarised on pp. 192–193, above.

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CERTAIN CONTEMPORANEOUS MATTERS IN GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

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I. Arabic Names

THE climax of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is the skilfully planned-out history of King Arthur; and the highly dramatic climax of this is his triumphant and sumptuous Pentecostal feast, the arrogant embassy of the Romans demanding his submission, and his victorious campaign against their hosts. But in this campaign there is an historical situation worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan. In the sixth century of our era, and in Burgundy, the two Roman emperors have the aid of a dozen and more African, Spanish, and oriental sovereigns as vassals; and what is more, two of their names are Arabic, — Mustensar, king of the Africans (x, 1), and (more conspicuous) the king of Spain, Alifatima, or Aliphatima (x, 1, 8, 9).[1]

Al-Mustansir[2] is the name of three Moslem rulers before Geoffrey's time. Two were in southern Spain,—one a caliph in Cordova in the later tenth century (A.H. 350–66), the other a minor king in Malaga in the earlier eleventh (A.H. 431–4).[3] The third is Abû Tamîm Ma-

[1] The forms here are from Mr Acton Griscom's *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Longmans, 1929), whose new text accurately produced is heartily welcomed. As a variant he gives *Aliphatimus*. San Marte's unreliable edition has *Alifantinam*. Leroux de Lincy's edition of Wace, based on several MSS, has *Aliphatima, Alifantin(s)*. M. Faral's new text of Geoffrey has *Aliphatima, Alifatina, Alifatima*, with variants *aliphantima, alii farimam*. Comparison assures Geoffrey's form as above. Faral's splendid *Légende Arthurienne* appeared after these pages were written. From his text (III, 253) I subjoin the chief passage involved in this article:

'Convenerunt ocius Epistrophus rex Graecorum; Mustensar, rex Africanorum; Aliphatima, rex Hispaniae; Hirtacius, rex Parthorum; Boccus, rex Medorum; Sertorius, rex Libiae; Serses, rex Itureorum; Pandrasus, rex Egipti; Micipsa, rex Babiloniae; Politetes, dux Bithiniae; Teucer, dux Frigiae; Evander, Siriae; Echion, Boetiae; Ypolitus, Cretae; cum ducibus et proceribus sibi subditis. Ex senatorio quoque ordine Lucius Catellus, Marius Lepidus, etc.'

[2] The form most favored in transliterating. The only actual error in Geoffrey's form is the third vowel. (On this and other linguistic points a non-Arabist must depend on expert friends.) On the Arabic custom for rulers to assume new names on accession, as here, see *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, N.S., XIII (1881), 255.

[3] I follow mainly E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie . . . de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), pp. 3, 53, 359. See also S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925), pp. 21, 23; F. J. Simonet, 'Hist. de los Mozárabes' (*Memorias de la real Academia de la Historia*, XIII, Madrid, 1897–1903), pp. 353, 612–3, 622, 629; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*. The *Hist. Mahométane*, translated by P. Vattier (Paris, 1657), p. 163, mentions a caliph Mustanser (A.H. 247), but this seems to be an error for Muntasir.

'add al-Mustanṣir [bi-llâh], eighth Fatimite Caliph of Egypt (or Cairo or Babylon) from A.D. 1036 to 1094.[1] Later than Geoffrey's day there were a dozen others in various parts of the Moslem world. As we shall see, the third is doubtless the one known to Geoffrey.

Alifatima is more curious. No such person is known in Spain or anywhere. But the name is merely a combination of 'Alî and Fâṭima, the names of Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law and of his daughter. The combination is unidiomatic, and was not made by an Arabic speaker, the one part being a man's name, the other a woman's. But of its identity, even if Geoffrey had not associated it with a Moslem country and with Mustensar, there can be no doubt.[2]

Such minute knowledge is unparalleled, in a British writer at any rate, before Geoffrey. People in England had been too provincial to be aware of the Moslem Saracens except rarely, and vaguely for their descent and location, and as fierce fighters, enemies of Christianity and of pilgrims. No earlier British writer extant is acquainted with their religion except William of Malmesbury, and he only with their brief creed: 'Deum Creatorem colunt, Mahumet non Deum sed eius prophetam aestimantes.'[3] For the interest of this first entrance of Moslem things let us consider its possible channels: Constantinople, Spain and Palestine, or thereabouts.[4] There is no probability of a Byzantine medium. Still less likely is the precedent behind the name

[1] De Zambaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 94; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 71; F. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Fatimiden Chalifen* (Göttingen, 1881), pp. 227 ff.; D. L. O'Leary, *The Fatimid Khalifate* (London, 1923), pp. 193 ff.; Fr. Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (Leipzig, 1807–1832, II, 55, etc.

[2] There is an Andalusian family-name Alifante (*Enc. Univ. Il.*); the Arabic *Khalîfah* is sometimes written *Halifa* in Latin. But it is incredible that so apposite a name is due to corruption of some other word.

[3] *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 230: cf. 423, 458; obviously due to 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet.'

[4] The many short written accounts of Mohammed existing in the early twelfth century in Latin and Greek were little known, and seldom even mention Ali, and never Fatima. The following list is fuller than can be found elsewhere. The earliest seems to be in a brief continuation of the chronicle of Isidor of Seville, attributed to St Ildefonsus of Toledo (seventh century, stopping A.D. 686; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XCVI, 320–2; overlooked by d'Ancona); Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, ninth century (*Patr. Lat.* CXV, 859 f.); Alvaro of Cordova, ninth century (*España Sagrada*, XI, 249). Among Greek historians, Theophanes's account (eighth or ninth century), much used later, mentions Ἀλή as Mohammed's son-in-law, selected as chief by one party (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883–85, I, 346–7); much the same with Anastasius the Librarian, whose ninth century *Historia Ecclesiastica* is based on Greek authorities

Alifatima to be due to Spanish-Arab sources, for it points to the wrong side of the early split in the Moslem world. The Shi'ite belief (we may recall) is that the headship of Islam is the right only of the descendants of Ali and Fatima, who inherit Mohammed's preternatural position. The Spanish Moslems were all and always Sunnites;[1] therefore names which by implication exalt the Ali-Fatima dynasty are unlikely to be of Spanish transmission. The likely route is from Egypt or Palestine. The Fatimite or Alid dynasty, which claimed these distinguished ancestors, arose in 909 A.D., conquered Egypt in 969, and reigned in Cairo for two centuries till 1171, when they were superseded by Saladin. Ali and Fatima were in Geoffrey's day as much the rock on which were built the powers that were at Cairo as

(Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, CVIII, 1326). *The Historia de Mahumete*, once attributed to Hildebert of Tours, now to Embricho of Mainz (eleventh century), contains little for its more than 500 distichs (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXI, 1345 ff.). Zonaras' *Annals* (Greek, early twelfth century), after an account of the Prophet, mention 'Αλή his son-in-law as one candidate for the succession (*Patr. Gr.* CXXXIV, 1292). I have not pretended to exhaust the Greek writers. Sigebert of Gembloux about 1105 gives a brief account (*M.G.H., SS.*, VI, 323; also *Patr. Lat.* CLX; Wattenbach, *Deutschl. Geschichtsqu.*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1885–86, II, 145–146), also Hugh of Flavigny about the same time (*M.G.H.* VIII, 323; also *Patr. Lat.* CLIV; Wattenbach, II, 122), and Guibert of Nogent (*c.* 1053–*c.* 1121) in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Occid.*, Paris, 1844), IV, 127 ff.; Guibert opines that 'Mathomus' must have lived rather recently; for so far as appears no divine has refuted his errors or written of him, and therefore the author must rely on oral information. This shows the small vogue of the written accounts. One or two later crusade-chroniclers have brief accounts (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, V, 532, 657). None of the above mentions Ali, except as noted, and in none is he conspicuous. His name clearly came first through Byzantine channels, doubtless because those were more in contact with the Shi'ites; only in Anastasius of the ninth century do I find Ali mentioned in Latin before Geoffrey's day. The earliest mention of Fatima seems to be in the *Tractatus* by the Dominican William of Tripoli, who wrote probably in 1273 in Palestine, evidently with Moslem sources (printed in full by Prutz, pp. 575–598; see below): — the earliest of Mohammed's familiars was his 'avunculus nomine Hely, qui dicti Machometi filiam, nomine Fatimam, consanguineam postmodo accepit in uxorem.' (p. 576) The name *Fatima* seems to be earlier in Geoffrey by some 140 years than in any other Christian writer, except that her namesake 'Fatumia, regis Medorum Halis filia,' is in Ordericus Vitalis, *s. a.* 1123–4, bk. XI, ch. 26 (written 1136); so the two names came west. The least inadequate modern accounts of the whole subject are A. d'Ancona, 'La Leggenda di Maometto in Occidente,' *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* XIII (1889), 199–281 (cf. review by E. Renan, *Journ. des Sav.*, 1889, 421–428); and Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte d. Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 72–88. See also Manitius, *Lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, I, 421–428; M. Asín Palacios, *L'Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 311 ff.; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IV (1889), 22–30. Better knowledge began with Peter the Venerable (c. 1092–1156), abbot of Cluny, who visited Spain about 1139–43 (*Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIX, 663 ff.), and cf. William of Tyre, *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, I, 915–6.

[1] With a slight exception (see de Zambaur, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54).

Peter at Rome.[1] The term Fatimite or an equivalent is that commonly used of the dynasty by mediaeval Arabic writers.[2] Further, this knowledge is unlikely to have come from any quarter before the eleventh century. Intercourse with Moslem Spain was notoriously slight till the twelfth, with Sicily till later. As to the East, for three centuries the Mediterranean was almost closed to Christian commerce, and knowledge of the Moslem world almost cut off; trade with the East hardly revived till the early eleventh century, with the general increase of economic activity, and the end of the century, with the Norman conquest of Sicily. Of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, in spite of what Charlemagne is said to have done to safeguard them, there are records of less than three dozen before the eleventh century, when they became numerous and sometimes large, if still perilous.[3]

But the most promising time is that of the first crusade and after. Men by the thousand went from western Europe, most of them returned, and the relations of the crusaders to the natives were far more continuous and intimate than those of earlier traders and pilgrims. Knowledge of Egyptian religion and politics could not fail to be widespread among them, and to return with them, for the Egyptians were as important to the invaders as the Syrians. The limits of the Egyptian caliph's dominions varied a good deal; at times they went as far west as Morocco, and Mustansir really was *rex Africanorum*, as Geoffrey says; at others as far east as Bagdad. In Palestine, also, they ebbed and flowed; just before the Crusade the Egyptians controlled southern Palestine, again recovered it with Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098, and during the Frankish siege in

[1] 'Rex Aegyptius, Halifa nomine, Maumeti perfidiae summus pontifex,' *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, v, 544; cf. 'Calipha [of Bagdad], gentis suae Apostolico,' Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccles.* ix, 10.

[2] O'Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 17; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, ii, 379.

[3] A. Schaube, *Handelsgesch. d. roman. Völker d. Mittelmeergebiets* (Munich, 1906), pp. 21–65; Clive Day, *Hist. of Commerce* (N.Y., 1917), p. 84; *The Crusades*, etc., presented to Dana C. Munro (N.Y., 1928), pp. 3–43; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, ii, 387–388; v, 266–267, 269; C. H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 29, 282, 285–286; *Studies in the Hist. of Mediaeval Science* (*ib.* 1927), pp. 9 ff., 155 ff.; *Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915), p. 229 (the essence is in Haskins' books); Asin Palacios, pp. 297 ff.; Graefe, in *Enc. of Islam*, ii, 89; H. Pirenne in *Revue belge de philol. et d'hist.*, i, 85; and, conveniently on much of the above, J. W. Thompson, *Econ. and Soc. Hist. of the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1928).

1099 commanded in that city. In this three-cornered struggle, the Caliph three times shifted sides.[1] As to Mustansir, much of the above shows the prominence of his name and office. Personally insignificant as he was, and dying just before the crusade, the length of his reign, one of the longest in Moslem history, made him a feature of the landscape. As late a writer as William of Tyre (ix, 18), about 1180, mentions him ('Bomensor Elmostensab') as reigning in Egypt in 1063. And with his name presumably came those of the supposed founders of his line.[2]

Geoffrey had every opportunity to know what had been going on in the East, and shows much more knowledge than is mentioned in this article. Inhabitants of England, though not conspicuous in the first crusade, were not lacking. Not to mention the English fleet which took Laodicea in 1097,[3] when Robert of Normandy went in 1096 with his brother-in-law Stephen of Blois, and Robert of Flanders, they were attended by 'Angli, et Normanni, et Occidentales Franci,' according to William of Malmesbury.[4] Further, Frenchmen and Normans (from various lands) predominated; for upper-class people England, Normandy and even other parts of France were almost like one country. Of the three leaders just mentioned, who are among the most prominent in all accounts of the crusade, Stephen of Blois was father to one of the dedicatees of the *Historia;* Robert of Normandy was uncle to two (Stephen and Robert of Gloucester), and his family was related to and otherwise connected with the third; and Robert of Flanders was cousin to the two former. Of the genuine crusaders' letters printed by Hagenmeyer,[5] five or six of the twenty or so are from or to these three men. The crusade

[1] *Recueil, Hist. Occid.* v, 544, late, using early sources; Schaube, *Handelsgesch.*, p. 65. On all the above see *Recueil, Hist. Orient.*, I, 2 (troops of *El-Mostancer-Billah* in Tyre); Munro volume on the crusades, pp. 36, 37; O'Leary, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.; W. B. Fleming, *Hist. of Tyre* (N. Y., 1915), pp. 87, 88; *Enc. of Islam*, II, 91.

[2] E. g., Raymond of Aguilers, who was on the first crusade, speaks of the king of Babylon (Cairo) and 'Alim, quem ipse colit, qui est de genere Mahumet' (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, III, 277).

[3] C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 105, 230 ff.

[4] *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), II, 402; Henry of Huntingdon. *Hist. Angl.* (R. S.), pp. 219–20; Fulcher of Chartres, *Hist. Hierosol.* I, 6.

[5] *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe, 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901).

and later affairs in its theatre loomed large in Geoffrey's day. To them William of Malmesbury devotes a seventh of his *Gesta Regum*, which begins with the Saxons, Ordericus Vitalis, beginning with the Incarnation, over a tenth of his *Historia*, and Henry of Huntingdon more space than to William I's reign. The chief histories of the crusade were available at once; William constantly uses that by Fulcher of Chartres, Ordericus those of Fulcher and Baldric of Dol, and Henry the so-called Tudebodus Abbreviatus. There is no solid evidence that Geoffrey used them, but much other information was available; Baldric himself and other historians wrote at home from material supplied them.

II

The Emperors' Other Allies

The names of most of the other 'Orientales Reges' are remarkable too, but can be traced with no difficulty to classical history and tradition. Three are noticeable in the Jugurthine and following civil wars of Rome. Boccus, king of the Medes, is from Bocchus, king of Mauretania, father-in-law and betrayer of Jugurtha; Micipsa of Babylonia, from Micipsa, king of Numidia, adoptive father and predecessor of Jugurtha; Sertorius, king of Libya, from the great rebel in Spain. All these occur, usually repeatedly, in the fifth book of Orosius' *Historia*, Florus' *Epitome*, Sallust's *Jugurtha* and fragmentary *Historiae*, Eutropius' *Breviarium* and its derivatives by Paulus Diaconus and Landolfus 'Sagax', and in various other places. To these should be added Serses, king of the Iturei; Xerxes the Persian appears, usually repeatedly, in Orosius, Florus, Eutropius, Valerius Maximus' *De Factis*, and elsewhere.

Most of the names are from the Trojan tradition and its relatives. Echion, *dux* of Boeotia (*boecie*) evidently reflects Echion the Theban, whose name appears often in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Statius' *Thebaid* (or the hunter of the Calydonian boar in the *Metamorphoses* and the Argonaut who appears many times in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauticon*). Ypolitus, *dux* of Crete, is probably (not to mention the early Christian writer) from Hippolytus, son of Theseus, in the *Metamorphoses* (xv, 497 ff.) or the *Aeneid* (vii, 761 ff). Euander, *dux*

of Syria, first recalls the early Latian king in the *Aenied*, the *Metamorphoses* and Livy, but a son of Priam also is so named in the *Ephemeris* of the pseudo-Dictys Cretensis. From this or Virgil came Hirtacius, king of the Parthians; Hyrtacus is the father of a Trojan ally in Dictys (II, 35; III, 14), and of Nisus, Aeneas' companion (*Aeneid*, V and IX). Teucer (the form is sufficiently certified), *dux* of Phrygia, is from Teucer, the early king of Troy, or his descendent, brother of Ajax; the latter is in the *Aeneid*, Dictys and the *De excidio Trojae* of the pseudo-Dares Phrygius, and both in the *Metamorphoses*. Epistrophus, king of the Greeks, is most likely due to Epistrophus, a Greek from Phocis, or may be from a Trojan ally so named; both are in Dictys and Dares. As to the two others, Pandrasus, king of Egypt, repeats the name of the king of Greece whom Brutus outwits in the first book of the *Historia*, but whence this came is hard to say, unless from Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops in the *Metamorphoses*, possibly fused with Pandarus, in the *Aeneid*, Dictys and Dares. The name (if not corrupt) of Politetes, *dux* of Bithynia, is a fusing of Polypoetes, a Greek leader in Dictys and Dares, with Philoctetes, in the four works last cited. Most of these names are found in many other places, but Orosius, the *Metamorphoses* and Dictys account for them all. It is notable that none except Xerxes is in the three Julius Valerius and Leo versions of the Alexander tradition, though oriental names were called for and some of the countries are mentioned there. Nowhere are these names the most conspicuous.

The names were not chosen at random, but for associations with the countries mentioned or their general regions. This is obvious with Echion the Theban in Boeotia, Hippolytus, son of Theseus, in Crete, Trojan names for the Phrygian[1] and the Bithynian, a Phocian name for the king of the Greeks, a Persian for him of the Iturei, on the Persian side of Palestine; and Sertorius', associated with Spain and Mauretania, for the king of Libya, often vaguely used for north Africa. Babylonia to Geoffrey's contemporaries almost always meant

[1] 'Minor Phrygia, id est Troia,' says the emperor Alexius in his letter of 1088 (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 132); also Fulco's poem, before 1142 (III, 200–1, in *Rec., Hist. Occid.*, V, 715). Major Phrygia was an interior region. See W. M. Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), pp. 150, 153); the name disappeared in the fifth century and revived later.

the Egyptian soldan's capital just south of Cairo, seldom the ancient empire, and to its king he gives a north African name. For Euander of Syria a Latian name would be odd, but not so a Trojan, since Asia Minor and Syria figure together in the crusade; much the same with the Trojan name for the Parthian king. Even for Boccus of the Medes there is a dubious excuse for a Mauretanian name; Sallust in writing of Micipsa and Jugurtha avers that the Medes settled Mauretania, and that *Mauri* is a corruption of *Medi*.[1] Only Pandrasus of Egypt, of uncertain origin, is more doubtful in fitness. Clearly then the pairs of names were chosen as plausible combinations.

The list of fourteen countries, which makes so fantastic an impression on a modern, represents the whole Roman Empire (except northwards), at the time of its greatest extent, from Spain, the Africans, Libya, Egypt, Babylonia, Crete, the Greeks, Boeotia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Syria, the Ituraeans, to the Parthians and the Medes; but the inclusion of the last two as subject kingdoms violates all history, except for a moment under Trajan. At first it looks like a loose eclectic list, the Ituraeans recalling the early Roman empire, and Babylonia, Boeotia, the Medi, history much more ancient. But with an informed man in the twelfth century, it never does to assume vagueness or ignorance, and the chances are that a dozen names will betray some slant. We shall see presently that these do.

The inclusive dates of Arthur's career are unusually plain, in spite of interior indefiniteness and even contradiction. Geoffrey would have discovered the period with some precision from his three main authorities. In the so-called Nennius, Arthur is the hero of the *bellum in monte Badonis;* this according to Gildas and Bede was about forty-three years after the coming of the Saxons, and this the latter dates 449.[2] In the *Historia*, shortly after his accession Arthur defies the Saxons (ix, 1), and after a continuous campaign pursues them *versus pagum Badonis*, where he defeats them in a battle which reflects the Nennius account (ix, 3, 4). At the end, the campaign

[1] *Jugurtha*, xviii.

[2] I, 15–6; cf. *Revue Celtique*, VI, 6–13; *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 497–503. Mr A. W. Wade-Evans' 'Chronology of Arthur,' *Y Cymmrodor*, XXII, 125–149, is an unmanageable combination of acuteness, contradictions, leaps, and assumptions. He treats Arthur's career as historical.

against the Romans is the year before Modred's treachery and Arthur's retirement to Avalon, which is explicitly dated 542 (ix, 12, 15, 20; x, 1, 13; xi, 1, 2). These dates for Arthur's reign (about 491 to 542) harmonize better than usual with what precedes and follows. From the coming of Hengest Geoffrey shows four reigns before Arthur's, and after it three very short reigns, two of uncertain length, an indefinite period of disorder, then the sending of St. Augustine (596 in Bede). While it seems that he followed no clean-cut scheme throughout, and was more concerned to give an occasional impression of chronological accuracy than to withstand calculation, he never disregards chronology for long, and here commits himself.

For knowing the facts of the Roman world about this time he had every facility. For the earlier generations after Constantine there were (besides three or four others) Eutropius, Orosius, Eusebius, Jerome and Prosper, to name only those common in monastic book-catalogues of about his time.[1] Among those reaching or covering also the time of Arthur there were Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Isidor, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Landolfus Sagax, Anastasius and Frechulph of Lisieux (to disregard eight or ten others). Among authors near Geoffrey's own day the same ground is covered by Ordericus Vitalis, Honorius of Autun, Sigebert of Gembloux and a half-dozen and more others, besides brief and unimportant accounts in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* (p. 412) and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historiae Anglorum* (pp. 30 ff.). Needless to say, there is not a hint in any of them about any Roman claim or attack on the Britons in the fifth or sixth century; on the contrary the abandonment of them is mentioned. But in all these authors and others the information and interest regarding the Christian Roman and Byzantine Empire is striking, even rulers and wars, in spite of their weakness for heresies, relics, miracles and pontiffs.

That one or more of these accounts is reflected in the *Historia* is certain. The actual emperor at the time of Arthur's supposed Roman

[1] E.g., in G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibl. Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885); L. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS, B. N.* (Paris, 1868–1881); M. R. James, *Anc. Libr. of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903); le Prevost's introduction to Ordericus Vitalis, I, vii ff.; L. Maitre, *Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques* (Paris, 1924), pp. 191 ff. For the historians see Manitius and Gröber especially.

campaign was Justinian I (527–565), for whom Belisarius and Narses waged war, and nearly doubled his dominions in the West. In the above-named historians his reconquest of Africa and Italy, and successes against the Franks, are conspicuous; also his defeat of the Persians, and of a few of the outlying peoples mentioned by Geoffrey. If Arthur's new subjects from the north and west fought for him, it is not utterly fantastic to picture the Roman emperors as aided by rulers of Libya[1] and of the Africans, as well as by those of several other regions still under the empire. To represent the emperor toward the middle of the sixth century as reclaiming former Roman dominions in the West (though not Britain) is sober history. There is thus a certain faint plausibility for this part of the picture.

But the capital of the empire is obviously still Rome, to which Arthur is summoned (IX, 15), and begins a hostile march (X, 13); and its army is largely Roman, with leaders bearing compositely historic Latin names (X, 1, 5, 8, 9). Most of the personal names along here, as we have seen, have a studied ancient air. Therefore the picture is also of something before the fall of the Western Empire. There are two emperors at once, coöperating (IX, 11, 20; X, 4–6, 10, 11); the simultaneous emperors are unmistakable in all the historians mentioned above.[2] Though there is no mention of Constantinople, one of them is presumably more distant than the other, for he never reaches the fight. He bears the name Leo. This imperial name, unknown in Rome, is that of the latest emperor at Constantinople (Leo I, 457–474) before the disappearance of the Western Empire (476) who had any real connection with the West, though his one great enterprise there, against the Vandals in Africa (468), ended in disaster; the next emperor, Zeno (474–491), besides having an outlandish name, such as Geoffrey avoids, figured little in western history, and Arthur's contemporary Anastasius (491–518) figured less.

[1] Landolfus, *Hist. Rom.* (Istituto Stor. Ital., Rome, 1912–3), II, 40. Even the Parthians are worsted though not subdued by Belisarius (Jordanes, *Romana, M. G. H., Auct. Ant.*, V, i, pp. 47 ff.; Freculph of Lisieux, *P. L.*, CVI, 1254), and Spain is entered by Roman troops (Isidor, *Chronicon, P. L.*, LXXXIII, 1054).

[2] Just at first, but not later, Geoffrey is evasive about Lucius being emperor. Some of the later Byzantine emperors made their sons Augusti also, but Geoffrey was not thinking of this.

The loose title *rex Romanorum* given to Leo once or twice by Geoffrey (xi, 1; cf. ix, 16) is given Leo I by Paulus Diaconus.[1] There is one more point, of which the full bearing will be clear later. Not only in the fifth century was the name Leo prominent as that of an Eastern potentate; also in Geoffrey's own day. Armenians, driven from the north by the Moslems, had established Armenia Minor on the south coast opposite Cyprus, with fluctuating relations to their neighbors. Their ruler from 1123 to 1135 was Leo I, in the latter year put out of the way by the emperor John Comnenus. He is mentioned ('Levo Armenus') as a highly important person by William of Tyre.[2] His niece (by marriage?) was married to Bohemond II of Antioch, his sister to the count of Edessa, and he himself to a sister of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem 1118–31; but for all that the dissensions of 'Leo Armenicus,' a 'Christianus princeps,' with Bohemond in 1130 and their ill results are remarked on by Ordericus Vitalis[3]; in that year he joined with the Turks, in 1131 was captured and plundered by Bohemond, and later escaped and recovered the plunder. These facts show that this prince of a mostly heretic and schismatic people loomed rather large and unfavorably in the affairs of the Latin East.

The nearer and more conspicuous emperor has a wholly unhistorical and also improbable name, Lucius Hiberus or Hiberius (ix, 15 ff.). Its coinage may have been helped by that of one of Leo's Western colleagues, Livius Severus, emperor at Rome 461–5. Though his praenomen is not in the above historians, he is called a Lucanian by Cassiodorus.[4] Other names in them may have helped; the Caucasian region Hiberia appears in them constantly, and the emperor Tiberius III (late seventh century) appears as 'Leontius Tiberius' in Anastasius the Librarian's Latin compilation.[5] Both the latter

[1] Leo the forty-fifth *Romanorum regum* (xv, 1); cf. Orosius, vii, 28. To pass over Leo II, his small grandson who hardly outlasted him, the next emperor Leo was the Isaurian of the eighth century. 'Leo imperator' appears in Henry of Huntingdon (p. 41) as a contemporary of Hengest and Vortimer.

[2] *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, I, 610.

[3] IV, p. 267; cf. *Recueil, Docum. Arméniens*, I, *passim*, II, 8; Röhricht, *Geschichte d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, 195, 210, etc.; *Camb. Med. Hist.* IV, 169, 358.

[4] *Chronicon, P. L.* LXIX, 1245. V's often appear as b's. A gold coin of 'Libius Severus' has been found in the Isle of Wight (*Vict. County Hist., Hampshire*, I, 377). Let us hope that no one will announce it as part of Arthur's booty.

names appear in the sixth century. From such materials is Geoffrey's invention.

We have seen that Geoffrey's picture recalls actual conditions in Arthur's day and also those of a couple of generations earlier. The combination was made easier because the authorities' chronology is usually complex or indefinite; and it has the effect of exalting Arthur by giving him two emperors to war against. Geoffrey's borrowing, combining and inventing secured a certain verisimilitude for the eyes of the well-read, and a convenient evasiveness. Aside from the above, the picture of the late empire partly reflects much earlier facts (prominence of the Senate, ix, 15; x, 1, 13), and partly is vague and inaccurate (*Lucius* [*Hiberus*] *rei publice procurator*, ix, 15; a tribune as provincial ruler, ix, 11). For all the faint plausibility scraped together from history, the truly monstrous thing is the prosperous oriental empire with an array of subject kings zealous to spread Roman power to Britain, in centuries when the empire if ever prosperous was unstable, and in general was fighting defensive wars in East and West. There is not a syllable in any chronicle of these centuries to justify Geoffrey's picture; but he knew such chronicles.

Now in these dozens of writers there are vastly numerous names of countries and races. All of Geoffrey's fourteen are found here or there, but Ituraea very rarely, and Boeotia almost never; and others, notably the Parthians, appear not as subjects but as enemies of the empire, as for example in Isidor's *Chronicon* (cap. 78) and elsewhere. But among the vast number are many European peoples infinitely more plausible as campaigners in the far West and defenders of Roman prestige. In the selection of these fourteen names there was little thought of observing historical conditions in the late fifth or early sixth century.

But at the time of the crusade and later things are different. Just as the name of Leo recalls an antagonist of the Crusaders, all have a strong association with enmity to Western Europeans. The Greeks, Boeotia, Crete were subject to the Orthodox Church and to the Byzantine Emperor, whose relation then to the West was never really

[5] *Patr. Graeca*, CVIII, 1335 (though the reading may be corrupt). Some MSS of Geoffrey even read 'tyberius' for 'Hiberius.'

friendly and often hostile, and then regarded in the West as more hostile than it was. The emperor John Comnenus, for example, for years was threatening the Latin principality of Antioch, and preparing to besiege the city, as he did in 1137. Its prince then was Raymund of Poitiers, who, having been trained to knighthood at the court of Henry I, was there in 1135 when he became betrothed to the heiress of the city,[1] just the time when Geoffrey was writing. With Phrygia and Bithynia now one and now the other, the rest of the fourteen were Moslem politically and religiously.

Further, each of these very names except one appears in a living guise in the accounts of the first crusade, which was fought from Constantinople to Egypt and involved many outlying peoples, and in accounts of the affairs of the Latin states in Syria. The extant chroniclers give an idea of some but not all of the information available. Such are William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, both known to Geoffrey (*Historia*, xii, 20), and Ordericus Vitalis, who finished a little after Geoffrey; the crusade-chroniclers Fulcher, Baldricus, Tudebodus, Raymund, Guibert, Albert, and the *Gesta Francorum*, all earlier than he; and the later William of Tyre, who used early sources.[2] These chroniclers use the classical and biblical names when they can. The Africans, Egypt (not regarded as in Africa), Syria, though always contemporary and conspicuous, are especially so in the first crusade. The Egyptian Babylonia at Cairo is very conspicuous, through its caliph. So is Bithynia, as the scene of the first important operation against the Moslems (the siege of Nicaea in 1097), and of others before and after; we even have a letter written to King Stephen's mother by his father from before Nicaea.[3] Crete appears less often, but was a sea-mark lying close to any sea-route to the East, such as was taken by the English fleet at Laodicea in 1097.[4] *Greci* (*Grecia* rarely) is the regular word for the subjects of the Byzantine emperor, used times innumerable. *Hispania* in the

[1] William of Tyre, *Recueil, Hist. Occid.* I, 618, 635; *Revue de l'orient latin*, IV, 358 ff.; R. Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 201.

[2] All in the *Recueil*, with full indices; some better edited later. On the crusaders' routes, Tomaschek in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Phil.-hist. Klasse, CXXIV (1891), 82 ff.

[3] Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.*

[4] David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 230 ff.; Crete often mentioned in *Recueil*, III and V.

West, which Geoffrey probably meant (being always to him outside the pale, and the abode of uncanny personages), is not prominent; but the name is, being often applied vaguely to Moslem regions in Asia Minor and eastward.[1] Ituraea is mentioned by none of these chroniclers before William of Tyre, but, doubtless following earlier sources, he mentions it under the year 1100 (and later) as entered by the Christians;[2] the Latins were interested to find themselves among names familiar in Scripture. Libya, sometimes vaguely conceived but usually as just west of Egypt, appears unexpectedly often. The Medi appear not seldom, and Edessa, capital of the Latin 'county' to the east of Antioch, is their metropolis; Henry of Huntingdon mentions them as enemies.[3] The Parthi mean the Turks, and appear not seldom.[4] Phrygia Minor or Major appears in William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Tyre; the latter was on the crusaders' route. Whether or not Geoffrey heard each of the names in this connection, all but two or three appear in the accounts by one or more of the three, William of Malmesbury, Baldricus and Fulcher, of whom the first two wrote at home at second-hand, in Geoffrey's own day, and the third was well-known there and then. Only Boeotia is in none of the chroniclers and prevents a too contemporary look. For countries which were geographically fairly well defined in his day Geoffrey uses the name of the country; in the five cases where he uses the name of the people the definition was not at all clear. Lands whose rulers he calls *dux* were not called kingdoms in his time. Repeatedly these peoples appear as antagonists of the relatives of Geoffrey's dedicatees mentioned above. 'In uno quidem principes erant, dux Normannorum Robertus, . . . , et plures alii. Hos igitur circumdederunt Parthorum, qui modo Turci vocantur, et Persarum, et Publicanorum, et Medorum, . . . CCC. et lx. M. . . .'[5]

[1] Röhricht, *Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 160, 165; Riant, *Archives de l'Orient Lat.*, I, 13, 103, and references; *Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, III, 243–72, V, 23, 372 (Ispahan); W. M. Ramsay, *Histor. Geogr. of As. Min.*, pp. 151, 163, 223 (Spania in Galatia).

[2] Pp. 388, 720, etc.; *St Luke*, III, 1; but not a living name after the first century. Only six of these names are in *Acts* II, 9–11, familiar in the Epistle for Pentecost.

[3] Rolls Ser., p. 221; Wm. of Tyre, 708, 1016, etc.

[4] 'Parthorum, quos Turcos diximus,' Guibert of Nogent (*Recueil, Hist. Occid.*, IV, 260); 'Nam modo qui Turci veteri sunt nomine Parthi,' poem of Gilo (*ib.* V, 732); 'Parthorum, qui modo Turci vocantur' (Henry of Huntingdon, p. 221).

Again, 'Nicaeam, Bithyniae urbem, obsederunt. . . . Buamundus et Tancredus; . . . Deinde Rodbertus, Flandriae comes . . . Iuxta hunc Rodbertus, Normannorum dux, et Stephanus, Carnotensis comes, . . .'[1] Robert's nephew and namesake Robert of Gloucester would take notice. Timely and appealing choice! Even without the two Arabic names an alert reader in the 1130's would have been reminded no more of ancient than of contemporary history, could not have failed to think of the chief international events in an internationally-minded age. As to so many 'reges' and 'duces,' who so enhance the glory of Arthur's victory, the sheer invention of them would have been easy, but Geoffrey found far more precedent for them in the twelfth century than in the sixth. The orientals' campaign is an inverted crusade, with reigning sovereigns of various peoples allied to recover an alienated region. On the other hand Arthur, fighting the orientals, has himself the nimbus of a crusader without ever leaving the Atlantic, and he beats these peoples just as Charlemagne was believed to have done (in Spain and the East), whom Geoffrey assuredly had in the back of his mind all along. By the end of the century some had it that, like Charlemagne, Arthur had even himself gone to Jerusalem.[2] The princes' names were so chosen that they fit their countries and are vaguely plausible. Henry of Huntingdon too in his crusading enthusiasm thought of the princes in the Troy and Thebes traditions as inferior rivals of the crusaders, — 'tot et tam bellicosos duces. Cesset Troia, cessent Thebae, duces et principes destructionis suae . . . nominare!'[3] In both sets of names, some appeared fitting because ancient (too ancient, a scholar would say now); some were vivid because contemporaneous. It is easy to stand off till the outlines are blurred, and conclude that Geoffrey's picture is a mere vague and ignorant invention. But with the reading and hearsay in mind which a man in his position could hardly have escaped, it is difficult to escape such an interpretation as that above.

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[5] Henry of Huntingdon, p. 221.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, ix, 7; vol. III, p. 502.

[2] Interpolation in a MS., about 1200, of the so-called Nennius: Petrie and Sharpe, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, I (1848), 66, 73.

[3] P. 220 (R. S.).

III

Two Legates and an Antipope

A little earlier, at Arthur's Pentecostal crown-wearing (ix, 12), among his magnates is Dubricius, archbishop of Urbs Legionum (with its cathedral school, and its novelty a convent of canons), 'Britanniae primus [primas?] et apostolice sedis legatus.' The title obviously reflects a burning question of the decade before Geoffrey wrote. The sending to England of foreigners as papal legates, earlier very rare, became common from the mid-eleventh century, was usually opposed by king and church, and was felt by Canterbury as such a slur that Archbishop William de Corbeuil went to Rome and induced the pope in January, 1126, to create him *apostolicae sedis legatum* (to the wrath of some modern Anglicans), a title never before held by an English primate. This office he held with small interruption till his death in 1136, and thereafter it was usually held by his successors.[1] Though the groundless claim was sometimes made that this arrangement followed ancient custom,[2] and Geoffrey might conceivably have meant the legation of Urbs Legionum as a fictitious precedent to promote giving it to Canterbury, there is good reason to doubt this; the passage probably was intended merely to glorify the Arthurian primate, and was written later than 1125.

The name and personality of one of these unpopular Italian legates are certainly pilloried in the *Historia*, I, 5, 7, 8. The abject Greek who is bullied and suborned by Brutus into betraying Pandrasus and his countrymen to an ambush is named Anacletus. About his original there is a long story.

Petrus Petri Leonis came of the well-known wealthy and ambitious Jewish family in Rome, the Pierleoni, high in the papal service and favor, which three generations earlier had accepted Christianity,

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 128; Florence of Worcester, *Continuatio* (Engl. Histor. Soc., 1848–1849), II, 84; Gervase of Canterbury (Rolls Ser.), II, 382; Stubbs, *Constit. Hist. of Engl.* (4th edit.), I, 267, III, 306 ff.; F. Makower, *Constit. Hist. of Ch. of Engl.* (London, 1895), pp. 227 ff; P. Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht* (Berlin, 1869–1897), I 506 ff.; H. Tillmann, *Die päpstl. Legaten in England* (Bonn, 1926).

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum* (Rolls Ser.) p. 126; Wm. of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, p. 128; St Anselm, *Patr. Lat.* CLIX, 201; cf. a letter of Alexander II to William I, in Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 1.

intermarried with the Roman aristocracy, and suggestively adopted the above papal names. With his black hair, pale face and unhandsome figure richly dressed, he looked the Jew, says Ordericus Vitalis. Having been trained for the church in Paris, and as a monk at Cluny, which just then was contributing one pope after another from its community, he went ahead against ridicule, prejudice and horrible accusations, evidently by ability and wealth,[1] and arrived in England as cardinal legate in 1121, and visited the king in Wales and the convent of Canterbury (*cum iocunditate*). More heralded than any of his predecessors, according to Eadmer, traveling in pomp and regarded with apprehension by some for his rich and powerful connections, nevertheless he was promptly, munificently and genially edged out of the country, having achieved nothing except a rare amount of loot (*praeda*), and made promises at Canterbury which he could not fulfill. Under the decorous Latin of the chroniclers, unless we deny that a mediaeval could have the light touch, we cannot miss their derision; in William of Malmesbury's and Eadmer's *quidam Petrus*, and Eadmer's anticlimaxes.[2] In spite of this fizzle, he was elected pope by one group of cardinals in February, 1130, exchanging his name of Peter for the impeccably historic name of Peter's second successor in the list of popes, Anacletus (with the gratifying meaning Summoned to Service). But Innocent II, who was elected by another group at the same time, prevailed over him; he was accepted by little more than Rome and his sister's kingdom of Sicily, was condemned by councils, abused by St. Bernard[3] as *ille iniquus qui peccare fecit Israel*, etc., and in 1138 finished the lifelike story of ambition foiled by prejudice. Not only his new name, therefore, but his personality was notorious in England.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), IV, 384–5, V, 25, 37; *Recueil des Hist. des Gaules*, XV (Paris, 1878), 360; Arnulfus in *M. G. H., SS.*, XII, 711 ff; R. L. Poole, in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1917–18, pp. 220 ff; 225, Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, IV, 388 ff, 411; Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* (Bar-le-Duc, 1869), pp. 207, 342; *Arch. della soc. romana di storia patria*, XXVII (1904), 409 ff., and XXXIX (1916).

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, 294–7; William of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, p. 128; Arnulfus, *l. c.*, p. 712; Tillmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–7.

[3] St Bernard, *Patr. Lat.* CLXXXII, 305, and 270, 535, etc.; also 294 ('constat Judaicum subolem sedem Petri in Christi occupasse iniuriam'); *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886–92), II, 379 ff; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, V, 363–368; L. I. Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (N. Y., 1925), pp. 248 ff.

The name Anacletus, late Greek, is found nowhere else.[1] To the mind of a churchman, what more fit name for a traitor than an anti-pope's, with a mocking memory of his ostentation and rapacity, and of his promises which had ended so flatly? This brings the date when Geoffrey began to write down to 1130 or later. Elsewhere, too, one can detect ecclesiastical interests in the choice of names and other details in the *Historia*.

All this nomenclature would seem comfortably lifelike to a well-read and active-minded reader; but we need not doubt that there was an occasional traveler at court and monk at Durham, Bec or Canterbury, who might dimly recognize or suspect Alifatima and Anacletus, Teucer and Mustensar, and Mede and Parthian armies in Burgundy. Geoffrey took far more pains to be easy and vivid for the educated to read than to fend off doubt in the critical, and worked more for that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith than to deceive the very elect. There is an escape from that picture of two ecclesiastics putting their heads together to beguile both clerk and lewd which has shocked some moderns. Not only did no one in the middle ages dream that all the detail in a supposed history of the remote past was authentic. More than this, probably the immense majority of readers never weighed the question of authenticity at all, and hardly anyone felt it essential to settle, even as to the main outlines, if they did not contradict what was generally accepted. History and story had not yet made their declaration of mutual independence. Truth was secondary. Historians differed greatly in their attitude toward it; but, generally speaking, to the mediaeval, as to Quintilian, history was the next thing to poetry, a kind of poem without metre, written to tell a story, not to prove it.[2] The middle ages made their most fundamen-

[1] None of Geoffrey's chief sources mentions Anacletus I, a name less familiar than might be supposed. It appears as *Cletus* in the canon of the Westminster, York and Roman masses, in Eusebius' *Chronica* (*P. L.* xxvii, 598), the *Chronica* attributed to Fredegarius (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS. Merov.*, ii, 35), and in *Paradiso*, xxvii, 41 (Cleto); also as Anencletus. Sometimes Cletus is the third and Anacletus the fifth pope.

[2] *Instit. Orat.*, x, i, 31: 'Historia est enim . . . proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, . . . ad narrandum, non ad probandum.' Copies are common in twelfth-century library catalogues; there was one at Bec in Geoffrey's day or shortly after (Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 202, 240 etc.).

tal distinction, not between the true and the false, but between the good and pleasant and the bad and unpleasant. There were far more people who did so then than now, and that is saying a good deal. It is a delicate matter to define just how the *Historia* was meant to be taken, and was taken, on which there is a good deal of evidence, some of it familiar, not to be considered here. But any highly educated man who wholly misunderstood Geoffrey's; purpose may have been a little in the position of the Irish bishop of whom Swift wrote to Pope; who after reading *Gulliver* averred that book was full of improbable lies, and for his part he hardly believed a word of it.

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Boccaccio and Fortuna
From Brit. Mus. *MS. Royal 14, E v*, Fol. 291.

TROILUS ON DETERMINISM

By HOWARD R. PATCH

WORDS are often flung about in critical usage, until a few of them stick to a subject and grow there like barnacles, as if their attachment were foreordained and their appropriateness inevitable. Thus in regard to Chaucer's interest in fatalism the word 'determinism' has more and more crept into use with reference to his thought, and even Price remarks of the famous soliloquy of Troilus that it has a 'special interest in showing us the settled determinism of Chaucer's philosophical conception of human life'.[1] When so significant an expression is used so often it must be scrutinized afresh, first for its own meaning in the modern vernacular, and secondly for its accuracy in describing the poet's philosophical ideas.

The need for such a word arises when we try to indicate the stages in the theoretical relation between the opposite poles of human freedom and external compulsion or necessity. What appears to be its readiest implication is that of the extreme of absolute compulsion —'determinism,' when you look at it, is after all a hard word,— and, in fact, that is the usual meaning attached to it to-day.[2] If

[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XI (1896), p. 311. Cf. also Manly, *Canterbury Tales*, (N. Y., 1928), p. 547; Tatlock, *Mod. Philol.*, III (1905–1906), p. 370; and Curry, in a skilful and important paper, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV (1930), p. 129 and p. 166, and in another, *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XXIX (1930), p. 98. The uncertain meaning of the word in criticism is shown by its use in F. M. Grimm's *Astronomical Lore in Chaucer*, (Univ. of Nebraska Studies, Lincoln, 1919), p. 75: 'But pervading the whole is the idea of determinism, of the inability of the human will to struggle successfully against the destiny imposed by the powers of heaven,' etc. A brief survey of some medieval discussions of free will is included in Wedel's *Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology*, (Yale Studies in Eng., New Haven, 1920); cf. especially pp. 147 ff. suggesting that the omission of an adequate defense of free will on Chaucer's part is evidence of his 'determinism' unless his interest in the problem was 'dictated largely by artistic considerations' (cf. also p. 143).

[2] To show popular usage I may be pardoned for quoting the dictionaries. Webster: 'The doctrine that the will is not free, but is inevitably and invincibly determined by psychical and physical conditions;' *N. E. D.*: 'The philosophical doctrine that human action is not free but necessarily determined by motives, which are regarded as external forces acting upon the will;' *Century Dict.*: '. . . in direct opposition . . . to the doctrine of the freedom of the will;' *Encycl. Brit.* (eleventh ed.,) 'It is opposed to the various doctrines of Free-Will. . . . It is the extreme antithesis of Indeterminism or Indifferentism, the doctrine that a man is absolutely free to choose. . . . ' Cf. the remarks of Hankins, *Journ. Philos.*, XXII (1925), p. 617: 'But

it is used to connote only a degree of compulsion, then it loses in definiteness; for nearly everybody, the orthodox Christian, the pagan, the modern scientist, everyone but an out and out libertarian (as the Pelagians do vainly talk), would be a determinist. There are other terms to cover the fact of some external influence in human life, and we need one which excludes the theory of any trace of free will. In this paper, then, I shall confine the use of 'determinism' and allied expressions to such a meaning. I shall consider whether in this sense it has any applicability to the views expressed in Chaucer's *Troilus*, and what conclusions may be drawn regarding the poet's own ideas on the subject. First it will clarify the situation to look briefly into the discussion of the subject during the Middle Ages as a background to the poet's theory.

I

The importance of the question in literary history is not only intellectual but aesthetic. In literature artistic appeal varies in depicting, on the one hand, a character moved entirely by what amount to external forces (whether heritage, humors, or motives over which the individual has no control), and, on the other, a character morally responsible because, in part at least, free to choose his course. Without raising the issue of art for art's sake, we may note that in this sense the values of a work of art may include moral patterns as well as others, and that the emotional response may be changed by the fact that the onlooker cannot put aside the situation as in any way isolated, or as unrelated to his own action in the future. Reflection may be added to pity and terror if one has the conviction that one can affect one's own destiny in part, and that the future is something more than a question of mere luck. In comparison, an entirely fatalistic tragedy seems less rich in variety,

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the scientist . . . affirms that the consciousness of freedom is merely an accompaniment of the conscious volitions and not a proof that action is not determined.' Part of this article maintains a scholastic principle—that knowledge is necessary for freedom (p. 628), but a fundamental weakness consists in its failure to expose its primary assumption that, knowledge being granted, choice is mechanical. A further weakness, characteristic of this school of thought, is its distrust of philosophy (cf. p. 617 and the phrase 'to the mind unspoiled by the sophistications of philosophy').

and to many will appear even warped as a picture of life. With such an art as that of fatalism there is nothing to do but weep. But whether the experience of moral tragedy is salutary or not, we may observe that it is different in important ways from that received at the spectacle of the action of irresponsible puppets.

The aesthetic importance of the distinction was clearly perceived by Aristotle, who, in discussing tragedy, at first points out that for hero an entirely virtuous man will not do, for his adversity will merely shock us.[1] On the other hand, in what is really an inductive fashion, inferring his principles from the drama of his day, and trying to formulate them in relation to his philosophy, Aristotle traces the development of a tragedy to an essential weakness in the hero. This, it is true, need not be a moral weakness,[2] but there can be little doubt that Aristotle deliberately chose the inclusive expression ἁμαρτία because he was giving special attention to his favorite tragedy, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. For elsewhere in his works the necessity of moral responsibility and of moral value is never ignored, and he shows definitely his belief in an element of human free will.[3] The gravity of the question, however, is reflected in the discussion among critics as to the precise meaning of ἁμαρτία and as to the real cause of the tragedy in the story of Oedipus. For the latter one critic has maintained, with apparent justice, that even there a moral weakness furnishes the spring to the action: 'Yet Sophocles plainly shows even in his case that his own traits of character brought on and augmented the catastrophe. Further, this play is but one . . . .'[4] And of the characteristics of

[1] *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, etc., S.H. Butcher, (London1911), *Poetics*, XIII, 2. For discussion see pp. 302 ff.

[2] *Poetics*, XIII, 3–4. For discussion, see pp. 304 and 321 ff., and compare especially 349 ff. Cf. Ingram Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* (Oxford,1909), p. 215: 'In thus making the tragic story turn on an ἁμαρτία Aristotle is probably thinking more immediately of the Oedipus Tyrannus.'

[3] Moral responsibility is discussed in the *Nicom. Ethics*, III. Cf. Émile Boutroux, *Historical Studies in Philosophy*, trans. Rothwell (London,1912), pp. 134–135; and Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, etc., trans. Morris and Porter (N.Y., 1891), I, p. 172. Aristotle's views are later reflected by Thomas Aquinas. In the *Poetics* note VI, 5, 10, and 17, with comment, pp. 335, 340, and 349.

[4] Abby Leach, 'Fate and Free Will in Greek Literature,' in *the Greek Genius and its Influence*, etc., ed. Lane Cooper (New Haven, 1917), p. 148. Cf.T.D. Goodell, *Athenian Tragedy*,

the Greeks the same writer remarks: 'Freedom of thought, freedom of action, love of the beautiful, joy in living, incessant activity . . . . all these are diametrically opposed to any fatalistic doctrine, to anything bordering on patient and unquestioning submission to the fixed and unalterable decrees of fate.'[1] While the Greeks had a sense of destiny, they were able to sustain the paradox of fate and free will, so well recognized and discussed in the Middle Ages. The critic's enthusiasm shows the instinctive revolt almost anyone feels at any kind of moral slavery.

The fact that Aristotle puts the cause of real tragedy in a flaw, moral or otherwise, in the leading character, rather than in the crushing power of more purely external circumstance, suggests that his own preference was typically humanistic—that he held that character, rather than forces outside the individual, is destiny.[2] By this we cannot mean that character is only another variety of destiny (inasmuch as character is partly a gift of nature); for it is an impressive fact that Aristotle does not put the prime cause in outer nature or in the plans of the gods. The whole point of the ἁμαρτία is not that it is the necessary hypothesis for destruction, but that it brings the one touch of human nature in which we may resemble the hero and apply his case to ours and ours to his. We may have tragedies where the whole action is concerned with the helpless destruction of a group of beings, where every cause is external, where no gesture or action springs from a vital spark of freedom, and thus where all the lines of artistic appeal form a beautiful harmony in their direction downward like a sentimental shower. The cross currents introduced by the interplay of free motivation will be lacking. But such tragedies will represent the sort of art

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etc. (New Haven, 1920), pp. 137–138; Evelyn Abbott, *Hellenica* (N. Y., 1898), pp. 31 ff. and on p. 59 citing cases of free will; and J. R. Wheeler, 'Tragedy,' in *Greek Literature, a Series of Lectures*, etc. (N. Y., 1912), p. 114: 'With Aeschylus it is a stern law that suffering is the reward of sin. . . . Sophocles, on the other hand, clearly holds that the innocent do suffer. . . . '

[1] Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[2] Cf. Butcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 354 f. and in particular Evelyn Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 57: 'If destiny, as something apart from and superior to the will of the gods, plays such an important part in Greek tragedy, it is remarkable that Aristotle should have no allusion to it in his *Poetics*. . . . '

left to us when the pseudo-scientist and certain psychological faddists have done their worst with human nature, and they will really embody determinism. Such, however, is not the tragedy of the Greeks, where irony springs from the reality of the human will striving in conflict with fate. Even if one holds that the human will always succumbs in any conflict with fate, and thus produces a sentimental philosophy of pessimism, the result will be other than deterministic. On the other hand, to maintain that on certain occasions the will is of no avail, and that occasionally the innocent suffer, is a still different conception. Such, I believe, is the view of Sophocles.

The real difficulty in dealing with the problem of fatalism in art comes from the fact that the mind is likely to reject the paradox of fate and free will as a contradiction. When the element of fate in a plot is successfully demonstrated, one may rush to the conclusion that free will is excluded. But the Greeks retained some belief in both; and the Middle Ages, from St Augustine and Boethius on, kept the same tradition in their analysis of predestination or grace and their recurrent insistence on human freedom and moral responsibility.[1] But the difficulty in keeping a balance between the ideas appears in the medieval debate and modern accounts of it. Thus St Thomas Aquinas follows the Aristotelian tradition of making the will subject, in a sense, to the intellect; so much so that Windelband, writing of the Occamist and Thomist controversy, speaks of St Thomas's view as that of 'intellectualistic determinism.'[2] Now I suppose that to-day no one would seriously maintain that in the ordinary sense of the word Thomas Aquinas was really a deter-

[1] See the *Cons. Phil.*, v, pr. iii (Chaucer's trans., ed. Skeat, p. 134, ll. 129 ff.) In another paper I have said that 'The Church Fathers held to a faith in divine predestination of human affairs, but they reconciled it with human free-will none the less. Those who held independent views on these points would be considered heretical and, like the Lollards, would be marked extraordinary. If Chaucer introduced such alien doctrines [as determinism] into the moral of his poem, he must have been deliberate in the fact and he must have been conscious that he was thereby making his work conspicuously revolutionary,' *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XVII (1918), pp. 409–410. Mr Curry seems to agree, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 156.

[2] *A History of Philosophy*, trans. (Tufts N.Y., 1901), pp. 329–330. Cf. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philos.*, I, 442, summarizing the Thomist view: 'Necessity arising from internal causes and reposing on knowledge, is freedom.'

minist. The great Doctor certainly held that, where knowledge is clear, choice will move immediately to what is best. But in actual fact knowledge is seldom so clear, and rarely is full freedom of that kind made our own (until the Truth makes us free). For the present argument it is sufficient to bear in mind that St Thomas allows choice between differing values; and one may further consult his argument that man does not choose of necessity,[1] and read again his sections on the goodness of the will, on merit and demerit.

The solution of the problem lies partly in the fact that man may suffer worldly tragedy and yet, like Job, win spiritual victory. This to some will be as unsatisfactory as the spiritual reward seems unreal; and for a valid free will they may insist that the human will should have power to control material destiny, although that is quite another matter. Boethius resolves the difficulty by putting the whole question where it belongs—in eternity, where Divine foresight is unlimited, and parallel lines are at last to meet. It is thither, we recall, that after his debate on fate and free will the soul of Troilus takes its flight.

II

From the present discussion of the paradox it is obvious that in considering Chaucer's ideas of determinism, heaping up instances of his apparent fatalism is a futile task. The gods rule the story of Palamon and Arcite as they rule life in general; astronomical forces touch the life of Constance; and we know from the discussion of God's prescience in Boethius that any man's death is 'shapen' ere his 'sherte.'[2] But we lose enormously in appreciating Chaucer if

[1] *Summa Theol.*, $I^{a}II^{ae}$, Q. 13, Art. 6. Cf. Étienne Gilson, *Saint Thomas D'Aquin* (Paris, 1925), pp. 85 ff. For excellent discussion see M. deWulf, *Philos. and Civiliz. in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1922, pp. 184 ff. ('So Thomas and Duns Scotus avoided the psychological determinism which puzzled other scholastics,' p. 186.) Closely similar is the material in his *Mediaeval Philos.* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 48–49. Mr Curry seems to agree, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XLV, pp. 160–161. Cf. Dante's whole scheme of punishment and reward, and the lines in the *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 100 ff. In the presence of Truth Itself, Dante's will is lost in the Divine.

[2] Cf. *Cant. Tales*, A. 1566 with A. 2987 ff. and its sources suggested by Skeat, to which may be added the material in my note in *Speculum*, IV (1929), p. 71, n. 2. (I am not ignoring the pertinent material in *Philol. Quarterly*, I [1922], 222 ff.) Of the *Man of Lawe's Tale* Mr Curry remarks: 'No one must suppose, however, that in his astrological beliefs Chaucer

we assume that because 'it is one of the glories of Chaucer's tragic art that he should have dignified his drama of human experiences by linking them up with those more mysterious and awe-inspiring forces of destiny which govern both men and the universe,'[1] he has therefore eliminated the meaning and artistic value of human free will. In the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer has taken pains to draw on Boethius for his references to chance, and, as I have shown elsewhere,[2] has gone out of his way *for some reason or other* to reproduce the Christian portrait of Fortune in Dante in his own account of Destiny—Destiny who carries out the 'purveiaunce' of God, which, as any reader of Boethius knows, cannot and does not affect the power of human free will. Furthermore, when Arcite suffers, we remember that it was in defiance of his oath of brotherhood that he turned rival to Palamon, who after all (and it is another of Chaucer's alterations) was the first to see the lady. The gods themselves are indeed for a time doubtful about the issue.[3] Whatever the degree of sentimentalism in the story told by Boccaccio, Chaucer has gone to the trouble of restoring 'poetic justice,' and, though a sense of proportion would keep one from pressing too hard the element of moral responsibility in a story of this kind, if this is a case of deter-

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is an out-and-out fatalist. He is too good a church-man, I suppose, for that.' (*Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, N. Y., 1926, p. 188, cf. his note 42.)

[1] Curry, *Publ. Mod. Lang Assoc.*, XLV, p. 164.

[2] For discussion see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXII (1927), pp. 382–383. A somewhat similar view is expressed by Mr Curry in his *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, pp. 162–163 ('But it is Theseus of the *Knight's Tale* who has studied Boethian philosophy and can pierce beyond the mutability of Fortune in this world to the stability of God,' p. 162.)

[3] A. 2438 ff. Saturn 'foond in his olde experience' a solution. The real secret of the controversy is that it is planetary, as Mr Curry shows in his *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, pp. 137 ff. One might go on to consider all of Chaucer's plots in the same way, but present space forbids. It may be briefly said, however, that we find many lines emphasizing destiny—as, e.g., *Anelida and Arcite*, 243, 339–341, and 348; but these do not fix a rigid determinism in the poem, otherwise Arcite must not be condemned for being false (cf. ll. 155) nor Anelida praised for being faithful (cf. ll. 106). I am well aware that determinists sometimes maintain that their position does not abandon the claim to moral responsibility; but what is responsibility if the individual has no choice? In any case, in the mediaeval argument, the moral problem was clearly related to that of personal freedom (cf. *Cons. Philos.*, v, pr. iii, 109 ff., Chaucer's trans. ed. Skeat). Chaucer holds regularly to a recognition of vice and virtue, merit and demerit. Cf. *the Former Age*, *Gentilesse*, *Truth*, etc. Praise and condemnation play a considerable part in his story-telling, as his remarks on the Sowdanesse (*Man of Lawe's Tale*) and those on Constance show.

minism then it is the most flexible and gentle determinism known to man.

It is a ponderous business to analyze these tales for moral implications; but it is only by so doing that we can get a hint of the author's point of view. The same difficulty rises in discussing the *Troilus*, which is a poem of youth written with incomparable lightness and charm. In dealing with it, however, we are bound to observe that, whatever the poet's joy in the telling, he has not taken the composition lightly; and a point of cardinal importance for penetrating to his own ideas is the necessity of comparing the poem with its source for evidence of the nature of the changes introduced. One might have supposed that this was somewhat axiomatic in the field of scholarship to-day. The important elements in these changes (in comparison with the *Filostrato*), often noted before, are chiefly directed toward a deep intensification of the values which Chaucer found in his original. This is true, whether it is a question of the subtlety of Criseyde and her candor with herself, or the physical details of the love-affair.[1] Pandarus is set more in

[1] Where Mr Curry compares the *Troilus* with the *Filostrato* his inferences are sometimes open to serious question. Thus in one important case he interprets the introduction of the hymn to love at the end of Book III as follows: Chaucer 'wanted to give climactic emphasis to the conception of Nature-as-Destiny. . . . Fearing that his readers might possibly miss the technical significance of the Proem and of Troilus's earlier song . . . he returned and inserted, near the end of the book and at the point where the lovers are most supremely happy, this full-throated song which reiterates and confirms the inescapable power of Love' (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 146.) Now I venture to say that Chaucer had nothing of the sort in mind. The hymn is addressed to Love and not to Destiny; it is the same Love that is addressed in the original passage in Boethius, and no more powerful here than there, where in its setting we later find the defense of free will. The passage lends a special tone, perhaps somewhat like the reiteration at the beginning of Swinburne's *Tristram;* but like the hero's earlier hymn, its chief value is its revelation of Troilus at this particular time and its contribution to the 'artistic and spiritual elevation' of the poem (cf. Root, *The Book of Troilus*, etc., Princeton, 1926, pp. xliv-xlv.)

Similarly, where Mr Curry does not compare Chaucer's lines with their original, we may fail to note that the English poet has merely taken over what Boccaccio wrote or that he has modified it with a touch of irony. Thus of III, 1373–94 Mr Curry writes: 'Here is no wicked love which might lead to base actions,' (ibid., p. 145). Of course not, but neither is the passage wholly serious in manner—unless we believe that all the verses really weep as Chaucer writes. Cf. *Filostrato*, III, st. 38 and also *Troilus* I, 29–56. See Lowes, *Mod. Philol.*, XIV (1916–1917), 711 ff., and Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccacio*, Cincinnati, 1916, p. 51. One may compare Boccaccio's seeming inconsistency in such a passage as III, 38, contrasted with VIII, 29 (which furnished some of the lines for Chaucer's

contrast to Troilus because he is older, and achieves a special individuality thereby; but his function thus becomes the clearer, and in more perfect harmony with his vicarious satisfaction in the success of Troilus, and with his futility when Criseyde is faithless. Diomede as well is more Diomede than ever, when (as in Benoit) he makes love to Criseyde at once on her return instead of later. And finally the element of fate is dignified by additions from Boethius on the philosophical side, and deepened by astrological material. These additions might lead one to regard the poem as a study of a particular case of the slings and arrows of outrageous Fortune.[1]

But one must not overdo the matter. While character, love, and the 'influences of these hevenes hye,' and fate itself in various ways, affect the actions of the characters in the poem, we can hardly have a right to put all these elements together, as merely separate aspects of destiny, to show the total effect of destiny on the reader or hearer. Some theorizers, it is true, did analyze fate or fortune into such separate manifestations; but we cannot assume that the average reader could be relied upon to perform the reverse process, to achieve the synthesis of all these various things, and thus to read into the poem an overwhelming power of fate which would make unreal a single stirring of merely human impulse.[2] Few readers, I think, would see in Troilus's impulse to love the same force as that which ruled the doom of Troy. Moreover, the great majority of Chaucer's references to Fortune or Fate are based on similar passages in the *Filostrato*, and there the same fatal scheme is in process.[3]

Epilogue). It is much like the 'contradiction' sometimes found between the early part of the *Troilus* and the *Epilogue*. Cf. also in the *Troilus*, IV, 470 ff. and V, 1807 ff., a contradiction which serves to unite the two parts.

[1] In relation to the present discussion Root's comment is interesting: 'Particularly Dantesque is Chaucer's method of incorporating into his poem the philosophy of Boethius, and the considerable number of astrological and other scientific allusions which it contains.' (*The Book of Troilus*, etc., p. xlv.)

[2] Nature confers gifts of body, but less extensively gifts of soul or character. Cf. the *Parson's Tale*, §27, 450–455. The qualities bestowed on Hypermnestra by the Wirdes (and appropriately by Jupiter) in *L. G. W.*, 2577 ff., are those that would usually be attributed to Grace. But there is no necessity for believing that character is limited to such gifts or fixed by them permanently. Nor do all treatises agree in listing benefactions of this kind.

[3] In the same way Calchas foresees the doom of Troy (I, 8); Fortune brings Pandaro to

But even if Chaucer wanted to pile Ossa upon Pelion in his attempt to increase the brooding sense of fate, yet, as we have seen, mediaevally he may not have had the slightest intention of excluding human free will. Most of his additions on the subject are taken from the argument of Boethius, and yet the conclusion of that argument in what is almost his 'favorite book' is a defense of free will. What more could fate do against Boethius, and yet what else do we learn in the *Consolatio* but the power of man in spite of odds? There is no more in the *Troilus* on the subject of destiny, astrology, or the grace of God than in the *Divine Comedy*, and yet Dante's poem is chiefly occupied with the expectations of moral responsibility.

But we do not have to concede so much as all that. At least three times Chaucer has taken pains to show his own point of view by departing from his source in passages carefully made to reveal what he thought. These resemble in some respects the corresponding passages in the *Knight's Tale* and his full discussion in the *Balade* on Fortune. If ever a writer expressed clearly and emphatically what he thought in such a case, Chaucer most certainly did. In the famous soliloquy of Troilus in Book IV, the hero gives, it is true, considerable expression to what, for the sake of the argument, we may call determinism—although I think he is rather complaining against predestination and trying to exonerate himself without impiety. In any case, there is no reason to suppose that this monologue is spoken for other than dramatic effect.[1] It shows the youth

discover Troilo in love (II, 2); Pandaro urges Criseida to seize the opportune moment (II, 44); Fortune at dawn separates the lovers (III, 45); she brings them together again (III, 64); Troilo forever blames Fortune (IV, 30; IV, 45; etc.); she causes Criseida to fall in love with Diomede (VIII, 25); etc. etc. There is little evidence that Chaucer has attempted to interweave in his poem the various strands of fate. As Mr Curry remarks: 'It must be observed at once that in this tragedy the poet has not been able, or perhaps has been unwilling, to define the limits of destiny back of the story's action with such precision and accuracy as he has employed elsewhere.'—(*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 135. He refers for instance to the *Knight's Tale*, which I have already discussed.) Chaucer does not always take over references to Fortune from his source; I note a few examples—III, 45; IV, 113; V, 6, 23, 65. There are doubtless more.

[1] With this Mr Curry agrees (*op. cit.*, p. 152): 'And let us assume for once that he is primarily the objective artist, deliberately putting back of the story's action *for purely dramatic effect* the conception of Destiny which actually finds expression there.' The latter part of the sentence does not matter in this connection. A fuller exposition of my point is presented in the *Journ. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XVII (1918), 399 ff.

in a typical mood, giving way to his feelings rather than to his intellect, with all the solemnity of his despair in a situation on which the poem as a whole sheds ironic light. In the three passages referred to, however, Chaucer deliberately modifies the philosophy of the story he found in Boccaccio,[1] giving definite expression to a Christian point of view—in two, adopting from Boethius and Dante the description of a Christian Fortuna, which removes the element of caprice from destiny, and restores the control to a rational rather than an arbitrary God;[2] and in the third, the Epilogue, expressly interpreting the whole plot on Christian terms. It was unnecessary to call on Boethius and Dante for the idea of Fortune as subservient to God, if the story was simply one of disaster and fatalism; the two passages are in harmony with the third, which they precede and interpret. Moreover the two passages occur at the crises of the plot, and with the third at the end bind the philosophical construction of the plot together. Thus, for anyone who reads the story as Chaucer wrote it, there is no break between the early part where Troilus gives himself up a willing victim to the Court of Love, and the end where he sees that in his tragedy were the elements of folly and learns that he has suffered from the consequences of his own choice. Of the Epilogue Root has finely said: 'Yet it is no mere tacked-on moral. It is implicit in the whole poem. . . . . Chaucer is not so much pointing a moral, as giving us at the end his own verdict as to the permanent values of those aspects of our human life which are for the moment of such passionate importance.'[3]

Here is the main-spring of the tragedy, and here is the answer to Troilus's own soliloquy and modern assumptions of determinism in the poem. To take the words of Mr Curry: '. . . . the man who does not exercise his free-will in the control and direction of his emotions, finds himself presently without free-choice in the guidance of his actions when the power of the stars descends upon him or when he comes in contact with the destinal force inherent in other peo-

[1] See my study *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 30–31 and *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXII (1927), pp. 383 ff.

[2] III, 617 ff. and V, 1541 ff.

[3] *The Book of Troilus*, etc., p. l.

ple's influence.'[1] That is well put, except that we must note that the point of choice for the man comes when he 'does not exercise his free will.' One would suppose, however, that the three important additions to the poem were sufficiently clear indications of Chaucer's own ideas, written with the greatest care, darting here for a word and there for a phrase, and finally putting the whole matter as forcibly and beautifully as ever the conclusion of a poem could. If we leave out passages like these because they conflict with our theories, we may read the *Consolation of Philosophy* as a fine study of settled determinism, and the *Divine Comedy* as a superb pagan tragedy.

III

Let us waive all previous argument, however, and try to imagine that the *Troilus* was meant to embody determinism. What then would be its meaning? In the first place, much of the criticism of the poem written so far must be discarded as worthless. Thus when Kittredge observes of Criseyde, 'She soon discovers that she has matched her woman's wit, not against her dotard father merely, but against the doom of Troy,'[2] we realize that she has done nothing of the kind. Nature-as-Destiny has given her the woman's wit, and the stars have given her the impulse to match it against the Doom of Troy. Hers is a case of Fate against Fate, nothing less and nothing more. When Mr. Curry remarks of Troilus, 'He fights at first against the destinal powers that would give him Criseyde for a season; he struggles against the forces which would finally take her away from him,'[3] (an acute piece of criticism which reveals something that I shall speak of later—the element of symmetry in the poem), we object, Not so! Nature-as-Destiny has given him the character which under the influence of the stars here conflicts with other destinal powers. I shall not go on listing instances where critical insight is based on the assumption that Chaucer's characters have free will, but the evidence is sufficiently abundant,[4] and on

[1] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 161

[2] *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 120.

[3] *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 163.

[4] So even with Root's excellent comment: 'It is a striking fact that Criseyde, with all her

any other terms, of course, the characters represent nothing more than fate fighting with itself.

Must we give up the full meaning of Criseyde's character, that of a clear-headed young woman who looks the facts calmly in the face until she learns the necessity of self-deceit?[1] Shall we say that her paradox is only that produced by destiny, and that her candor is only an entirely meaningless reverie in which a human being is under the illusion that she is deciding her future course of action (whereas she is passive and impotent, while forces work and stimuli produce their quota of reaction)? No blame attaches to anybody in this scheme, not even to Calchas, time-server that he is, but fortunate indeed on this plan; for all are moved by the wind, the weather, and the rain. And if modern criticism has generally proceeded on a false basis, allowing some degree of responsibility to the characters, Geoffrey Chaucer has been just as guilty, and at least part of the time has been under the same illusion; for in the *Legende of Good Women* he refers with apparent sincerity to the sin of Criseyde, and even in the *Troilus* acknowledges her 'gilt,'[2] when it would have been a matter of the greatest simplicity, in the very passage in which he writes her defense, to say that she was really the victim of circumstance. He would, he says, excuse her for very pity. Why then, at this point, does he fail even so much as to mention fate and the stars? But it is clear that we have no right to trust

native self-assurance, never takes a single step of her own volition. And so, that she may seem to herself to have been ensnared rather than to have capitulated, Pandarus gives full play to his love of cunning stratagem,' (*The Poetry of Chaucer*, Boston, [1922], pp. 109–110); 'To herself she must seem to have yielded only to inevitable fate; but to her lover she wished to be not a helpless victim but an offering of free love,' (*ibid.*, p. 112). Cf. Florence Grimm, *Astronomical Lore in Chaucer*, p. 76: ' . . . but circumstance is as much to blame as her own yielding nature. . . . ' In these observations one feels that as much concession as possible is made to what might be regarded as a deterministic view, and yet the element of free will is insisted upon.

[1] An important element in her downfall. Cf. also Griffin (*The Filostrato*, etc., N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 66, n. 3): 'It is not her body simply that she sacrifices but her soul, for she has meditated long upon her fall and her surrender is deliberate'—this of the Italian Criseida.

[2] *Legende*, pro. B 332 ff., A 265 ff. Cf. *Troilus*, v, 1096 and 1775. Praise and blame run all through the *Troilus*, and play a part almost comparable to that of fate and certainly far greater than has been generally realized. Thus i, 93, 211 ff., 897 ff.; ii, 841 ff., 1001; iii, 1381; etc.

Chaucer's honesty, if he is really a determinist; for in the Epilogue he speaks of the pagans' cursed ancient ways and lauds Christian ethic (although we know from the passion in the earlier lines that he secretly prefers the warm sensuality of the story which contradicts it.) The Epilogue, in fact, he added only as a sop to the pious, and then (as we are fairly certain that he inserted the soliloquy of Troilus still later)[1] he went back to deepen the pagan element (which, according to some critics, was really opposed to his own philosophy.)[2] Surely this is a new Chaucer, and one that we have never met hitherto.

Is this really the upshot of the story? If so, why not leave the matter at the meager summary given in the opening lines of the poem? The author's purpose is merely to tell of Troilus

> 'In loving how his aventures fellen
> Fro wo to wele, and after out of joye.'[3]

Do we conceive of Chaucer writing the long and admittedly beautiful Epilogue[4] to keep the orthodox undisturbed, and then return-

[1] See Root, *The Book of Troilus*, etc., pp. lxxi–lxxii.

[2] Thus Mr Curry: 'It is to Chaucer's everlasting glory that in the composition of this work of art he should have suppressed his private beliefs (as indicated in the Epilog) . . . ' (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 168).

[3] I, 3–4. The mediaeval attitude toward Fortune is really shown in other lines, which, although spoken by Pandarus, I think we are justified in taking at their face value:

> ' "For t'every wight som goodly aventure
> Som time is shape, if he it can receiven;
> And if that he wol take of it no cure
> Whan that it com'th, but wilfulliche it weiven,
> Lo, neither cas ne fortune him deceiven,
> But right his owne slouthe and wrecchednesse:
> And swich a wight is for to blame I gesse." '
> (II, 281–287.)

A similar idea regarding this 'tide in the affairs of men' is reflected in Mr Curry's sound remarks on the *Nun's Priest's Tale:* 'One may conclude, therefore, that if Chauntecleer had ever taken the trouble to learn the distinction between simple and conditional necessity and if his mind had been less obsessed with the idea of his own importance, the fulfilment of even so true an "avisioun" as his might have been averted by the mere expedient of remaining upon the beams,' (*Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, p. 232).

[4] Cf. Curry, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XLV, p. 168 ('Considered by itself, the Epilog is a poem of great beauty, lyrical in quality, the spirit of which is exalted by the undoubted sincerity and religious fervor of its author.') An amusing inconsistency in Quiller-Couch's *Studies in Literature* (Second Series, Cambridge, 1923) is found in his remarks on Chaucer:

ing to the poem to intensify elements out of harmony with it? Is most of the criticism up to date based on illusions in the critics no less than on those in the characters, especially when that criticism finds a richer meaning in the poem from the very fact of its implications of free will? All this is no exaggeration of our problem. If anyone uses determinism to imply merely an emphasis on the occasional futility (and not the unreality) of human will power in gaining material ends, then let us have that clearly stated; but such a view is in accordance with orthodox medieval philosophy (as the whole tradition of Fortune and Fate shows),[1] and even that interpretation is not wholly fair to the action of the piece. Chaucer, and for some centuries his readers as well, have been concerned with the degree of blame to attach to Criseyde, who is often cited as guilty of the cardinal sin of faithlessness. It is absurd to compare the poem with tragedies like *Macbeth* and *Othello* and *Lear*, but in all these cases the touch of human frailty explains what follows, and greater consequences follow the 'dram of eale' than the characters can foresee.

But the *Troilus* is not to be taken on such a scale. It is a poem of youth. Its high seriousness is in part that of youth, and its suffering really ends with Troilus's grief over losing Criseyde. The death of the hero, as Chaucer makes quite clear, is not an immediate part of

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p. 220, 'A far heavier handicap, and one that *à priori* would almost disqualify for even a second-class award any poet who ran such long courses as Chaucer habitually entered for . . . is his innocence of deep thought, high seriousness; of that intensity which the Greeks called σπουδαιότης.' Cf. p. 243, 'Matthew Arnold, noting this mundane cheerfulness, and not looking very far beyond or beneath it, tells us "And yet Chaucer is not one of the great classics," in that his poetry lacks the σπουδαιότης, the high and excellent seriousness, which Aristotle assigns as one of the grand virtues of poetry. It would be cruel to Arnold's memory to suspect him of the British fault of mistrusting for serious whatever happens to be illuminated by humor. But I do suspect him of having overlooked *Troilus*, one of the most nobly serious poems in our language.' As an instance of this kind of seriousness he quotes from the Epilogue. That Chaucer is sincere in thus expressing his ideas on Courtly Love is suggested by some of the material presented in *Philol. Quarterly*, IX (1930), pp. 61 ff.; and one may note that although 'Courtly Love was extra-conjugal' (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VII [1912], p. 490), Chaucer seems always to use its motifs to celebrate wedded-love (perhaps even in the *House of Fame*,)

[1] There is, however, a steady tradition in the Middle Ages that 'Fortune aids the bold'—see *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, pp. 23 f. (n. 4) and 83 f. That man forms his own destiny is preached by Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, pro. 520 ff., and *Vox Clam.*, II, 201 ff.; also by Lydgate, cf. Brie, *Engl. Stud.*, LXIV (1929), 261 ff.

the tragic sequence. It is caused in an affair entirely outside of his connection with the story of Criseyde (v, 1763–1764, and 1806. Cf. *Filos.* VIII, st. 26–27.) His death must come sometime and it comes in this way to release his spirit for the flight that permits him to scan his own career and see its meaning. His flight to a Christian heaven is no stranger than the original flight of Scipio Africanus or the later one of Pompey the Great to what is substantially the same heaven. Dante shows us the Trojan Ripheus in Paradise, and we understand the point. Again Chaucer took great pains in composing the passage; and in this celestial region we as critics, like Troilus, may learn a sense of proportion. Among other things we may learn to understand that the sin of Troilus was not grave or mortal, nor his tragedy of stupendous and lasting significance (we do not observe that as a sop to the pious Troilus was plunged into hell), and that the apparatus of the Court of Love is mere tinkling symbolism as the strife of the critics is often sounding brass. The Epilogue no more contradicts the mood of the poem than various tendencies of human nature in one person contradict one another; on any other terms every Christian would have to be a complete ascetic and every Catholic a puritan. It is an aspect of Chaucer's greatness and his breadth that he can enter as heartily into the love affair as into the vision of the limitation of earthly things and the supreme value of lasting idealism.

IV

Surely it is a safe principle in criticising a great work of art to assume that the interpretation in harmony with all parts of the poem is the one nearest to the intention of the author. We should suppose that critics would hesitate before finding a passage like the Epilogue, in one of the most serious works of one of our greatest authors, a 'sorry performance,' or a 'nest of contradictions.' Another good principle to assume is that a great artist knows what he is about, and that he has a right to be understood on his own terms. In all fairness in the interpretation of the *Troilus*, how can we reject the Epilogue and deny any Christian meaning in the passages on Fortune? Can we throw overboard all criticism up to now because

of a recrudescent psychological fad? Shall we hold that Chaucer intended one meaning for the Christians of his day and another, assuming that they were a different group, for those who liked a kind of pagan tragedy, the very existence of which is doubtful in that period? And, finally, can we assume that, for the sake of the thrill, the poet used an alien philosophy to get his effects?

This last point is one that deserves a moment's special attention. Has Chaucer used determinism for artistic purposes in the body of the poem (assuming, for the moment,—as we cannot—that the poem will bear such a reading), and then added the Epilogue as a later *confessio fidei* to set the public at rest about himself? This is a wholly different matter from Milton's using the Ptolemaic system of astronomy for *Paradise Lost*, or from Wordsworth's calling on Platonism for the poetic truth of the *Ode* on *Intimations of Immortality*. Determinism implies a special attitude toward life as a whole. It is, I believe, an unworthy conception of the nature of art to hold that a writer may adopt for the nonce whatever philosophy has artistic value and play it for its effect as if it meant nothing in particular.[1] Before we commit ourselves to such a theory we must see important examples of the trick furnished by great writers, examples generally accepted as such by competent critics. To play with philosophy for the sake of a sensation is hardly characteristic of any poet who sees art as a source of something more than ordinary pleasure.

If we accept Chaucer's terms the poem is in harmony with his philosophy. Troilus on earth may expound determinism with all the determination of his desperate nature; but from the heights of heaven, looking back with more humor, he abandons the idea and admits his folly. There are thus two layers of meaning in the poem symmetrically adjusted to each other: Troilus was guilty of sinning against the Court of Love, and was punished by Criseyde's

[1] Is this what we have in the case of Pope's *Essay on Man*? I hardly think so. In any case I trust I need not point out that this matter is different from Chaucer's letting Troilus give expression to determinism for 'dramatic effect,' where the author does not agree with the character. It is gratifying to notice that no one seems to have cited the *Retraction* against the *Epilogue* of the *Troilus*. In the *Retraction* the point turns on what "sounen into sinne" really means.

infidelity; from the Christian point of view, he was guilty of yielding to blind pleasure, and he suffered. Doubly therefore he was responsible for what occurred. The dedication to Gower and Strode, which causes difficulty for those who take another view, is thus explained as delightfully appropriate. The poet, not too gravely and not without impudence, agrees with these gentlemen for at least once. It has been remarked earlier in this study that the poem may seem almost like the presentation of a particular case of the workings of chance with the *Consolation of Philosophy* as a background. The caprice of Fortune exalts and lowers the unhappy Troilus; the question of free will is raised, and the process is roughly similar to that of the *Consolatio* up to the solution. Here again we may observe that the solution in the poem is precisely that furnished by Boethius, who also bids mankind to lift its eyes to the contemplation of eternal values; Troilus in fact proceeds to eternity where all these difficulties are made plain. The conclusion of Boethius, although suggesting no verbal influence, represents in sum the moral of the Epilogue:

> ' "And god, biholder and for-witer of alle thinges, dwelleth above; and the present eternitee of his sighte renneth alwey with the dyverse qualitee of oure dedes, despensinge and ordeyninge medes to goode men, and torments to wikked men. Ne in ydel ne in veyn ne ben ther nat put in god hope and preyeres, that ne mowen nat ben unspeedful ne with-oute effect, whan they ben rightful.
>
> ' "Withstond thanne and eschue thou vyces; worshipe and love thou virtues; areys thy corage to rightful hopes; yilde thou humble preyeres a-heigh. Gret necessitee of prowesse and vertu is encharged and commaunded to yow, yif ye nil nat dissimulen; sin that ye worken and doon . . . biforn the eyen of the Iuge that seeth *and demeth* alle thinges." *To whom be glorye and worshipe by infinit tymes.* Amen.'[1]

Even to the prayer the spirit of the *Consolatio* is in the *Troilus*, its hymns are taken over in various parts of the poem, its philosophy quoted here and there, and the final moral is the same. To urge

[1] v, pr. vi, 209 ff. Cf. for a similar moral v, pr. ii, 24 ff. The fifth book is full of pertinent material, and the *sursum corda* is again found in v, m. v, 13 ff. Henryson in his *Testament of Cresseid* exonerates Cresseid in one place (89–91) and in another admonishes ladies not to mingle false deception with their love (613). Skelton in *Philip Sparrow*, l. 681, refers to the 'wanton wills' of the hero and heroine. Cf. Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. W. E. Mead, London, 1928, *EETS.* 173, l. 1332; and also ll. 1319 ff. on Chaucer's morality. Cf. B. L. Jefferson, *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius*, Princeton, 1917, p. 130: 'Indeed so

that in the *Troilus* the feeling of the sections regarding love and passion is really pagan, and therefore totally opposed to the mood of the Epilogue, is like objecting to the sympathetic presentation of the grief of Boethius in the *Consolatio* when the moral enlightenment bestowed by Philosophy is later to follow. In the Epilogue the influence of Boethius on Chaucer's own conception of life in its more important aspects is finally complete.

Elsewhere Chaucer again studies the problem of fate. Chauntecleer in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* is fearful of what destiny has in store for him, his wife causes him much trouble, and his tragedy is linked with that of Troy and Rome as well (B. 4546 ff.). One might take the following lines as indicative of Chaucer's settled determinism:

> 'O destinee, that mayst nat been eschewed!
> Alas, that Chauntecleer fleigh fro the bemes!
> Allas, his wyf ne roghte nat of dremes!
> And on a Friday fil al this meschaunce.' (B. 4528 ff.)

But the fates seem to be in conflict once more, Fortune steps in to help the hero, and apparently if a man keeps his eyes open he can take advantage of celestial indecision.

> 'For he that wynketh, whan he sholde see,
> Al wilfully, God lat him never thee!' (B. 4621–4622).

Haec fabula docet. Chaucer's head was where it should be, and he did not cultivate a sentimental art at the expense of common sense.

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philosophical a poem is *Troilus*, so much does it abound in Boethian passages, so much does it illustrate the truth of the Boethian teaching, that it is possible even to suppose that Chaucer translated the *Consolation* for the express purpose that *Troilus* might be the better interpreted; at any rate, the two works go hand in hand.' An echo of the *Epilogue*, so far unnoticed, may be found in Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, ed. A. Erdmann, *EETS.*, pt. 1, (London, 1911), ll. 4047–4058 (cf. the *Troilus*, v, 1849–1855. Cf. also v, 1828 ff.) Apparently there was nothing in Lydgate's source to suggest exactly these lines. Note the balance between fate and free will just before in the passage (ll. 4031 ff.) describing how Amphiorax disappeared 'only of fate,' and 'thus the devel for his old outrages' 'lich his decert, paied hym his wages.'

CASSIODORE ET SON ŒUVRE

Par A. van de VYVER

LE PLUS souvent, on exagère le rôle politique de Cassiodore sous le régime italo-goth et l'on se méprend sur le caractère de son œuvre dans sa fondation à Vivarium, dont, pour le moment, nous ne sommes pas encore à même de déterminer la part qu'elle a prise dans la transmission de l'héritage antique.

Encore récemment, on a qualifié notre homme d'état comme l'inspirateur de toute la politique théodoricienne, qu'il aurait dominée, tel un chancelier d'empire.[1] Cette erreur d'appréciation est due à l'importance capitale que présentent ses écrits, et particulièrement son recueil d'actes administratifs, pour la connaissance de ce régime dualiste qu'il a si bien su définir.[2] Elle provient aussi de ce qu'on assimile trop souvent ce système politique au gouvernement des rois francs, généralement mieux connu. En Gaule, et surtout dans sa

[1] L'expression est de F. Schneider, *Rom u. Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), p. 87, 29. Cet auteur a tort de répudier (p. 256, 1) la conception que les spécialistes se font de notre politicien et de retourner à celle que l'on trouve encore répandue sous une forme atténuée, mais qui date de l'époque à laquelle le régime ostrogothique et la chronologie des *Variae* n'étaient encore qu'imparfaitement connus avant les travaux de Mommsen, 'Ostgotische Studien,' *Neues Archiv*, XIV (1889), 223–249, 455–544; XV (1890) 181–188 (*Gesammelte Schriften*, III (1910), 362–484) et son ed. des *Variae*, *M. G. H.*, *AA.*, XII (1894), (citée: Mommsen); G. Pfeilschifter, *Theoderich d. Grosse u. d. Katholische Kirche* (Münster, 1896); L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter*, I (Gotha, 1897; 2e éd. 1923); R. Cessi, préface à son éd. de l'*Anon. Valesianus* dans *Rerum Ital. Script.* de L. Muratori, 2e édition de G. Carducci et V. Fiorini, XXIV, 4 (fasc. 114–115), Bologne, 1913; J. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen z. Gesch. d. ausgehenden Römertums* (Helsingfors, 1919). — L'étude presque ignorée de A. Gaudenzi, 'L'Opera di Cass. a Ravenna,' *Atti e Memorie d. R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le prov. di Romagna*, Série III, t. III (1885), 235–334, t. IV (1886), 426–63, est injuste pour notre ministre, parce qu'elle ne le comprend pas assez en fonction de son époque. La bibliographie de celle-ci est relevée dans les *Jahresberichte* de Bursian, CLXXXIV (1920), 1–90, et CCXIII (1927), 41–167. Depuis, n'ont paru que des travaux très généraux, comme ceux de F. Lot, *La Fin du Monde antique* (Paris, 1927), et *Histoire du Moyen-Age*, I, 1 (Paris, 1928), dans l'*Hist. gén.* de G. Glotz; E. Stein, *Gesch. d. spätrömischen Reiches*, t. I, (an. 284–476), Vienne, 1928; A. Fliche, 'La Chrétienté médiévale,' (395–1254), *Hist. du Monde*, de E. Cavaignac, VII, 2 (Paris, 1929) [de moindre valeur].

[2] La dissertation de A. Th. Heerklotz, *Die Variae v. Cassiodorus Senator als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle* (Heidelberg, 1926), n'apporte pas plus de neuf que le petit travail du Dr. G. A. Punzi, *L'Italia del VI sec. nelle Variae di Cass.* (Aquila, 1927). Par contre, H. Nickstadt, *De digressionibus quibus in Variis usus est Cass.* (Inaug. Diss., Marburg, 1921), a prouvé que les *excursus* des *Var.* dans le domaine de l'histoire naturelle sont empruntés à l'*Hexaëmeron* de St Ambroise.

partie septentrionale, la pénurie de collaborateurs romains éclairés laissait durant des années les mêmes conseillers auprès du roi, qui disposait de sa conquête avec un pouvoir despotique. Par contre, en Italie, l'administration romaine subsistait tout entière. La plupart du temps, les ministres ne doublaient ou ne triplaient leurs fonctions quasi annuelles — ordinairement elles débutaient le 1er septembre — que si la politique de leur parti s'harmonisait avec le cours des événements et était à l'unisson des courants d'opinion, selon la direction que le roi, représentant théorique de l'empereur, voulait donner aux uns et aux autres.

A juste titre, M. Ludw. Schmidt[1] s'est élevé contre cette tendance à surestimer la part que Cassiodore prit au gouvernement italogoth. Mais sa mise au point renforce la thèse qu'il combat. Il fait remarquer avec raison, qu'avant la conquˆte, la base éventuelle du régime fut établie par l'accord entre l'empereur Zénon et Théodoric. Elle ne devait différer des conditions qui régissaient le gouvernement d'Odoacre et qui étaient imposées par la situation mˆme de l'Italie, que par la promesse d'une soumission plus étroite à l'empereur. Après de laborieuses négociations, celui-ci reconnut le nouveau titulaire en 497.[2] Même l'un des palliatifs les plus originaux par lequel le roi essaya de consolider sa conquête, notamment son système d'alliances matrimoniales avec les principales cours barbares — un essai de pacte de famille — est antérieur à la questure de Cassiodore. Cependant M. Schmidt insiste[3] pour reculer vers 501 cette première charge du ministre de Théodoric, que depuis Mommsen on s'accorde à fixer de 507 à 512. Il estime, en effet, que les lettres aux rois barbares (*Var.*, III, 1–4) n'ont point été composées immédiatement avant la guerre franco-visigothique, mais qu'elles sont antérieures à la conférence d'Amboise (502); qu'au moins elles datent de 506.

Certes, Gondebaud avait renoncé dès 502 à l'alliance des Visigoths

[1] 'Cass. u. Theodorich,' *Historisches Jahrbuch d. Görresgesellschaft*, XLVII (1927), 727–729.

[2] Cf. R. Fruin, 'Du titre de roi porté par quelques participants à l'imperium romanum,' *Revue d'Histoire du Droit*, IX (1929), 140–149.

[3] *Loc. cit.* et 'Comites Gothorum,' *Mitteilungen d. Oesterr. Inst. f. Gesch.*, XL (1925), 133; XLI (1926), 320–323, où il reprend cette thèse de sa *Gesch. d. deutschen Stämme* (publiée depuis 1904 dans les *Quellen u. Forsch. z. alten Gesch. u. Geogr.* de W. Sieglin et éditée séparément), I (1910), 273 et n. 3; II (1918), 294 (cf. *Corrig.*, t. I, 474, *ad.* 268, 25).

pour passer aux côtés de Clovis. Ce n'est pas une raison pour que Théodoric ne s'attachât à le gagner comme auxiliaire dans ses propositions de paix qu'il voulait imposer à son beau-fils, Alaric, comme à son beau-frère, le roi franc lui-même.[1] Dans le panégyrique qu'il tint pour le roi au début de 507,[2] Ennode rappelle en dernier lieu, comme un fait récent, que les Alamans ont été casés en territoire italien. Or, la lettre *Var.*, II, 41, à Clovis, qui avait protesté contre cette mesure, l'invite à user de modération envers les vaincus de 496, qui s'étaient réfugiés dans une région dont la situation était sans doute mal définie, mais que Théodoric revendique pour sa domination (la Rhétie II^de^).[3] Vraisemblablement, c'est pour masquer d'autant mieux ses préparatifs contre les Visigoths que le roi franc avait témoigné son attachement au Grand Roi, en le chargeant de l'envoi d'un joueur de cithare, tandis que son allié Gondebaud commandait une clepsydre et un cadran solaire! (*Var.*, I, 45–46)[4] Aussi, Théodoric fut bientôt surpris par l'état d'avancement des préparatifs de Clovis. L'ambassade qui devait conjurer le conflit ne put aboutir et l'armée ostrogothique n'entra en campagne que l'année suivante (508). Nous connaissons d'ailleurs les prédécesseurs de Cassiodore

[1] Souvent *frater* désigne un collègue (cf. *inf.* p. 257, n. 5). Il est d'autant plus compréhensible que Théodoric applique cette appellation à Gondebaud, qu'en 472 le roi des Burgondes avait été nommé par l'empereur Olybrius *magister equitum* en Italie, comme successeur de son oncle Ricimer, et que son fils avait epousé une fille naturelle de Théodoric (cf. F. Wrede, *Neues Archiv.*, XIV, 583–584).

[2] La date est établie par Sundwall, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

[3] Schmidt, *loc. cit.*, II, 298; *Mitt.*, XLI (1926), 320, et P. E. Martin, *Etudes critiques sur la Suisse à l'époque mérovingienne* (Genève, 1910), p. 60, ont raison de faire remarquer à L. M. Hartmann (*loc. cit.*, I (2e édition), 168, n. 15) et E. Stein (*Rhein. Museum*, 1925, p. 381) que *Var.* III, 50 ne vise que le passage à travers le Norique de contingents alamanniques comme troupes auxiliaires, ayant reçu pour mission de protéger la frontière orientale contre une attaque des Byzantins. Aussi, Cassiodore a rangé ce document parmi ceux qui intéressent la guerre franco-visigothique (livre III–IV des *Var.*). Certes, son épistolaire ne tient pas toujours compte de l'ordre chronologique. Cette disposition est pourtant observée dans les lettres que Cassiodore adressa en sa qualité de questeur (I–IV) aux préfets de la Ville (cf. Mommsen, p. VIII).

[4] Quant à la lettre *Var.*, IV, 2, par laquelle Théodoric adopte comme son fils le roi des Hérules, elle confirme parfaitement la chronologie des *Variae*, puisque, par la suite, ce peuple, vaincu en 505 par les Lombards en Basse-Autriche, chercha une aide plus efficace chez les Gépides et entra en 512 dans la partie orientale de l'empire. Cf. L. Schmidt, *Gesch.*, I, 312. *Var.*, III, 3, laisse supposer que leur défaite n'avait pas été catastrophique. Théodoric ne pouvait manquer d'ailleurs, de demander l'aide éventuelle de son fils d'armes.

dans la questure: Faustus de 503 au début de 506, et Eugène de 506 au début de 507. A cette époque notre futur ministre était encore assistant de son père dans la préfecture du prétoire (503–507).[1]

A vrai dire, ce n'est que durant les toutes dernières années du règne de Théodoric et la décade suivante que Cassiodore occupa une situation de premier plan dans la politique de la péninsule comme l'un des principaux représentants du parti national-italien et à la cour de Ravenne, successivement, comme maître des offices (523–527) et préfet du prétoire (533–537). Qu'il fut questeur (début 507–début 512) à l'âge de 20 ans environ, il le dut à l'influence de son père. Cet ex-ministre des finances sous Odoacre (*comes rerum privatarum*, puis *comes sacrarum largitionum*) s'était recommandé à Théodoric lors de sa conquête de l'Italie, en passant dans son parti avec la riche Sicile, dont il était le gouverneur. Cependant Théodoric désigna comme son premier préfet du prétoire (*ca.* 493–500), non point le père de Cassiodore, mais le patrice Libère, quoique celui-ci fût resté fidèle à Odoacre jusqu'à la fin. Un peu auparavant, le roi s'était choisi comme maîtres des offices (mi 492–493) Fauste (consul en 490), le parent de Libère et d'Ennode.[2] Le vainqueur récompensa le père de Cassiodore par le gouvernement de ses provinces d'origine (*corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*). Ce n'est que dix ans plus tard que cet ancien ministre d'Odoacre, d'origine provinciale[3] et qui n'était pas parvenu à atteindre le consulat—le fils aîné de Faustus

[1] Voir chez Sundwall, *loc. cit.*, les prosopographies de ces personnages, et p. 30–44, l'analyse de la correspondance d'Ennode. (cf. Vogel, *Neues Archiv.*, XXIII [1898], 63–74). Toutefois, p. 42, l'auteur a tort de dater la lettre à Clovis concernant les Alamans (*Var.*, II, 41) 'au plus tôt de la *fin* de 507.' Elle est antérieure aux lettres (*Var.*, III, 1–4) qui accompagnèrent la tentative diplomatique d'empêcher la guerre franco-visigothique qui se déclancha vers la Pentecôte de l'année 507.

[2] Une bonne partie de l'épistolaire du diacre de Milan lui est adressée.—Voici une autre lettre pontificale qui désigne cette fonction par *magister* tout court (cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 118): Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 50 C. Cf. col. 197 B. Ce témoignage n'est pas cité par A. Boak, *Two Studies in Late Roman and Byzantine Administration* (New York, 1924), p. 151.

[3] Certes, son grand-père avait acquis une certaine notoriété pour avoir mis en défense la Sicile, dont il était le gouverneur, et le Bruttium, où étaient situés ses domaines, contre les attaques des Vandales en 455, tandis que son fils avait débuté dans la politique comme ambassadeur auprès d'Attila, en compagnie du fils d'Aétius. Mais par la suite ce grand-père de Cassiodore ne devint que *tribunus et notarius* sous le règne de Valentinien III (425–455) et se retira bientôt sur ses terres. En s'abstenant de collaborer au gouvernement d'Odoacre, la haute noblesse romaine aux tendances légitimistes, permettait à la noblesse de province de

l'obtint en 502 et son cadet en 506 —, assuma de 503 à 507 (1er septembre?) comme préfet du prétoire la direction du gouvernement de l'Italie. En même temps, Faustus, qui durant les schismes romains (nov. 498–sept. 506) s'était trouvé à la tête du parti catholique-italien,[1] rentra au palais en qualité de questeur (503–début 506). Cette situation donna lieu, semble-t-il, à des froissements, et fut cause qu'à la suite de difficultés, le parent d'Ennode[2] dut abandonner son poste un an avant le père de Cassiodore, qui reçut à sa sortie de charge le titre honorifique de patrice, dont Faustus avait sans doute été gratifié après sa fonction de maître des offices.

Ayant pris son jeune fils comme assistant (*consiliarius*)[3] durant sa préfecture, le père de Cassiodore sut, avant même de la quitter,[4] le faire agréer comme questeur (début 507–début 512), en raison de ses mérites littéraires et à la suite d'un panégyrique que le jeune candidat tint pour le roi.[5] Mais le diacre Ennode contribua de la même façon à la réhabilitation de son parent et lui obtint la succession du père de Cassiodore dans la préfecture du prétoire, tandis que le fils de Faustus était également appelé à une haute fonction. Cependant, le patrice rencontra à la cour de nouvelles difficultés, auxquelles le jeune Cassiodore ne fut sans doute pas étranger. Vingt ans plus tard,

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s'élever plus aisément jusqu'au plus haute charge. Le père de Cassiodore fut un des premiers à profiter de cette attitude. Cf. Mommsen, p. VIII.

[1] Cf. L. Duchesne, *L'Eglise au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1925), p. 109–155 (=*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1915, p. 221–256).

[2] Quoiqu'à l'affût de relations, le diacre ne mentionne pourtant aucune fois les Cassiodore.

[3] E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über d. Officium d. Prätorianer Präfektur* (Vienne, 1922), p. 5, a montré qu'à côté du fonctionnaire qui occupait le poste le plus élevé de la hiérarchie prétorienne, dans laquelle on avançait par grade d'ancienneté, le préfet pouvait se choisir un autre chef de cabinet parmi ses hommes de confiance.

[4] H. Usener, 'Anecd. Holderi,' *Festschrift zur Begrüssung d. 32. Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner*, (Bonn, 1877), p. 69 (cf. Vogel, *Neues Archiv.*, XXIII [1898], 73) a conclu du fait que l'*exeat* accordé au père de Cassiodore fut rédigé par le fils, que celui-ci devint questeur durant la préfecture de son père. Comment expliquer cependant que *Var.*, IX, 24–25, nous trouvons également la nomination de Cassiodore comme préfet du prétoire? On peut admettre que cette pièce n'a point été composée par l'auteur des *Variae*, mais qu'il l'y a insérée par amour-propre, sous prétexte qu'elle se rapportait à sa fonction. Oserait-on supposer que Cassiodore l'aurait composée de toutes pièces, tout comme celle adressée à son père?

[5] Il n'y a pas lieu de rejeter avec Mommsen, p. X, et Sundwall, *Abhandl.*, p. 154, la mention de l'*Anecd. Holderi*, éd. *Var.*, p. VI, 17–18, au sujet du discours en l'honneur du roi, puisqu' Ennode prononça un pareil panégyrique vers la même époque. La nomination du jeune Cassiodore servit peut-être de compensation à celle de Faustus et de son fils.

en effet, l'ex-questeur publia dans ses *Variae* les lettres, par lesquelles le roi reprochait au préfet son administration peu scrupuleuse et qui lui signifièrent une fois un congé de quatre mois. Par contre, le père de Cassiodore fut, sans doute vers cette date, appelé à la Cour.[1]

Peu de temps après sa sortie de charge, son fils reçut le consulat (514) et devint à son tour gouverneur de son pays d'origine (*corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*).[2] Mais vraisemblablement à cette époque Cassiodore perdit son père, et durant dix années (512–522) d'apogée du règne de Théodoric, il ne remplit aucune charge à la Cour. Il attira l'attention en composant un *Chronique* à l'occasion du consulat d'Eutharic (519), le gendre et successuer présumé de Théodoric. Dans cette nomenclature de rois et de consuls, il inséra quelques rares notices historiques, visant surtout à introduire le peuple Goth dans l'histoire sous un jour favorable.[3] C'est à cette tâche qu'il consacra sa grande *Histoire des Goths*, en douze livres. Il poussa le zèle jusqu'à dresser une généalogie fantaisiste des rois Goths, en vue d'établir leur vétuste souveraineté.[4] Cassiodore entreprit sans doute cette œuvre avant sa fonction de maître des offices (523–527) et l'acheva durant les années (527–533) qui précédèrent sa charge de préfet du prétoire.[5]

Cette activité littéraire, qui glorifiait le passé du peuple goth et dont l'auteur déclare avoir été chargé par Théodoric, ne fut sans doute pas sans influence sur le choix que le roit fit de lui comme successeur de Boèce dans la fonction de maître des offices (vers le début de 523), lorsque le patrice eut été déposé et fut bientôt exécuté, pour être intervenu dans le procès d'Albinus en faveur des droits du Sénat comme corps politique. Ainsi, Cassiodore ne rentra au gouvernement qu'après dix ans d'absence et dans des circonstances qui ne durent pas paraître très honorables aux membres de la haute aristo-

[1] La lettre au père de Cassiodore est la 28me du IIIe livre des *Var.*, celles à Faustus concernant ses irrégularités figurent II, 30; III, 20–21.

[2] On ne saurait cependant préciser la date à laquelle il exerça cette charge.

[3] Cf. M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV, 2 (1920), 95, n. 2.

[4] Cf. H. v. Sybel, *Entstehung d. deutschen Königthums* (2e éd., Frankfurt, 1881), p. 184 ss., et A. v. Gutschmid, *Jahrbücher f. class. Philol.*, LXXXV (1862), 124–151 = *Kleine Schriften*, V, 293–336.

[5] Sur ce point très controversé, cf. Mommsen, p. XI et Cessi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxix, 3 ss.

cratie romaine. Il est vrai qu'il n'avait que trente-cinq ans environ, et qu'il avait débuté à un âge précoce, grâce à l'influence que possédait son père. Mais il sut mériter l'estime par les conseils de modération que, sans doute, il donna au roi dans ces conjonctures difficiles. Cependant, à partir du 1er septembre 524, il eut à subir comme collègues des membres de l'aile gauche de son parti, dévoués aux intérêts goths, tel Cyprianus, — qui malgré l'intervention de Boèce, son préposé comme maître des offices, avait soumis au roi et soutenu en sa qualité de référendaire l'accusation contre Albinus. De même, Honoratus succéda alors dans la questure à son frère Decoratus, qualifié par Boèce de fourbe et de délateur. Après la mort du Grand Roi, sa fille, la régente Amalasonthe, désireuse de faire agréer par l'empereur la succession de son fils, adopta une politique très bienveillante à l'égard du Sénat et renvoya ces ministres qui s'étaient compromis par leur attitude anti-romaine, mais elle garda Cassiodore encore un an au pouvoir. Le ministre contribua de son mieux à conjurer la crise qui pouvait résulter de cette succession échue à un mineur. A côté de sa charge de maître des offices, il assuma de fait celle de questeur, tout en dirigeant et en assurant à ses frais la défense des côtes contre une attaque possible.[1] Seulement, la régente dut bientôt céder à la pression des chefs barbares. En 527 (1er septembre), Cassiodore et ses nouveaux collègues eurent à quitter leurs fonctions pour les politiciens de gauche qui avaient été débarqués l'année précédente.[2] Chose curieuse, à la préfecture fut promu le fils aîné de ce patrice Faustus, que le père de notre ministre démissionnaire avait jalousé. Comme Cassiodore, le nouveau préfet appartenait cependant à la fraction modérée du parti national.[3]

Mais la direction de la politique changea bientôt. L'élection du pape Jean II (2 janvier 533) fut le signe précurseur de ce revirement,

[1] *Var.*, IX, 24, 6; 25, 7–9. Lors de la crise qui assombrit les dernières années de Théodoric, (procès de Boèce, etc.) le vieux roi avait fait construire une flotte (*Var.*, V, 16–20).

[2] Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 250 ss., a fort bien analysé les oscillations de la politique sous la régence d'Amalasonthe. — En 530 un clerc goth de naissance réussit même à se faire élire pape malgré la résistance du Sénat. Cf. pourtant Ad. Harnack, 'Der erste deutsche Pabst u. die beiden lezten Dekreten d. röm. Senats,' *Sitzungsber. d. preussischer Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin, 1924), fasc. V.

[3] L'aile gauche de ce parti ne comptait sans doute point de personnalité assez marquante pour remplir cette fonction ni celle de préfet de Rome. Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 264, n. 2.

et l'éxécution des généraux goths qui pesaient sur le gouvernement de la régente en constitut l'acte décisif. A son tour, Cassiodore fut appelé (1er septembre 533) à la plus haute charge. Il y avait six ans qu'il avait rempli une fonction. Une lettre du pape aux chefs nationalistes, qui s'étaient plaints de ce que le chef de l'Eglise romaine eut négligé de les tenir au courant de ses tractations avec l'empereur concernant l'affaire des moines scythes, ne nous permet pas de constater quel rang Cassiodore occupait dans son parti un peu après (ou un peu avant) le 24 mars 534.[1] Car c'est sans doute en raison de sa fonction que le préfet du prétoire est mentionné immédiatement après Aviénus, — le fils du patrice Faustus qui avait déposé cette charge l'année précédente, mais était vraisemblablement chef du Sénat, en sa qualité de plus ancien ex-consul (502),[2] — et avant le vieux Libère, le préfet des Gaules (c. à d., de la Provence, conquise en 508).[3] Cependant, tel devait être à peu près l'importance qu'il avait réellement dans son parti. Le fils de Faustus avait succédé sans doute à son père, qui vraisemblablement s'était trouvé à la tête du parti natonal depuis que Libère avait été chargé de la préfecture des Gaules (510) et que sa dignité de *patricius presentalis* (533) l'obligeait à observer de la réserve.

La situation de ce parti au pouvoir était critique en cette année 533–534. Bélisaire venait de reconquérir l'Afrique sur les Vandales et fournissait ainsi un appoint au parti byzantinisant de la haute noblesse romaine. D'autre part, Amalasonthe et son cousin Théodohad cherchaient eux-mêmes à se concilier l'appui de l'empereur.[4] Quand, à l'aide du parti goth, Théodohad eut emprisonné et bientôt fait exécuter la reine, le patrice Libère, envoyé à Constantinople pour justifier ce coup d'état, dévoila les méfaits du roi et resta en Orient, tandis qu'Opilion — qui avait témoigné contre Boèce — nia la culpabilité de Théodohad. La désagrégation du parti italien était proche, coincé comme il l'était entre la minorité dévouée à Byzance

[1] Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, LXVI, 20 et Ed. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum*, IV, 2 (1914), 200; cf. p. XXVI; Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 276, n. 3.

[2] Dix ans plus tard, en effet, nous trouvons comme chef du Sénat Cethegus, le consul de 504.

[3] Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 261–262.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

et la fraction des ultra-goths. Avec ceux-ci, Cassiodore essaya pourtant de sauver l'indépendance italienne, tandis que le roi, prêt à toutes les lâchetés pour se sauvegarder un avenir, trahissait tous les partis.

Le préfet du prétoire était cependant en d'aussi bons termes avec le nouveau pape Agapet (535–536), favorablement disposé pour l'empereur, qu'il s'occupa avec lui de la fondation à Rome d'une école supérieure de théologie, en vue de laquelle le pape avait déjà fondé une bibliothèque chrétienne. Aussi l'initiative de ce dessein ne vint sans doute point du ministre.[1]

Les circonstances n'étaient certes pas favorables à une pareille entreprise. Déjà les troupes byzantines avaient fait leur apparition en Sicile et en Dalmatie (fin 535) et sur l'ordre du roi, le pape dut entreprendre une légation à Constantinople, où il mourut.[2] Dès ses premières défaites, Théodohad fut abandonné par ses troupes, qui élevèrent sur le pavois l'un de leurs plus intrépides généraux, Witigès. Un panégyrique que Cassiodore tint comme préfet du prétoire rehaussa le mariage du nouveau roi avec la fille d'Amalasonthe. Cette union devait servir à légitimer la succession au trône (fin 536–début 537).[3] Mais dans la lutte contre la conquête byzantine, le commandement militaire obtint sans doute la haute main sur le gouvernement à tel point que le ministre eut les loisirs d'éditer un choix de ses compositions administratives, comme des modèles du genre (fin 537).[4]

Après qu'il se fut emparé de Rome, Bélisaire avait nommé comme préfet du prétoire, au début de 537, un ex-questeur du palais (527–8), Fidelis, l'un des chefs du parti national, auquel le pape Jean II s'était adressé trois ans auparavant.[5] Cette nomination s'était faite avec

[1] *Inst.*, praef., col. 1105. Cf. J. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae*, II, 16; *Studie Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, V, 327, L. Duchesne, éd. *Liber Pont.*, I, 288, n. 81. Cette bibliothèque *ad clivum Scauri* existait encore du temps de Grégoire le Grand qui était un descendant d'Agapet et occupait la demeure paternelle. La *bibliotheca Romae*, dont Cassiodore envisage la possibilité qu'elle ait été pillée lors de la prise de la ville en 546 (*Inst.*, *Patrol lat.*, LXX, 1212), désigne sans doute la bibliothèque publique, et non point celle que le pape avait rassemblée chez lui, comme on le croit depuis L. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I (1909), 208.

[2] Pour la chronologie de toute cette période, cf. la dissertation peu connue de O. Körbs, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Gesch.* Eisenberg, 1913.

[3] Cf. L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens* (2e éd. Gotha: Perthes), I, 258–259.

[4] Cf. Mommsen, p. xxx.

[5] Cf. p. 251.

l'assentiment de l'empereur,[1] et Cassiodore déposa sans doute bientôt ses fonctions, comme on peut le conclure du fait que Witigès fit exécuter à Ravenne les sénateurs qu'il détenait comme ôtages (env. déc. 537).[2] Deux ans et demi plus tard (mai 540), le roi capitula devant Bélisaire et fut conduit à Constantinople avec sa suite et le trésor des Amales. Les Goths avaient vainement offert la couronne au général byzantin, que la méfiance de l'empereur rappelait en Orient. C'était la fin du gouvernement légitime italo-goth.

J'estime que c'est un peu auparavant que Cassiodore, résidant encore à Ravenne, composa à la demande de ses amis un traité sur l'âme, qui s'inspire surtout des œuvres de St Augustin et du *De statu animae* de Claudien Mamert. Cette composition suivit de si près l'édition des *Variae* que l'auteur la considère comme le XIIIe livre de son épistolaire. A la fin de son traité, le ministre fait allusion aux assauts que subissait le régime italo-goth: 'invidit [diabolus], proh dolor, tam magnis populis, cum duo essent.' Après le rétablissement de l'unité de l'empire à la suite de la capitulation de Witigès, cette phrase eût été malsonnante.[3] Elle exprimait en tout cas les sentiments intimes et les regrets politiques de l'un des principaux partisans du dualisme italo-goth.

Après l'échec de ce régime, Cassiodore se retira sans doute sur ses propriétés en Calabre, et s'y abandonna à ses sentiments religieux qui s'étaient manifestés déjà à propos de son projet de fondation d'une université chrétienne à Rome et dans son traité *De anima*. Cette retraite de la vie politique, il l'appela plus tard, suivant le langage de l'époque, sa *conversio* (*a saeculo*).[4] Après les troubles qu'il

[1] Cf. *Cod. Just., Nov.*, 70, c. 1 et 73 *in fine* (an 538).

[2] Sundwall, *op. cit.*, 151, *ad v.* Reparatus, et p. 296.

[3] Cf. par contre Mommsen, p. XXXI, ou Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV, 2 (1920), 101. L'imparfait *essent* est requis par le *cum* historique. — Cf. aussi *De anima* (*Patrol. lat.* LXIX), 1281 C: 'qualia fatigatus possim disserere qui iam ad laboris terminum avida mente properarem?' Ce traité ne figure pas dans la liste que Cassiodore dressa de ses travaux postérieurs à sa *conversio* (*De orthogr.*, préface), qu'il laisse commencer avec sa retraite de la vie politique (cf. n. suiv.).

[4] *Com. in Psalm, praef.* (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 9): 'Repulsis aliquando in Ravennati urbe sollicitudinibus dignitatum et curis saecularibus noxio sapore conditis, cum Psalterii coelestis animarum mella gustassem, id quod solent desiderantes efficere, avidus me perscrutator immersi, ut dicta salutaria suaviter imbiberem post amarissimas actiones., *De orthogr., praef.*, éd. Keil, *Grammat. lat.*, VII, 144 (= *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1240 C): 'post commenta psalterii, ubi . . .

avait provoqués au cirque en 509, le patrice Théodore s'était semblablement retiré de la vie mondaine, et vers 520 était en relations épistolaires avec le promoteur du monachisme, St Fulgence, l'évêque de Ruspe, qui de son exil en Sardaigne entretenait une correspondance suivie avec certains membres de la haute noblesse romaine. Le patrice fit néanmoins partie de l'ambassade que le pape Jean conduisit à Constantinople en 525, après l'exécution de Boèce.[1]

Durant sa retraite, Cassiodore se plongea dans l'étude des *Psaumes* et en donna un exposé très suivi qui emprunte la doctrine de St Augustin et d'autres auteurs, mais fait une large place à la science profane. S'il avait déjà fondé son monastère, il n'aurait pas manqué de s'adresser à ses moines dans une telle œuvre.[2] Les temps étaient troublés. Dès 542–543 l'usurpateur Totila avait étendu sa domination jusque dans le Bruttium et la Calabre, où étaient situés les domaines de Cassiodore. En automne 547, Bélisaire essaya vainement de s'installer dans ces provinces. Ayant pris Rome pour la deuxième fois (16 janvier 550), le roi goth occupa Tarente et passa même en Sicile (mai 550).[3]

Aussi, à cette date, nous trouvons Cassiodore à Constantinople,[4] en même temps que son ami, le patrice Rufius Nicomachus Cethegus,[5] et le pape Vigile. Durant le siège de Rome, le pontife (22 nov. 545)[6]

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conversionis meae tempore primum studium laboris impendi.' *Inst.*, I, 4, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1115 B): 'Psalterium . . . qui nobis primus est in commentatorum labore.' Sur les sens différents de *conversio*, cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, §1058 (*Jordanes*), p. 118 et *inf.* p. 257, n. 5.

[1] Cf. sa note biographique chez Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 262, n. 2.

[3] Procop., *Bell. Goth.* III, 6, 5; 18, 11–19; 27, 12–28; 37, 19–23 et 39, 1–5. Jordanes, *Rom.*, 382. La prise de Rome ne tombe pas en 549; cf. Procop. *loc. cit.*, éd. Haury; Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 44. En décrivant le trajet que Bélisaire entreprit par mer de Sicile à Tarente, Procope mentionne au passage le pays de Squillace (III, 27, 17: Σκύλλαιος χῶρος).

[4] Cf. p. 255 n. 7;—On ne peut prouver que Cassiodore aurait quitté directement Ravenne pour Constantinople avec la suite de Witigès, comme le suppose F. Schneider, *Rom u. Romgedanke* (Munich, 1926), p. 90, ni qu'il y serait restéquinze ans (539–554), comme le veut J. B. Bury, *Hist. of the later Roman Empire* (2e éd. London, 1923), II, 222, n. 1.—De 550 à 553, l'évêque de Squillace séjournait également à Constantinople dans l'entourage du pape (Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 359 B: Syllacenum, Scillacenum, Squillacenum; 106 A: Scyllacenae).

[5] Cass. lui avait dédié naguère son *Ordo generis Cassiodororum*.

[6] Procop., *B. Goth.*, III, 13, 12; *Lib. Pont.*, *Vigil.* Cf. Mgr. L. Duchesne, 'Vigile et Pélage,' *Rev. des questions hist.*, XXXVI (1884), 382–383 et 397, et le bel article de G. Krüger sur Vigile, dans *Prot. RE.* de Herzog-Hauck, XX (3e éd., 1908), 633–640.

et le chef du Sénat en avaient été éloignés par Bélisaire. Le général byzantin craignait sans doute qu'ils ne fussent capables de s'entendre avec les Goths pour mettre fin aux horreurs d'un siège et d'une guerre dans lesquels Totila semblait devoir triompher.[1]

Dès avant la première prise de Rome (17 déc. 546), la Sicile était devenue le point de ralliement des émigrés qui à l'approche de Totila fuyèrent en masse à Constantinople.[2] Leur situation précaire, que seul une restauration pouvait rétablir, s'aggravait encore du fait que le roi essaya de trouver un appui dans les classes rurales, au détriment des propriétaires absents.[3] Aussi, Totila ne put s'entendre ni avec le Sénat, ni avec l'empereur. A Constantinople, les chefs des émigrés, Libère et Cethegus (comme le pape Vigile, qui après un long séjour en Sicile était enfin arrivé dans la capitale le 27 janv. 547),[4] insistèrent auprès de Justinien pour qu'il s'appliquât de toutes ses forces à la reconquête de l'Italie.[5] Dans les questions religieuses, le pape adopta le point de vue de l'empereur. Par son *Iudicatum*, il condamna solennellement les *Trois Chapitres* (Pâques 548).[6] Seulement, la position théologique de Justinien et l'attitude conciliante de Vigile soulevèrent le réprobation du clergé de l'Occident tout entier. L'Eglise africaine poussa l'opposition jusqu'à excommunier le pape. Dans son propre entourage, le pontife eut à subir la défection de son neveu, le très érudit diacre Rusticus (Noël 549). Des évêques, des sénateurs, entre autres Cethegus et Cassiodore, s'interposèrent pour ramener le rebelle. Vigile rappelle leurs démarches dans la lettre par laquelle il dépose son neveu et ses partisans de leurs dignités et fonctions (mi-550).[7] La façon dont le pape y qualifie l'ex-

[1] Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 305, n. 4; 306, n. 1.

[2] Procop., *B. Goth.*, III, 26.

[3] Cf. L. M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, I, 297–298; Sundwall, p. 306–307.

[4] O. Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 40, fixe son départ de Sicile en juillet 546.

[5] Proc., *B. Goth.*, III, 35, 9, (juin 547–juin 549).

[6] Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, III, 1 (1909), 21, déclare qu'on ignore les causes de ce premier changement d'opinion de Vigile. L'histoire ecclésiastique s'éclaire singulièrement, lorsqu'on la rapproche des événements politiques.

[7] Jaffé, *Regesta Pontif. rom.* (2e éd., Leipzig, 1885), n. 927; Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 357 D, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXIX, 49 AB): 'Sed quia semel et secundo adhortatione nostra per fratres nostros episcopos . . . nec non et per gloriosum virum patricium Cethegum et religiosum virum item filium nostrum Senatorem aliosque filios nostros commoniti noluistis audire. . .'

ministre (*religiosus vir*), vise sans doute sa *conversio* (*a saeculo*). Une autre lettre pontificale attribue la même épithète (*vir inlustris Albinus religiosus*) au patrice Albinus, lorsqu'au début du règne de l'empereur Justin (519), il prenait une part active à la restauration de l'unité religieuse entre les deux parties du monde romain, rompue depuis quarante ans par le schisme de l'Hénotique.[1] On sait qu'en raison de ses relations avec Byzance ce sénateur fut accusé peu après de haute trahison et qu'en le défendant Boèce marcha lui-même au trépas. Enfin, Grégoire le Grand applique une fois le même qualificatif à un comte Narsès qui vivait à la Cour de Constantinople (590–597) en donnant l'exemple de toutes les vertus chrétiennes et avait organisé différents monastères.[2]

Cette intervention en faveur de Vigile raccommodé avec l'empereur prouve que l'ex-ministre tenait pour la reconquête byzantine. Depuis la capitulation de Witigès, le rétablissement de l'autorité impériale en Italie était tout à fait légitime. Sans conteste, la délégation de pouvoirs comme *magister militum* accordée par l'empereur à Théodoric et renouvelée pour ses descendants avait pris fin. Cette reconquête semblait indispensable, en raison de la politique agraire de Totila. En ce moment, elle revêtait d'ailleurs une forme qui s'accordait entièrement avec les conceptions du protagoniste du régime italo-goth. A l'annonce, en effet, de ses désastres en Italie[3] l'empereur se fit conciliant. Il rendit au pape son *Iudicatum*, bien qu'en secret et en présence de l'évêque de Césarée, Théodore Askidas, le promoteur de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, et du patrice Cethegus, il lui fît prêter le serment de maintenir son point de vue. D'autre part, il promit de soutenir le pape et les privilèges de l'Eglise de Rome (15 août 550).[4] En outre, pour se concilier les Italiens, ce fut Libère — l'ex-préfet du prétoire sous Odoacre et Théodoric, l'ancien préfet des Gaules (c. à d. de la Provence), qui depuis avait été préfet

[1] Jaffé, *loc. cit.*, n. 841; *Corpus Script. eccl. lat.* XXXV, 629, 75. Cf. la notice biographique que Sundwall lui consacre.

[2] Le cas a été signalé par J. Friedrich, 'Ueber die kontroversen Fragen im Leben des . . . Jordanes,' *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil. hist. Kl.* (München, 1907), p. 399–401; *Mon. Germ. Hist., Ep.*, I–II (Greg. M., *Registr.*), cf. *index person.* et I, 473, 17.

[3] Cf. *supra*, p. 254.

[4] Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 363.

d'Egypte, — que l'empereur chargea de la reconquête en partant de la Sicile, la terre par excellence des *latifundia* sénatoriaux. Peu de temps après (mi-juin 550),[1] il désigna son cousin Germanus[2] comme généralissime de l'armée, qui, levée en Thrace, devait reconquérir l'Italie par la même voie que naguère Théodoric avait empruntée. Pour la circonstance, le prince impérial épousa en secondes noces la veuve de Witigès, Matasonthe, la petite-fille du grand roi Amale.[3] Par cette union le successeur éventuel de Justinien comptait s'imposer au peuple Goth en Italie et mettre fin à l'usurpation de Totila.[4]

Nous ne savons si Cassiodore contribua à inspirer ce projet. Mais l'année suivante (551), un ancien secrétaire d'un prince goth, Jordanès, qui, comme Cassiodore, s'était retiré de la politique pour s'adonner à une vie édifiante,[5] résuma, à la demande d'un de ses amis,

[1] D'après Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] Il n'était pas son neveu, cf. Kallenberg, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1915, p. 991 s.

[3] Procop. *B. Goth.*, III, 38, 24; 39, 6, 11–23; Jordanes, surtout *Rom.* 382. Cf. particulièrement J. Friedrich, *loc. cit.*, p. 416; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* (2e éd., Oxford, 1896), IV, 553–570; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE.*, v. *Germanos* (1912); Ch. Diehl, *Justinien* (Paris, 1901), p. 101; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (2e ed., London, 1923); L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter* (2e éd. Gotha, 1923), II, 316.

[4] Procop., *loc. cit.*, assure que les Goths de Totila étaient très embarrassés à l'annonce de devoir combattre la petite-fille de Théodoric. Cf. F. Martroye, *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France.*, 1914, p. 237 ss. Il semble que les monnaies frappées à l'effigie de Matasonthe datent de cette époque, plutôt que du temps de son mariage avec Witigès. (Cf. Bury, *loc. cit.*, II, 254, n. 1). On a peut-être envisagé un régime transitoire, continuant le règne légitime de Théodoric et de Witigès et dans lequel, sous le gouvernement délégué du couple princier, l'Italie aurait conservé son autonomie. Cette hypothèse semble cependant peu vraisemblable.

[5] *Get.* 266: 'ego item quamvis agramatus Jordanis ante conversionem meam notarius fui.' Invoquant l'exemple de Cassiodore qui fait usage du même terme *conversio* (*sup.* p. 253, n. 4) pour caractériser sa retraite, Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, AA., v, 1, p. XIII) admettait que Jordanès devint moine. Mais il est reconnu que ce mot désigne souvent le passage à une vie plus dévote dans le monde. (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, 118.) J. Friedrich (*loc. cit.*, p. 393–402) dont je n'ai pris connaissance qu'après l'achèvement de cette étude, a rendu cette interprétation plus que vraisemblable. B. v. Simson (*Neues Archiv.*, XXII, 742–743) a signalé l'usage d'*agrammatus* dans les *Inst.* de Cassiodore; cf. Friedrich, p. 388. D'autre part, c'est sans fondement qu'une partie de la tradition manuscrite fait de Jordanès un évêque. Cf. A. Kappelmacher, *Wiener Studien*, XXXVI (1914), 181. Enfin, le Vigilius, auquel sont dédiés les *Romana*, n'est pas le pape de ce nom, — le ton de la préface écarte cette hypothèse (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*) — , mais un noble d'un rang plus élevé que l'auteur, qui était d'origine barbare: *nobilissime et magnifice frater.* Ces qualificatifs ne laissent point de doute (cf. Friedrich, *loc. cit.*; p. 430 et 434). Seul un patriarche, comme Epiphane de Constantinople, pouvait s'adresser au pape comme à un collègue, cf. *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XXXV, 652, 13: 'sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino fratri et comministratori Hormisdae Epiphanus.' Par contre St Avit de Vienne, en écrivant au même pape, s'exprime ainsi: 'filius vester sanctus frater meus Ennodius.'

l'*Historia gothica* de l'ex-ministre, dont l'intendant lui avait prêté l'ouvrage.[1] Germanus venait de décéder inopinément au moment d'entrer en campagne (sept. 550). Son beau-fils Jean, *magister militum* d'Illyrie, neveu du *magister militum* Vitalien qui sous l'empereur Anastase avait été le principal défenseur de l'orthodoxie romaine en Orient, ainsi que le fils de Germanus, Justinien, furent chargés par l'empereur de mener à bien la campagne d'Italie. Seulement, en prévision de l'hiver, ils se virent obligés de prendre leurs quartiers à Salone. L'empereur eut le temps de changer d'avis. En avril[2] 551, il désigna au commandement suprême son grand-chambellan, l'eunuque Narsès, âgé de 75 ans.[3] Cette nomination accentua le caractère byzantin de la reconquête, et marqua une volte-face dans la politique de Justinien, qui peu après rompit aussi la trêve religieuse. Au lieu d'attendre les décisions que le prochain concile prendrait dans la question des *Trois Chapitres*, il condamna ceux-ci derechef par décret, et devant l'opposition du pape s'attaqua à lui de vive force.[4] Cependant, durant cette année, diverses circonstances empêchèrent Narsès d'entrer en campagne. Il ne leva le camp de Salone qu'en avril 552. Ce changement de politique provoqua, sans doute, des tiraillements qui contribuèrent à ce retard. Dans ses *Getica*, com-

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(*M. G. H.*, AA., VI, 2, 69, 21.) J'estime que l'usage de ce terme et le nom du destinataire ont été cause, que dès le IXe siècle on fit de Jordanès un patriarche de Ravenne, parce que seul un tel dignitaire était en droit de s'adresser de la sorte à l'évêque de Rome.

En tout cas, ce n'est pas dans un cloître de Mœsie, comme le supposait Mommsen, qu'on pouvait être si *up to date* pour s'engouer avec cet à-propos de l'œuvre de Cassiodore, ni suffisamment informé pour la prolonger sur un quart de siècle (c. à d. jusque 540). L'illustre éditeur reconnaît d'ailleurs, p. X, que les faubourgs de Constantinople sont décrits d'après un témoin oculaire.

[1] Jord. *Get.*, *praef.*, *M. G. H.*, *AA.*, V, 54, 3: 'dispensatoris eius beneficio libros ipsos antehac relegi.'

[2] Selon Theoph. (p. 227, 17, éd. de Boor), écrivant d'après Malalas. Proc., *B.G.*, III, 40, 10 ss; IV, 21, 5; cf. Körbs, *loc. cit.*, p. 48 ss. et 80.

[3] Il convient néanmoins de rappeler que Narsès était un ancien ami et compagnon d'armes du *mag. mil.* Jean. Cf. Bury *loc. cit.*, II, 196 et 256.

[4] Cf. p. ex. L. Duchesne, 'Vigile et Pélage,' *Revue des Questions hist.*, XXXVI (1884), p. 409 ss., ou J. Langen, *Gesch. d. röm. Kirche v. Leo I bis Nik. I* (Bonn, 1885), I, 360 ss. En 552–3, Cethegus et une fois Libère servirent de médiateurs entre l'empereur et le pape. Cassiodore ne possédait sans doute pas l'autorité nécessaire pour faire partie de ces missions officielles. Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 500, 197, 347. Cf. Langen, *loc. cit.*, p. 372, 377–378. En 558 Cethegus est signalé en Sicile, cf. Sundwall, p. 108.

posés en cette année 551,[1] Jordanès reflète les tendances du parti (italo-) pro-goth, qui jugeait la collaboration des barbares nécessaire à l'empire, et il reporte tous ses espoirs sur le successeur éventuel de Justinien, le jeune Germanus, le fils posthume du cousin de l'empereur et de la dernière descendante des Amales.[2]

Quand Narsès eut reconquis l'Italie, le pape se vit bien obligé de souscrire à la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Il avait opposé une résistance désespérée aux sommations de l'empereur aussi longtemps que celui-ci ne pouvait lui assurer son appui en Occident, où le clergé s'élevait contre cet anathème.[3] Justinien récompensa le pontife de sa soumission en lui confiant la charte règlant la réorganisation de l'Italie, la Pragmatique Sanction de l'année 554.

Cassiodore put aussi mettre à profit son séjour dans la capitale pour se renseigner davantage sur l'institut théologique de Nisibe, en Syrie, qu'il rappelle au début de ses *Institutiones* et dont naguère il avait voulu créer la réplique à Rome, de concert avec le pape Agapet. Le questeur Junilius, qui avait succédé à Tribonien, s'étant entretenu de cette institution avec les évêques africains, ses compatriotes, venus en l'année 551 à Constantinople pour participer au concile réuni au sujet des *Trois Chapitres*, rédigea à l'intention de l'évêque Primase d'Hadrumète, en Byzacène, les notes qu'il possédait des cours d'un des professeurs de cette école supérieure de théologie.[4] En rappelant dans la préface de ses *Institutiones* les écoles de théologie d'Alexandrie et de Nisibe, Cassiodore renvoie au traité de Junilius (*Instituta regularia divinae legis*) et ailleurs il cite le commentaire de

[1] Cependant il ignore ou feint d'ignorer la nomination de Narsès.

[2] Jord., *Get.*, 314: 'in quo (Germano) coniuncta Aniciorum genus cum Amala stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generi, domino praestante, promittit.' J. Friedrich, p. 418, me semble interpréter un peu trop étroitement cet 'espoir des deux peuples,' comme s'il n'eut comporté que la soumission des Goths. Il devait être aussi la garantie de leur avenir et symboliser l'union des deux nations. Cf. *supra* p. 253, les regrets de Cassiodore. *Domino praestante* est une autre de ses expressions favorites. Concernant la composition, vers cette époque, de l'*Anon. Valesianus*, cf. *Tamasia, Archivio Storico Ital.*, LXXI, 2 (1914), p. 2 ss., mais aussi R. Cessi, 'La Vita di P. Giov. I,' *Archivio Muratoriano*, II (fasc. 19–20, 1917), 474 ss.

[3] Cf. Duchesne, *loc. cit.*, p. 422.

[4] Cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2, §1237. — Sur cette institution, Cf. Th. Hermann, 'Die Schule v. Nisibis,' *Zeitschr. f. n.-testamentliche Wissenschaft*, XXV (1926), 89–122; R. Nelz, *Die theol. Schulen d. morgenländischen Kirchen während d. 7 ersten Jh.* (Bonn, 1916).

Primase sur l'*Apocalypse*.[1] Contrairement à ses compatriotes, le primat de Byzacène était à ce moment, comme l'empereur et le pape, partisan de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Cassiodore fut sans doute en relations avec lui, comme avec le questeur du palais, et c'est vraisemblablement à Constantinople[2] qu'il mûrit le projet de réaliser en Occident, dans une fondation monastique, l'étude approfondie de l'Ecriture.

A son retour il établit sur ses domaines un double monastère. Celui de Vivarium[3] s'érigeait sur le mont Moscius, au pied duquel s'étendaient les viviers que l'ex-gouverneur de la Lucanie et du Bruttium y avait amenagés.[4] Plus haut dans la montagne, sur le mont Castellum,[5] il créa un ermitage destiné aux moines désireux de s'adonner à une vie purement contemplative. La fondation d'un monastère n'avait rien d'extraordinaire de la part d'un laïque à l'époque où les disciples de St Séverin s'établissaient (492–496) à Naples autour des cendres de leur maître, dans la villa du plus illustre des gourmets, le *Castellum Lucullanum*, qui avait servi de refuge au jeune Augustule, le dernier empereur d'Occident, déposé par Odoacre,[6] tandis qu'en 526 St Benoît installait le berceau de son immense congrégation dans le palais de Néron sur le Haut-Anio.[7] Nous savons que le patrice Libère, si souvent mentionné dans notre étude, parce qu'il fut le principal ministre du gouvernement italo-goth,[8] avait également

[1] *Inst.*, I, 9, 1122 c.

[2] C'est aussi l'avis de Sundwall, p. 156.

[3] Aujourd'hui bourg de Stalettì, à trois quarts d'heure de Squillace, ville de la Calabre comptant 4000 habitants, siège d'un évêché et située près du golfe de la mer Ionienne portant le même nom. — Sur la topographie et l'histoire ultérieure de ces fondations, voir Fr. Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce, Paysages et Histoire* (Paris, 1882), II, 329 ss., surtout pp. 360–369; Evans dans Th. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886), p. 68–72; G. Minasi, *Cassiodoro Senatore* (Napoli, 1895), p. 145 ss. G. Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea* (London, 1905 2d ed., 1921), p. 155 ss.

[4] *Var.*, XII, 15; *Inst.*, I, 29.

[5] *Inst., loc. cit.:* Greg. Magn., *Ep.*, VIII, 30 et 32 [a. 598] (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Ep.*, II, 1). — Encore de nos jours l'une des deux collines qui domine Squillace au Sud, vers la mer, est appelée *Monte Castello*. C'est là que l'ermitage était établi entre les murs de la Squillace grecque abandonnée (*Inst.*, 1144c.: 'muris pristinis ambientibus').

[6] L. Cantarelli, 'L'ultimo rifugio di Romolo Aug.' *Historia*, II (1928), p. 185–190.

[7] Cf. G. Pfeilschifter, *Theod. d. Grosse* (Mainz, 1910), p. 126–127.

[8] Cf. *supra* p. 251.

fondé (avant 534) un monastère à Alatri, en Campanie.[1] Par les soins de St Honorat, le patrice Venantius (le consul de 508?) avait établi une pareille fondation sur ses propriétés à Fondi (Samnium)[2] et le général Bélisaire lui-même avait fondé et doté un couvent aux abords d'Orta, sur la voie Flaminienne.[3] Contrairement à l'opinion reçue, je serais pleinement convaincu que Cassiodore n'entra pas davantage ni dans l'une, ni dans l'autre de ses fondations, n'était-ce un texte obscur de son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*.[4] Certes, dans

[1] Greg. Magn., *Dial.*, II, 35; *Ep.*, IX, 162 et 164. Sundwall, p. 136, fixe cette fondation avant 541; mais depuis la fin de 534 Libère séjourna en Orient, où il passa au service de l'empereur (*supra* p. 251). Je suppose que c'est pour le punir de cette trahison que Théodohad confisqua ses possessions en Italie. La Pragmatique Sanction de Justinien (554) lui attribua, en effet, la moitié de la fortune du sénateur Marcien, décédé, que le roi (534–535) avait également dépouillé de ses biens en faveur du descendant de l'empereur anicien, Pétrone Maxime (455), dont l'épouse appartenait à la lignée royale. (*Corp. iuris civ.*, App. VII, 1; cf. Sundwall, aux noms de ces personnages). Cf. maintenant J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), p. 138–9, 148.

[2] Cf. Sundwall, p. 167.

[3] *Liber pontif.*, ed. L. Duchesne, t. I, p. 303. Cf. P. Battifol, *St Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1928), p. 28.

[4] C'est la *conclusio* de son exposé du Psaume 100 (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 704 CD). On y lit: 'Pudet enim dicere, peccatis obnoxium centenarii numeri fecunditate provectum et quod sanctorum diximus meritis applicatum, indigno mihi fuisse collatum.' Ad. Franz, *Cass. Senator* (Breslau, 1872), p. 11–13, estime que 'quod sanctorum diximus meritis applicatum' vise la couronne réservée particulièrement aux martyrs et aux vierges. Le nombre 100 est leur symbole, dit Cassiodore, comme il est le coefficient de leurs mérites, car en pressant ce chiffre (C) avec la main droite, on obtient la figure de leur signe distinctif, la couronne. Ainsi l'ex-ministre aurait pris la tonsure, qui en Occident, au VIe siècle, était déjà en usage sous forme de couronne. Cf. Ph. Gobillot, 'Sur la Tonsure chrétienne,' *Rev. d'Hist. ecclésiastique*, XXI (Louvain, 1925), 399–454. Mais *quod sanctorum meritis diximus applicatum* ne vise-t-il pas le *centenarium numerum*? Toute cette *conclusio* fait ressortir que le juste *merito hunc numerum obtinuisse uideatur* (704 C 6; cf. 427 D: 'aut martyres aut virgines qui fructu centenario gloriantur'). Le sens alors du passage en litige serait, qu'il a été donné à l'auteur, si indigne qu'il fût, de commenter ces psaumes jusqu'au nombre de 100, qui est le coefficient que Dieu applique aux mérites des saints. (cf. la *conclusio* de la première partie [*in Ps.* 1–50] de ce commentaire, 372 CD). Mieux que par une incidente: 'Pudet enim dicere, peccatis obnoxium centenarii numeri fecunditate provectum, *quem* sanctorum meritis diximus applicatum, indigno mihi fuisse collatum,' Cassiodore n'a-t-il pas voulu marquer toutes les oppositions que cette phrase contient, par la construction antithétique *et quod*? Il serait assez singulier, que l'auteur se déclare indigne de porter la couronne monacale, qui est le symbole de la pénitence et de l'abstinence. — Dom J. Chapman, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1927, p. 30, croit, que dans le *codex grandior* Cassiodore s'est fait peindre en moine corrigeant l'Ecriture devant l'armoire aux 9 volumes et qu'à Jarrow son portrait a été transformé en celui d'Esdras. Malgré les anachronismes (habit de moine, livres du *N.T.*), il se peut fort bien que l'ex-ministre ait fait représenter le célèbre correcteur hébreu, ou bien, simplement un moine quelconque de Vivarium, comme un symbole de l'activité, à laquelle il conviait ses émules.

cette œuvre il parle des délices de la vie monastique[1]; mais il ne fait aucune allusion à son monastère.[2] En terminant son commentaire, l'auteur demande l'indulgence des maîtres compétents (1055 C): 'Vos autem, magistri, qui caelestium litterarum copiosa lectione pinguescitis, parcite rudi, dimitte confitenti, estote benevoli.' Apparemment, il n'avait pas encore réuni sa vaste bibliothèque de Vivarium, ni abordé ses travaux d'annotation d'auteurs sacrés.[3] Le témoignage touchant que les *Institutiones* consacrent à la mémoire du canoniste et chronologiste bien connu, Denys le Petit, semble révéler que ce moine originaire de la Dobrogea passa ses dernières années à Vivarium, mais n'est point suffisant pour prouver que Cassiodore embrassa le même profession.[4] Sinon, il serait assez piquant qu'immédiatement après avoir fait remarquer qu'il convient aux moines de garder leur couvent, le fondateur de Vivarium rappele qu'il a annoté quelques exposés scripturaires 'quantum aut senex aut longa peregri-

[1] *In Ps.*, praef., col. 10 BD: 'Psalmi sunt denique qui nobis gratas faciunt esse vigilias, quando silenti nocte psallentibus choris humana vox erumpit in musicam . . . , ut merito se a vera vita credat alienum quisquis huius muneris [scil. cantare psalmos] iucunditate non fruitur.' L'ex-ministre s'adonnant à la dévotion (*conversus*) et commentant les Psaumes pouvait fort bien goûter leur récitation par les moines, sans s'être fait moine lui-même. Quiconque est familiarisé avec la *lingua della blaga* de notre ex-ministre rhéteur, ne s'étonnera pas de cet enthousiasme. Le passage correspondant, 895 C: 'septem illas . . . vices quibus se monachorum pia devotio consolatur,' semble indiquer que Cassiodore ne se comptait point parmi les moines. —Attribuant à St Benoît l'initiative d'avoir ajouté les complies aux heures canoniques existantes, Dom J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), p. 97–103, montre que dans ce passage et *in Psalm.* 118, v. 164, 895 C, Cassiodore décrit la manière bénédictine de répartir les heures des offices. Mais si l'ex-ministre n'avait pas encore fondé son monastère, il faudrait admettre que cet usage était déjà fort répandu et conclure de ce fait qu'il est plus ancien que St Benoît.

[2] Les deux allusions qu'il y fait incidemment, sont d'insertion postérieure (cf. *inf.* p. 271).— L'exposé de chacun des 150 psaumes est suivi d'un *conclusio* qui invite le lecteur à méditer sur le sens profond du poème qui vient d'être commenté. Une fois nous trouvons l'apostrophe *carissimi fratres*, mais c'est à propos du langage inconsidéré, par lequel on pèche contre le prochain (*In Ps.* 140, 1004 B); une fois nous lisons *dilectissimi* (122 D), une fois *auditores egregii* (535 A). Evidemment il ne s'agit pas de moines de Vivarium.

[3] Aussi, c'est par la suite que Cassiodore inséra dans son commentaire la plupart de ses renvois bibliographiques (cf. *infra* p. 272).

[4] *Inst.*, 1, 23, 1137 C: 'Qui mecum dialecticam legit et in exemplo gloriosi magisterii plurimos annos vitam suam . . . transegit. Pudet me de consorte dicere quod in me nequeo reperire. Fuit enim in illo cum sapientia magna simplicitas, cum doctrina humilitas, cum facundia loquendi parcitas, ut in nullo se uel extremis famulis anteferret, cum dignus esset regum sine dubitatione colloquiis. Interveniat pro nobis qui nobiscum orare consueverat, ut cuius hic sumus oratione suffulti, eius possimus nunc meritis adiuvari.' Cf. *infra* p. 289, n. 4.

natione fatigatus relegere praevalui.'[1] Cependant, après sa retraite Cassiodore renonça à mettre en tête de ses œuvres ses titres de patrice et d'illustrissime[2] et la mention de sa carrière des honneurs. L'unique manuscrit des *Complexiones*, le *Veronensis*, s. VII, copié sans doute sur l'original,[3] nous donne la formule favorite de l'ex-ministre: 'Magni Aurelii Cassiodorii iam domino praestante conversi.'[4] Nous avons suffisamment montré, que *conversus*, tout comme *religiosus* (*vir*), se disaient de personnes vivant pieusement dans le monde. Cassiodore nous fait d'ailleurs connaître les abbés de son double monastère,[5] et quand il s'addresse aux moines, il ne se compte point parmi eux[6]; quand il en parle, il les appelle *ses* moines, comme il dit *son* monastère.[7]

[1] *Inst.*, I, 25–26, 1140 AB.

[2] On aura remarqué que la lettre pontificale (*supra* p. 255 n. 7) les néglige pareillement.

[3] Th. Stangl, *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philol.*, 1915, 203.

[4] *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1322 A; cf. *Sitzungsber. Wien*, XLIX, 48,.—Des MSS de son *Com. in Ps.* et de l'*Hist. tripart.*, donnent: . . . 'exigui servi Dei iam Domino praestante conversi,' Le *Vatic Pal. 271*, s. X, met cette inscription en tête de la 2^{6} partie de son commentaire (Ps. 51–100); le *Brux. 1229* (*5460–1*) s. X, en avant des Ps. 101–150. Par contre, le *Brux. 1230* (*15070*), s. X, (Ps. 1–50), écrit *Inc. liber Cassiodori viri religiosi;* le *Brux. 1228* (*II, 2571*), s. X, (Ps. 50–100): *Cass. viri eximii.* Les *Paris BN. 12239–41* (*Corbie*), s. VIII, ne donnent point de titulature. Le *Vatic. Pal. 824* (*Lorsch*), s. X, de l'*Hist. trip.*, a *Praefatio Cass. servi Dei* (cf. *Rhein. Mus.*, XXIII, 394, n. 5). La tradition manuscrite nous éclairera sur la valeur de la mention *exiguus servus Dei;* mais à côté d'elle, l'expression préférée de Cassiodore: *iam Domino praestante conversi*, semblerait bien superfétatoire. (Je rappellerai à ce propos qu'à l'exemple de l'ami de Cassiodore, Denys le Petit (*exiguus*), le diacre Ferrandus se qualifia d'une façon semblable (*exiguus*), si bien que la laque Cresconius de Carthage (*Patrol. lat.*, LXXXVIII, 829 C: *Christi famulorum exiguus*) cf. *infra* p. 282 n. 2). Il est reconnu qu'il faut mettre au compte du compilateur de l'*Anecd. Holderi* l'inscription *monachus servus Dei*, puisque Cass. composa son *Ordo generis* avant sa *conversio*. Paul Diacre écrivait déjà (*Hist. Lang.*, I, 25): 'Cassiodorus primitus consul, deinde senator (!), postremo monachus exstitit.' Les MSS des *Inst.* (tradition du *Bamb.*) et du *De orthogr.* donnent simplement *Cass. senatoris.* — Th. Stettner, *Philologus*, LXXVI (1926), 233–6, préfère avec raison l'orthographe *Cassiodorus* à *-rius*.

[5] Certes, St Grégoire le Grand ne se trouvait no plus à la tête du monastère qu'il avait fondé dans sa demeure paternelle (cf. P. Battifol, *St Grégoire le Grand* [Paris, 1928] p. 27). mais le rôle du futur pape dans sa fondation fut autre que celui de l'ex-ministre.

[6] *Inst.*, I, 32, 1147 AB et C: 'Facta est itaque vobis quaedem urbs propria, . . . in qua, si concorditer et spiritualiter transigitis, coelestis iam patriae praefiguratione gaudetis;' 29, 1143 D: '. . . ita ut monasterium vestrum potius quaeratur ab aliis quam vos extranea loca iuste desiderare possitis.' *De orthogr.* (Keil, *Grammatici latini*, VII, 210, 3 = *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1270 B 13): 'sicut ego vos ab imperitorum numero sequestratos esse volui, ita nos virtus divina non patiatur cum nequissimis poenali societate coniungi.'

[7] P. ex., *ib.* p. 143, 2 et 145, 25 (*Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1239 C 3 et 1242 A 2): 'monachi mei; — auctores orthographos . . . quos ego . . . monasterio meo dereliqui.'

L'ex-ministre nous apprend aussi que c'est avec l'aide d'amis (*amicis ante me legentibus*) qu'il collationna toute l'Ecriture d'après d'anciens manuscrits, mais qu'il laissa à ses copistes le soin de reviser les autres œuvres; car, même à la fin de sa vie, ses moines n'étaient pas encore très au courant de cette besogne.[1] Parmi ce groupe de familiers, qu'il qualifie sans doute ainsi par charité chrétienne, mais qui, en réalité, étaient des grammairiens et des traducteurs à son service, se distinguait tout d'abord le *vir disertissimus Epiphanius scholasticus*. Il traduisit l'exposé que Philon de Carpasie (et non point Epiphane de Chypre, comme le veut Cassiodore) avait donné en un livre du *Cantique des Cantiques*,[2] les commentaires de Didyme sur les *Proverbes* et ceux sur les sept épitres canoniques que Cassiodore attribue au même auteur, mais qui formaient un florilège d'homélies de différents Pères[3]; le *codex encyclius* contenant les lettres que les évêques consultés par l'empereur Léon avaient écrites en faveur du concile de Chalcédoine[4]; enfin la triple *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate, de Sozomène et de Théodoret, compilée de façon à former un ensemble continuant l'œuvre d'Eusèbe, que Rufin avait traduite et poussée jusqu'à Théodose.[5] Cette tripartite en 12 livres s'inspire de l'œuvre similaire que, postérieurement au règne de l'em-

[1] *Inst.*, praef., 1109 BC: 'Quos ego cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinae, ut senex potui, sub collatione priscorum codicum, amicis ante me legentibus, sedula lectione transivi; ubi me multum laborasse, Deo adiuvante, profiteor . . . reliquos vero codices qui non sunt tali distinctione signati (c. à d. non pourvus de ponctuation, cf. *infra* p. 266) notariis diligenti tamen cura sollicitis, relegendos atque emendandos reliqui.' *De orthogr.*, praef., p. 143, 2 (1239 c 3): ' . . . monachi mei subito clamare coeperunt: quid prodest cognoscere nos vel quae antiqui fecerunt vel ea quae sagacitas vestra addenda curavit nosse diligenter, si quemadmodum ea scribere debeamus omnimodis ignoramus.'

[2] *Inst.*, 1117 A: 'per amicum nostrum virum disertissimum Ep. fecimus . . . transferri.' Traduction éditée en 1750 par P. Fr. Foggini d'après le *Vatic. 5704*. Le texte grec édité est moins développé; n'est-il qu'un extrait, ou bien le traducteur a-t-il amplifié le traité? Cf. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, III, (Freib. in Br., 1912), 303 et *Rev. bénédictine*, 1926, p. 143, n. 1; 1927, p. 262 et 1928 p. 130.

[3] 1116 A: '. . . ab amico nostro viro disertissimo Ep. . . . translatus est;' 1120 B. Cette dernière traduction est seule conservée. (Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, XXXIX, 1749–1818. Cf. Bardenhewer, *loc. cit.*, p. 108–9.

[4] 1123 CD: '. . . a viro disertissimo Ep. fecimus . . . converti;' cf. Maasen, *Gesch. u. Quellen d. kanon. Rechts*, I, 751–753. — Trad. perdue.'

[5] *Patrol. lat.* LXIX, 880 D: 'quos [scil. scriptores] nos per Epiphanum scholasticum latino condentes eloquio, necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius styli tractum . . . perducere . . .' *Inst.* 1133 D: 'quos a viro disertissimo Ep. . . . fecimus . . . transferri.'

pereur Justin (518–527), Théodore, lecteur de l'église Ste Sophie, composa apparemment en exil à Gangres. Jusqu'au chapitre 3 du livre II, elle n'en est même qu'une traduction littérale. De composition plus indépendante par la suite, elle remanie souvent les textes qu'elle compile et on a pu dire qu'il faudrait une monographie pour décrire les variétés de contresens qu'elle commet.[1] Un autre traducteur, le *vir disertissimus Mutianus*, mit en latin les 34 homélies de St Jean Chrysostome sur l'*Epître aux Hébreux*,[2] aussi bien que le traité de Gaudentius sur la musique.[3] La diversité des œuvres qu'il traduisit prouve qu'il travailla sur commande d'aprés les nécessités de la bibliothèque.

Le prêtre Bellator, sans doute l'aumonier de Vivarium,[4] donna un ensemble important de commentaires sur *Ruth*, *Sap.*, *Tob.*, *Esth.*, *Judith*, *Macch.*, et traduisit les homélies d'Origène sur *Esdras*.[5] Cassiodore n'indique pas que lui mit en latin les commentaires de Clément d'Alexandrie, mais convenablement purgés, sur les *Epîtres* canoniques.[6] Sans préciser davantage, il met au compte 'de ses amis'

[1] Bidez, 'La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur,' *Texte u. Unters.* de A. Harnack, XXXII, 2b (1908), p. 35 ss. — Cf. une série d'erreurs relevées par Ad. Franz, *Cass. Sen.* (Breslau, 1872), p. 114 ss.

[2] *Inst.*, 1120 A: . . . 'Mutianum virum disertissimum transferre fecimus in latinum.' Migne, *Patrol. gracea*, LXIII, 237–456; Cf. E. A. Lowe, 'An Uncial MS. of Mut.', *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, XXIX (1927–28), 129–133. — C'est bien à tort que G. Krüger (dans Schanz., IV, 2, p. 581, n. 1), comme déjà Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.*, *ad. a.* 562, n. XIX, veut identifier ce traducteur de Cassiodore avec le *Mocianus Scholasticus*, contre lequel Facundus d'Hermiane écrivit un traité en 571, pour combattre l'entente avec Rome et rejeter la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Cf. *inf.* p. 273 n. 2, l'appréciation de Cassiodore sur Facundus et *Patrol. lat.*, LXVII, 867–868, 875, le portrait peu flatteur de Mocianus.

[3] *Inst.*, 1208 D: '. . . quam amicus noster vir disertissimus Mutianus transtulit in latinum;' cf. *inf.* p. 288, n. 1; trad. perdue.

[4] Cf. U. Berlière, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1927, p. 228.

[5] *Inst.*, 1112 B: 'Novellas autem [explanationes in *Ruth*] virum religiosissimum presbyterum Bellatorem condere persuasi . . . duobus libris;' 1117 B: 'Cuius (*Sap.*) voluminis expositionem presbyter Bell. octo libris se assumpsisse testatus est, quem cum aliis opusculis eius pariter sustinemus; 1118 C: *Tobiae* autem in libros quinque, *Esther* in libris sex, *Judith* in libris septem et *Macchabeorum* in libros decem expositio latinum sermonem praedicti Bellatoris presbyter, ut praevalet, labore collecta est . . . In *Esdrae* vero libris duobus graeco sermone singulas homilias expositas, Origenis inveni, quae eiusdem religiosi viri Bell. labore translatae sunt.' — On aura déjà remarqué que Cassiodore n'imposa pas ces commentaires à Bellator, comme les traductions à ses amis.

[6] *Inst.*, 1120 A: '. . . quae nos ita transferri fecimus in latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis . . . ' Cf. *Patrol. Graeca*, IX, 729–39; cf. G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, XXXI (1914), 242, No. 2.

la traduction des *Antiquités juives* de Fl. Josèphe.[1] Cette vaste entreprise fut, sans doute, une œuvre collective. Les cinquante-cinq homélies de St Jean Chrysostome sur les *Actes des Apôtres* remplissant deux manuscrits, auront bien été traduites de la même façon.[2]

J'ai déjà rappelé que Cassiodore réunit un texte de l'Ecriture qu'il répartit sur neuf volumes[3] entièrement revisés par lui.[4] Il semble que nous l'ayons conservé dans le meilleur manuscrit de la Vulgate, le *codex Amiatinus*.[5] Ce manuscrit fut exécuté à Jarrow, peut-être sous la direction de Bède.[6] L'abbé Ceolfrid le destinait au pape, mais il mourut au cours de son voyage à Rome (716). Au XVIe siècle cette Bible de 1030 folios fut retrouvée à l'abbaye de Monte Amiata, dans le sud de la Toscane, d'où elle passa à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne.

[1] *Inst.*, 1133 c: 'Hunc tamen ab amicis nostris . . . magno labore in libris viginti duobus conversi fecimus in latinum,' c. à d. les 20 livres des *Antiq.* (dont on possède environ deux cents MSS) suivis des 2 livres *Contra Apionem*. Ceux-ci ont été édités par Boyson, *Corpus Script. eccl. lat.*, XXXVII (1898) qui prouve, p. XII, que le traducteur n'était pas à la hauteur de sa tâche.

[2] *Inst.*, 1122, A: '. . . quae amici nostri in duobus codicibus . . . transtulerunt.' Trad. perdue; cf. Chr. Baur, *St Jean Chrys.* (Louvain, 1907), p. 66. — Cf. d'une façon générale, *Inst.*, 1122 c: '. . . expositores, quantos vel invenire priscos potuimus vel nuper per amicos nostros de graeca linqua tranferri vel nova cudi fecimus.'

[3] En tête de son *codex grandior*, Cassiodore avait fait dépeindre l'armoire aux neuf volumes, devant laquelle est assis le prophète Esdras, (cf. *supra* p. 261 n. 4) corrigeant les Livres saints. En 678, Ceolfrid, l'abbé de Jarrow, acquit ce MS. à Rome et en fit reproduire le premier quaternion en avant de l'*Amiatinus*. Le dessin en question est donné d'après R. Garrucci, *Storia del Arte Christ.*, III (Prato, 1876), tav. 126 (?), par G. Pfeilschifter, *Theodorich d. Grosse* (Mainz, 1910), p. 126, et d'après J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1901), (en tête du volume), par A. Hessel, *Gesch. d. Biblioth.* (Göttingen, 1925), Abbild. 2.

[4] Dom J. Chapman, *loc. n. seq. cit.*, 1927, p. 12, a tort de croire que les neuf volumes comportaient exclusivement le texte de l'Ecriture. Cassiodore déclare expressément (1130 c) qu'il a fait suivre le *Livre des Rois* d'homélies de différents auteurs, parce qu'il n'a pas trouvé d'exposé suivi sur cette partie de la Bible (*Inst.*, I, 2); et il engage ses moines à en faire autant. Aussi, c'est vraisemblablement dans celui des 9 volumes comprenant les *Prophètes* qu'il a apposé les notes marginales qu'il avait tirées d'*annotationes* de St Jérôme (*Inst.* I, 3, 1114 A: in adnotato nuper codice). Cf. encore *inf.* p. 270 n. 1.

[5] C'est l'avis de Dom-Abbé J. Chapman, 'The Amiatinus and Cass.,' *Revue bénédictine*, 1926, p. 139–150; 1927, p. 12–32; 1928, p. 130–134. Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur la Vulgate*, I (Rome-Paris, 1922), 438–450, 496–497, et Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1928, p. 261–266, estiment que ce MS. dépend du *codex grandior* de Cassiodore. Dans ses *Essais de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1926), p. 16, Dom Quentin fait néanmoins allusion à une revision de la Vulgate par Cassiodore. — Cf. aussi Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 15 et 32, qui envisage la possibilité, que l'*Amiat.* dépende des *Pandectes*, la bible hieronymienne de Cassiodore. H. Glunz, *Britannien u. Bibeltext* (Leipzig, 130), pp. 94–95, parle des Bibles de Vivarium avec fort peu de précision.

[6] J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early Hist. of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 23.

Elle est entièrement écrite *per cola et commata.*[1] On admet généralement,[2] que c'est Cassiodore qui aurait étendu à toute la Vulgate cette disposition dont St Jérôme avait déjà fait usage. Je crois que les témoignages de notre auteur[3] prouvent précisément le contraire. Cassiodore ne goûtait nullement cette disposition du texte sacré. Son programme consistait à se servir de la science profane dans l'étude de l'Ecriture. Comme il s'est évertué à apprendre à ses moines les règles de l'orthographe! Et chaque fois qu'il les leur inculque, il ne manque pas d'insister sur la nécessité d'observer la ponctuation. En leur adressant un dernier adieu dans son *De orthographia*, qu'il composa à l'âge de 93 ans, il leur demande d'être reconnaissants pour les deux choses essentielles qu'il leur a apprises: l'orthographe et l'art de ponctuer![4] Apparemment, ce sont des éditions *per cola et commata* de la traduction de St Jérôme,[5] ou supposées telles,[6] qui ont amené Cassiodore à généraliser certaines expressions du reclus de Bethléem concernant cette façon dont il édita quelques unes de ses traductions. Le seigneur de Squillace se défend d'être assez présomptueux pour vouloir modifier la disposition adoptée par le Maître, mais il lui suppose l'intention de n'avoir publié ainsi ses versions que pour en faciliter la lecture aux moines qui n'étaient pas familiarisés avec la ponctuation des grammairiens.[7] Il se prévaut précisément de ce prétendu aveu de la supériorité de la ponctuation pour ordonner de s'en servir dans toutes les parties de l'Ecriture que Jérôme n'a

[1] c. à d. 'en lignes inégales, dont la longueur se réglait sur le sens.' S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), p. 316.

[2] Cf. encore Dom De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1929, p. 102–103.

[3] On peut les lire chez Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 20.

[4] Keil, *Gramm. lat.*, VII, 145, 18 et 249, 28 (*Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1242 et 1270 B); *Inst.*, 1128–1130, 1109 BD.

[5] 1109 C: *sicut hodie legitur.* A eux seuls, ces mots prouvent déjà qui ce n'est point Cassiodore qui étendit à toute l'Ecriture la disposition commatique. Puisqu'il en restreint autant que possible l'usage, en ne l'acceptant que pour la traduction de St Jérôme, on ne pourrait supposer qu'il ait allégué des éditions imaginaires pour justifier un procédé qu'il ne tolérait qu'à contre-coeur. On fait mieux de reconnaître que nous ignorons beaucoup des éditions de l'Ecriture au VIe siècle.

[6] Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. biblique*, 1915, p. 358 ss., semble avoir prouvé que du N.T., St Jérôme ne revisa que les Evangiles.

[7] Dans la préface à sa traduction d'Isaie, visée par Cassiodore (cf. *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 20–21), le Grand docteur dit simplement *utilitati legentium*, et il invoque, au contraire, l'exemple d'éditions des œuvres de Démosthènes et de Cicéron, qui auraient adopté cette disposition.

point traduites.[1] Il déclare d'ailleurs que lui-même a ponctué celui des neuf volumes comprenant les *Psaumes*, dont la copie était donc disposée seulement par versets.[2] On sait que de toutes les parties de l'Ecriture, le Psautier resta le plus longtemps en usage dans l'ancien texte. C'est sur celui-ci que Cassiodore rédigea son commentaire.[3] Mais il utilisa aussi le texte de l'*Itala* pour ses *Complexiones*, qui s'étendent sur tout le *Nouveau Testament*, sauf les *Evangiles*.[4] Aussi,

[1] *Inst.*, I. 15, 1129 D prouve qu'*Inst.*, *praef.*, 1109, C: *ut cetera distinctionibus ornentur*, ne vise pas des œuvres distinctes de la Bible, mais tons les textes (et plus particulièrement ceux de l'Ecriture, dont il est avant tont question ici), sauf la *Translatio S. Hieronymi*. De même les *Reliquos vero codices* (qui s'opposent à *cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinae*). Comprennent tons les manuscrits de Vivarium, les neuf volumes mis à part. Nouvelle preuve eue ceux-ci étaient ponctués, exception faite, de la *Translatio S. Hieronymi*, s'ils la présentaient. Plus spécialement *codicum antiquorum* (1109 C 15) désigne les MSS contenant des œuvres profanes; cf. 1142 A 12, *De orthogr.*, p. 143, 8 (1239 C 12): *labor antiquorum:* cf. *inf.*, p. 00 n. 0. Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, 1928, p. 133, reconnaît aussi, que Cassiodore n'admettait la disposition commatique que pour le texte de la Vulgate, disons plutôt avec notre auteur: de la *translatio S. Hieronymi*.

On ne peut invoquer ce texte de la préface des *Inst.* pour établir que les 9 volumes donnaient (du moins en partie) le texte de la Vulgate; car, il se pourrait que Cassiodore ne cite l'avis de St Jérôme sur la façon de copier le texte sacré, que pour en tirer un argument en faveur de la ponctuation. On pourrait même prétendre que si ce texte voulait signifier avant tout que l'illustre Docteur disposa sa traduction *per cola*, Cassiodore n'aurait pas dû reprendre cette information quand il décrit ses *Pandectes* (1124 B.C), une bible présentant la traduction hieronymienne. Cette remarque réitérée prouve, en tout cas, que la disposition commatique constituait une exception dans les bibles de Vivarium.

Le fait, que Cassiodore recommande à ses moines de corriger éventuellement le texte de l'Ecriture d'après la version ou la revision de St Jérôme (1129 B), — comme il l'avait utilisée parfois dans son commentaire sur les Psaumes (cf. Ad. Franz, *Cass. Senator* [Breslau, 1872], p. 62, n. 5) et dans ses *Complexiones* (Dom Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 287), — établit qu'à Vivarium on faisait usage de l'ancienne version, d'autant plus, que le même passage engage les moines à ponctuer le texte. D'autre part, il est remarquable que c'est précisément en tête du *codex grandior*, donnant une traduction latine des Septante, que Cassiodore plaça les trois listes de l'Ecriture et les dessins, y compris celui d'Esdras avec l'armoire aux neuf volumes. Pourquoi ce serait-il tellement intéressé à ce MS. si son texte était abandonné? On en avait d'ailleurs encore d'autres copies à Vivarium (1125 C 8: *inter alias*). Si la remarque 'Hic textus . . . Hieronymi . . . cura emendatus relictus est' (1125 D) possédait plus qu'une teneur générale d'information signifiant que le Grand traducteur a revisé ce texte, elle prouverait que Cassiodore croyait qu'il était en possession du texte revisé des LXX, qui n'existait vraisemblablement plus (ainsi que me l'écrivit Dom Chapman). Dans ce cas nous aurions la meilleures preuve que Cassiodore ne disposait pas *per cola* la revision de St Jérôme (puisque le *codex grandior* était ponctué) et que pour sa version il ne suivait que l'exemple d'éditions qu'il avait sous la main.

[2] 1130 A: 'Has distinctiones *Bomb.* [Chapman, *Rev. béned.* 1927, p. 141, n. 1, fait erreur]; dictiones Garet) in Psalterio archetypo (cf. 1115 D–1116 A) nos posuisse retinemus.'

[3] Garet y a substitué le texte vulgate, cf. *Patrol. lat.*, LXIX, 431 C.

[4] Cf. Th. Stangl., *Blaetter f. bayer. Gymnas.*, XXXIV (1898), p. 250 et Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 287–288. A. Souter, *infra* p. 270, n. 3, *cit.*, IX, 1, p. 323, croit cependant, qu'au cours de

il est hors de doute que le *codex grandior* de Vivarium présentant l'*antiqua translatio* n'était pas disposé *per cola et commata*. Quant aux neuf volumes, s'ils réunissaient le texte de la Vulgate, ils n'offraient la disposition commatique que dans les parties qui avaient été traduites, et peut-être même point dans celles qui avaient été revisées (soit prétendument) par St Jérôme.[1] Je crois que c'est à Jarrow que la disposition commatique a été étendue à toutes les parties de l'*Amiatinus* — et notamment aux *Psaumes* — , sans doute, parce qu'on y a mal interprété les textes des *Inst.* à ce sujet.[2] En tout cas, il résulte de cet examen que sur ce point Cassiodore n'a pas manqué à son attachement pour les méthodes des arts libéraux.

Par ailleurs, il divisa en chapitres qu'il pourvut de titres les livres de l'Ecriture, qui, comme les *Paralipomènes* ou les œuvres attribuées à Salomon, n'en étaient pas encore pourvus, du moins dans l'édition qu'il utilisait. Comme on avait coutume de faire pour les œuvres profanes, il plaça en tête des différents livres de la Bible la liste des sommaires de leurs chapitres. Dans ses *Inst.*, il ne mentionne le fait que pour l'*Octateuque*; mais plus tard, il réunit tous les sommaires en un livre (*liber titulorum sive memorialis*), de façon à présenter ainsi un aperçu de l'Ecriture.[3] Ce n'est pas un travail bien différent que Cassiodore entreprit dans ses *Complexiones*. Seulement, cette œuvre, que nous n'avons conservée que dans un seul manuscrit datant du VIIe siècle, s'attache à marquer plutôt la suite du développement des *Epitres*, des *Actes*, et de l'*Apocalypse*.[4]

Après ses commentaires sur les *Psaumes*, Cassiodore n'aborda plus un exposé d'une semblable envergure. Mais peu de temps avant qu'il

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sa revision du commentaire de Pélage sur l'*ep. ad Rom.*, Cassiodore substitua la version vulgate au texte pélagien de l'Ecriture.

[1] On ne saurait admettre que *ut cetera distinctionibus ornentur* ne vise que les Psaumes. Cassiodore distingue d'ailleurs nettement la *translatio* de la revision de St Jérôme: 1129 BD (cf. 1130 A 10), 1124 AC, cf. *Huic adiecti sunt* et 1225 CD, cf. *Cui subiecti sunt*. On ne doit pas s'étonner, que les *Psaumes* mis à part, Cassiodore ne se soit pas astreint à ponctuer lui-même toutes les parties que Jérôme n'a point traduites. Peut-être aussi, s'est-il contenté de citer en exemple le texte des Psaumes.

[2] Dom Chapman, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 32, semble avoir montré qu'à Jarrow on a eu connaissance des *Inst.*, contrairement à l'avis de P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1916), 358.

[3] *Inst.*, 1114 A, 1117 D, 1112 C; cf. Dom Chapman, *loc. cit.*, 1927, p. 15 ss.; Dom De Bruyne, *ibid.*, 1927, p. 203 ss. *De orthogr., praef.*, V.

[4] Cf. *Patrol. lat.* LXX, 1319, la distinction de *complexiones* et *breves*.

composa ses *Inst.*, il avait pourvu une copie des *Prophètes* de notes marginales tirées d'un bref exposé (*annotationes*) qu'il attribue à St Jérôme.[1] De plus, pour *l'Epître aux Romains*, il purgea de leurs erreurs pélagiennes les *annotationes* d'un auteur, dont il ignore l'identité, mais qui n'est autre que Pélage lui-même. Sa revision remania complètement l'exposé, en retournant aux expressions d'Augustin, dont elle utilise abondamment les écrits, à côté de ceux de St Jérôme et même du *De statu animae* de Claudien Mamert.[2] Comme il les y avait engagés, ses moines — mais tout au plus trois — corrigèrent les autres *Epîtres* de St Paul, sans toutefois y introduire des considérations propres.[3] Cette activité lui faisait dire dans ses *Inst.*, que de toutes les parties de l'Ecriture, il s'était le plus spécialement occupé des *Psaumes*, des *Prophètes*, et des *Epîtres*.[4] Cependant, il avait semblablement démarqué du signe ἄχρηστον les passages des œuvres d'Origène qui ne lui semblaient pas conformes à la doctrine des Pères, et il avait signifié de la même façon les opinions condamnables dans le commentaire du donatiste Tychonius sur l'Apocalypse. Pareillement, dans la traduction qu'il avait fait exécuter de l'exposé de Clément d'Alexandrie sur les *Epîtres* canoniques, il avait élagué les passages sujets à caution.[5] D'autre part, il avait parcouru un certain nombre de traités des Pères, désignant par un signe au crayon rouge ceux de ses neuf volumes de l'Ecriture auxquels appartenaient les

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 266, n. 4. — Je ne crois pas que 1115 B: 'ex quibus iam duas decadas collegi,' vise de semblables notes marginales sur 20 Psaumes, tirées des commentaires partiels de St Hilaire de Poitiers, de St Ambroise et de St Jérôme. Cassiodore déclare simplement, qu'il a déjà réuni une vingtaine d'exposés de ces Pères sur les *Psaumes*. Certes, il divisait les *Psaumes* par décades (cf. 9 B, 504 B, 505 C); mais en raison de la tradition fragmentaire de ces exposés qui ne s'étendaient que sur quelques Psaumes (cf. Schanz, IV, p. 282, 335 et 385), on peut admettre que Cassiodore entend 'décades' dans le sens vulgaire, c. à d. deux dizaines d'exposés sur différents Psaumes. En tout cas, il ne s'agit pas d'extraits tirés du commentaire de St Augustin, comme le croient encore J. Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 34, n. 1 et P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 285. Qu'on veuille remarquer à ce propos l'opposition *ex quibus . . . a quo* (cf. 9 A 12).

[2] Nous avons remarqué que Cassiodore avait déjà utilisé cette œuvre dans son *De anima*. Le compatriote de Sidoine Apollinaire semble avoir été l'un de ses auteurs favoris.

[3] *Inst.*, 1119 CD; *De orthogr., praef.*, V. — A. Souter 'Pelagius' Exposition on the Thirteenth Ep. of St Paul,' *Texts and Studies* ed. by Armitage Robinson, IX, 1–2 (Oxford, 1922–26), surtout IX, 1, p. 318 ss.

[4] *Inst.*, 1109 B.

[5] 1112 B, 1122 B, 1120 A.

textes que ces œuvres expliquaient.[1] De même, à la façon des correcteurs anciens (*more maiorum*), il avait mis dans la marge de son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*, des signes qui mettaient en évidence les définitions, les locutions propres à l'Ecriture, les matières appartenant aux différents arts libéraux, etc.[2]

Les *Institutiones*[3] qui décrivent cette œuvre variée et étendue[4] sont postérieures à 551, puisque dans l'introduction elles mentionnent le traité de Junilius composé en cette année.[5] On admet généralement que Cassiodore fonda son monastère vers 540, parce qu'il déclare que son commentaire sur les *Psaumes* fut sa première œuvre après sa *conversio*.[6] Seulement, nous avons rappelé que ce terme comporte des significations très diverses.[7] De plus, dans ce commentaire l'auteur ne fait aucune allusion à ses moines. Certes, on lit dans la préface qu'il a fait exécuter aussi une copie de son commentaire en le répartissant sur trois manuscrits présentant chacun l'exposé de cinquante psaumes,[3] afin de mettre à la disposition de ses moines

[1] *Inst.*, I, 25, 1140 B.

[2] Éd. Reifferscheid, *Sitzungsber. Wien*, LVI (1867), 507, qui fait fort bien remarquer, cependant, *Rhein Mus.*, XXIII, (1868), 133, que les notes de Cassiodore se distinguent des signes critiques des grammairiens (cf. Reifferscheid, *Suetonii reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 139 ss.; Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII, 533) en ce qu'elles portent sur le fonds, la matière, le contenu, et ne servent point à corriger le texte. A l'époque de Sédulius Scotus les Irlandais ont fait un semblable usage de ces signes. Cf. H. Hagen, dans les *Verhandlungen d. 39. Versammlung deutscher Philol. u. Schulmänner zu Zürich*, 1888, p. 247 et son éd. du *Bern. 363* (*Codices . . . photographice editi*, II (Leyde, 1897), p. XXIX. Sur ce MS. cf. Traube, *Abhandl. d. bayer. Akad.*, XIX, 2 (1892), 346.

[3] Sur ce titre, cf. *De orthogr.*, p. 145, 18, éd. Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII (= 1241 D 9); cf. Perschinka, *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.*, 1906, p. 317.

[4] Seuls le *Liber titulorum* et les *Complexiones* n'étaient pas encore composés. Ils figurent en dernier lieu dans la liste que Cassiodore composa de ses écrits postérieurs à sa *conversio*, en tête de son édition du *De orthographia*. L'ordre chronologique de cette liste, que P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 285, a mis en doute, n'est en défaut que pour la mention des *Inst.* Vraisemblablement, en raison de leur importance et parce qu'elles résument presque toute l'œuvre accomplie entre son commentaire sur les Psaumes et sa revision du commentaire de Pélage sur l'*ép. ad Rom.*, Cassiodore les a placées entre ces deux travaux, quoique, strictement parlant, elles devraient faire suite à la mention de cette œuvre expurgée (Cf. *Inst.*, I, 8, 1119 CD). Quant au n. IV et VII de cette liste, je m'en occuperai plus loin.

[5] Comme P. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 290, l'a signalé. Mais le *terminus ante quem* (562) qu'il propose, est extrêmement sujet à caution, comme je le montrerai *inf.* p. 289.

[6] Cf. *supra* p. 253, n. 4.

[7] Cf. *supra* p. 253.

[8] *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 9 CD. — Nos MSS aussi copient de cette façon le volumineux commentaire.

(*legentium fratrum*) un plus grand nombre d'exemplaires d'une écriture plus lisible.[1] Mais le contexte révèle que cet avertissement constitue certainement une ajoute postérieure. A d'autres endroits encore l'auteur a inscrit dans la marge des notes bibliographiques, postérieurement, paraît-il, à la composition de ses *Instit.* Car celles-ci semblent être citées dans la préface de son commentaire.[2] Cette pratique est tout à fait conforme au programme et aux procédés les plus usuels de Cassiodore: fournir à ses moines la bibliographie et les moyens d'approfondir par eux-mêmes l'étude de l'Ecriture.[3] Dans son exposé du *Ps. xiv*, il renvoie à la description du Tabernacle que Flavius Josèphe donne dans ses *Antiq. iudaic.* et il mentionne le dessin qu'il en avait fait exécuter en tête de son *corpus grandior* de l'ancienne traduction latine de l'Ecriture.[4] Evidemment, cette référence suppose aussi que Cassiodore avait déjà fait traduire cette œuvre étendue de l'historien des Juifs.[5] Au cours de son exposé, il la cite encore une fois (956 BC). Au premier abord, ce second renvoi semble moins visiblement interpolé. Mais il mentionne en même temps une lettre de St Jérôme, dont l'ex-ministre ne paraît avoir dépouillé l'épistolaire que tardivement.[6]

Pareillement, on s'aperçoit à une simple lecture que la mention de l'*Introduction* de Tychonius à l'étude de l'Ecriture a également été reprise de la marge dans le texte.[7] Je crois qu'on peut en dire autant

[1] Cf. *Inst.*, I, 4 (1115 CD) une semblable remarque concernant la copie des *Psaumes*.

[2] 21 D 12, plutôt que son *corpus* d'introductions à l'étude de l'Ecriture (P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 285–286), puisqu'il dit: 'quorum nomina . . . commemoranda perspeximus' (cf. *Inst.*, I, 10, 1122 D). Cassiodore, en effet, appelle aussi *introductorios libros* ses propres *Inst.* (1106 D 9). Par contre, le renvoi, *In ps.* 96, V 4, (685 A): 'quorum notitiam pleniorem in libris geometricae disciplinae, diligens lector, invenies,' vise les traités usuels de géométrie. Dans l'exposé du Psaume précédent (95, v. 14, col. 682 D) Cassiodore venait de renvoyer aux *Eléments* d'Euclide, que les *Inst.* citent et utilisent dans la traduction de Boèce (1213 D).

[3] Cf. *Inst.*, *praef.*, 1106 D, les différents genres de notes, dont il pourvit ses manuscrits (cf. *supra* p. 269) et les préfaces qu'il mit en tête de ses *corpus*, cf. *infra* p. 276).

[4] 109 AB. Cf. *supra*, p. 266, n. 3. Cf. Beda, *Patrol lat.*, XCI, 77 et 454; P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917), 357–358.

[5] Cf. *supra* p. 266 n. 1.

[6] Cf. *infra* p. 275 n. 1 Peut-être pourra-t-on préciser davantage, quand on connaîtra les différents recueils de lettres entre lesquels la tradition de la correspondance du Grand docteur était partagée.

[7] 18 A 15–B 1. On se rappelle que Cassiodore avait annoté dans ce traité les passages sujets à caution; il le fit copier aussi en tête de son *corpus* d'introductions à l'étude de l'Ecriture

de la citation du traité *Quid faciat haereticum* de Primase d'Hadrumète.[1] Mais la mention la plus intéressante est celle de la *Defensio Trium Capitulorum* que l'évêque Facundus d'Hermiane composa au cours de l'hiver 547–548.[2] Avec la remarque concernant la copie du commentaire réparti sur trois manuscrits et la mention du dessin du

(1122 BD cf. *supra* p. 270 n. 3 et *infra* p. 284 n. 3. 367 D: *Nam . . . disseruit* pourrait être également une ajoute (cf. *infra*. Sinon, les notes bibliographiques sont le plus souvent rattachées au texte par *Unde*. Il est cependant difficile de se décider pour 122 D (cf. 153 C): citation de Cyrille d'Alex. *Adv. Nest.* Tout comme Vigile de Thapsus (*Patrol. lat.*, LXII, 152 D) et Théodoret dans son *Eranistès* (cf. *Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, VI [Louvain, 1905], 293, no. 13), Cassiodore a emprunté une citation (523 A) de l'*Homil. de Ascen.* de St Jean Chrysostome (*Patrol. graeca*, XLIX, 446 *med.*) au dossier qu'en 450 le pape Léon le Grand annexa à sa lettre au patriarche Flavien (Mansi, *Conc.*, VI, 967). Cf. Chr. Baur, *St Jean Chrys.* (Louvain, 1907), p. 72 et 11 (Cette citation ne figurait pas dans le dossier du concile de Chalcédoine).

[1] 836 D: 'Unde sanctus Primasius Justinianopoleos [Hadrumète fut rebaptisée ainsi en 534] disertus antistes sub titulo *Quid haereticum facit* librum unum conscripsisse dignoscitur.' La copie que Cassiodore possédait de ce traité faisait suite au commentaire du même auteur sur l'Apocalypse: *Inst.*, I, 9 (1124 C): 'Nostris quoque temporibus *Apocalypsis* praedicta beati episcopi Primasii antistitis africani studio minute ac diligenter quinque libris exposita est, quibus etiam liber unus *Quid faciat haereticum* cautissima disputatione subiunctus est.' On sait que Primase, qui n'avait cessé de se ranger à l'avis du pape Vigile, souscrivit son premier *Constitutum* qui évitait de condamner les Trois Chapitres, le 12 mai 553 (Mansi, *Conc.*, IX, 106 C, cf. 199 B; Vict. Tonn., *Monum. Germ. hist., Auct. Antiq.*, XI, 202,20) Il fut enfermé dans un couvent. Victor de Tunnuna, fougeux adversaire de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, rapporte (à tort sous l'année 552, *loc. cit.*), qu'afin de recueillir la succession de l'évêque Boethus, comme primat de Byzacène, Primase adhéra (en 554) au second *Constitutum*, par lequel le pape lança l'anathème exigé par l'empereur. Mais Primase fut excommunié par les évêques de sa province et il ne fut reconnu qu'à force de persécutions dirigées par l'autorité civile. Il mourut en 558. (Cf. p. ex. Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), p. 434 ss.). Ces données ne permettent pas de dater la mention de Cassiodore, puisque Primase signait déjà le premier *Constitutum* comme évêque d'Hadrumète. En effet, les primats africains, sauf l'évêque de Carthage, n'étaient pas de vrais métropolitains. Le titre revenait de droit à l'évêque le plus ancien de la province. (P. Monceaux, *L'Afrique chr.*, III [Paris, 1905], p. 88–89; G. Lapeyre, *St Fulgence de Ruspe*, [Paris, 1929], p. 147). — *Beatus* se dit aussi des vivants; cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 289.

[2] 994 A: 'Unde etiam Facundus venerabilis episcopus, haereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor, nuper ad Iustinianum principem scribens de duabus naturis Domini Christi duos libellos caute nimis luculenterque tractavit, quos vobis transcriptos reliqui, ut nec antiquis egeatis tractatoribus nec modernis.' G. Krüger, dans Schanz, IV, 2 (1920), p. 583, 41, a admis avec raison, qu'il faut lire *duodecim libellos* (quoique le *Paris BN. 12241* [*Corbie*], s. VIII et le *Brux. 1229* [*5460–5461*] s. X, fo 131 vb, p. ex., donnent également *duos*), car, c'est au pape qu'était adressé le mémoire privé, par lequel Facundus dut motiver son opinion dans la question des Trois Chapitres, tout comme les autres évêques qui assistèrent au synode que Vigile présida, lorsqu'il était déjà gagné à la cause de la condamnation, *Patrol. lat.*, LXV, 527 B–528 C; 859 B 14–861 B 13. Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des Conc.*, III, 1 (Paris, 1909), 18–19, 22–26. Pour la chronologie, ce point controversé est d'ailleurs sans importance, puisque Facundus acheva son traité peu après les trois réunions de ce synode, qui se rassembla à la suite de la réconcilia-

Tabernacle exécuté dans le *codex grandior*, c'est l'unique allusion que ce commentaire fait à l'œuvre réalisée à Vivarium. Par sa façon de s'adresser à des personnes que le contexte ne permet pas d'identifier, elle se révèle également comme une note marginale. D'autre part, elle donne clairement à entendre que la bibliothèque de Vivarium était déjà abondamment pourvue. Il n'est pas admissible que dans tout son commentaire Cassiodore ne se serait adressé à ses moines qu'une seule fois et incidemment, quand sa fondation avait déjà acquis une telle ampleur, alors que dans sa préface il rappelle les fonctions qu'il a déposées à Ravenne. Au contraire, si on refusait de considérer cette citation comme une ajoute postérieure,[1] il faudrait dater ce commentaire entre 548 et 550. Car, à cette dernière date, nous avons vu Cassiodore intervenir contre le diacre Rusticus, qui s'opposait à la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*, et vraisemblablement Facundus se tenait alors déjà caché, tout en soutenant l'opposition d'au fond de sa retraite, d'où il lança encore son *Contre Mocianum* en 571.[2] Dans ce cas, l'ex-ministre ne pouvait qualifier l'adversaire le plus acharné de la politique religieuse de Justinien d'*haereticorum penetrabili subtilitate destructor*. On conçoit néanmoins, qu'il l'ait désigné de la sorte dans une note marginale destinée à ses moines et en égard aux mérites que l'évêque africain s'était acquis par sa défense de l'orthodoxie romaine dans la question christologique. Le *nuper scribens* peut même comporter un laps de temps assez long, par rapport aux *antiquis tractatoribus*. A la rigueur, on pourrait restreindre l'interpolation aux mots 'quos vobis transcriptos reliqui, ut nec antiquis egeatis tractatoribus nec modernis,' et admettre que Cassiodore aurait publié sa première œuvre depuis sa *conversio* en 548–549, c. à d. après dix années d'études. Sinon, cette mention établirait non seulement qu'en 548 le monastère de Vivarium était déjà fondé depuis un certain temps, mais aussi que l'ex-ministre

tion du pape avec le patriarche de Constantinople (laquelle eut lieu, d'après Théophane, le 29 juin 547; Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *loc. cit.* p. 22) et avant le *Judicatum* de Vigile (11 avril 548). Cf. Facund. *Def.*, II, 6, (*Patrol. lat.*, LXVII, 577).

[1] Pourtant, la phrase suivante 'Quapropter relinquamus aliquando adversantium contentiones illicitas,' se comprend très bien en fonction de la thèse qui précède (993 D 3): 'si quis confessus fuerit . . . , rectam doctrinam et hoc quod confessus est perimit.'

[2] Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, t. IV, 2, p. 382.

n'était pas entré dans sa fondation, puisqu'il apparaît en 550 à Constantinople comme *vir religiosus* à côté du patrice Cethegus. Moine, il n'aurait pu occuper ce rang. Pour ma part, je crois que ce passage a été interpolé entièrement et que le commentaire sur les *Psaumes* n'a pas été édité trop longtemps après le *De anima*.

Cassiodore a d'ailleurs pourvu également ses *Inst.* de pareilles ajoutes. A ce propos, on a déjà relevé la remarque qui termine la notice consacrée à St Jérôme. L'ex-ministre y signale la lettre que le grand traducteur adressa à Paulin de Nole, et il déclare que s'il l'avait connue avant qu'il eut composé cette introduction à l'étude de l'Ecriture (*opere iam confecto*), il n'aurait pas abordé ce sujet traité par le grand docteur.[1] Un renvoi à l'*epistola Hieronymi ad Chromatium*, dont l'authenticité a été fort controversée, est manifestement passé de la marge dans le texte.[2] Ailleurs Cassiodore fait remarquer qu'il a joint le *De inventione* de Cicéron aux *Inst.* de Quintilien pour remplir le manuscrit; qu'il a, par contre, fait copier l'*Ars rhet.* de Fortunatien *in pugillari codice*.[3] Or, immédiatement après, nous lisons: 'quos codices cum praefatione sua in uno corpore reperietis esse collectos.' Postérieurement à la composition de ses *Inst.*, Cassiodore avait donc réuni ces traités en un *corpus* de rhétorique, pareil aux recueils dans lesquels il avait rassemblé des introductions à l'étude de l'Ecriture,[4]

[1] Cependant, A. Franz, *Cass. Senator* (Breslau, 1872), p. 48, ne cite qu'*Inst.* I, 21, 1136 AB; 'Is epistolam . . . imbuantur.' Le passage inséré va jusqu'à la fin du chapitre. Il interrompt la suite des idées avec le chapitre suivant consacré à St Augustin. — M. Th. Stettner a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition sa collation du *Bamb.*, du *Wirceb.* et de quelques autres MSS des *Inst.*, d'après lesquels je corrige le texte de Garet dans toutes mes citations.

[2] *Inst.*, I, 32, 1147 CD: 'Et ideo . . . passiones martyrum legite constanter [quas inter alia in epistola s. Hieronymi ad Chromatium et Heliodorum destinata (*am* Bamb.) procul dubio reperitis], qui (*quae* Bamb.) per totum orbem terrarum floruere, ut sancta imitatio vos provocans . . .' Cf. B. Krusch, *Neues Archiv. d. Gesellsch. f. ält. dt. Gesch.*, XXVI (1901), 368–369 et 372–376; Schanz, IV, 1 (1914), 442.

[3] *Inst.*, II, 2 (Halm, *Reth. lat.*, p. 498=1164 CD). P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXIV (1917), p. 369, se demande, si dans le *Bern. 363*, s. IX ex., nous ne posséderions pas la rédaction abrégée (*redegimus*) de ce traité que Cassiodore avait exécuter dans ce MS. 'qu'on tient aisément en la paume de la main.' Mais le *Bern.* ne laisse tomber que rarement la forme par questions et réponses. De plus, dans ce MS., le traité de Fortunatien est suivi des *Princ. dial.* et *Princ. rhet.* d'Augustin, tout comme dans le *Darmst. 166*, s. VII, qui ne présente pas cette rédaction simplifiée (cf. *Hermes*, XXIV (1889), 161 ss.). Celle-ci est donc l'œuvre du copiste du *Bern.* ou de son archétype.

[4] Cf. *supra* p. 272 n. 2.

des manuels de grammaire, des extraits d'orthographie ou des texts-books de logique.[1] Il les avait également pourvus d'une préface. Depuis le IVe siècle, la substitution du *codex* au *volumen*, qui ne contenait généralement qu'un seul livre d'un ouvrage,[2] permettait de réunir des matières semblables dans un même manuscrit. Cette pratique n'était sans doute point ignorée des contemporains de Cassiodore, mais elle reçut de lui une application si systématique qu'elle constitue l'une des caractéristiques les plus saillantes de son œuvre.[3] Elle fut d'ailleurs reprise sur une grande échelle au Moyen-Age.[4]

Même après que ses *Inst.* eurent été divulguées dans l'édition que reproduit la classe de MSS du *Bamberg.*, Cassiodore ne cessa de tenir à jour la description qu'elles donnent de son œuvre à Vivarium, au fur et à mesure qu'il la complétait. La tradition du premier remaniement du second livre des *Inst.* (groupe de MSS du *Wirceb.*) en fait foi à propos du *corpus* de grammaire, dont elle détaille le contenu en des termes qui décèlent la main du seigneur de Squillace.[5] En effet, ce recueil n'avait compris primitivement que la *Grammaire* de Donat,

[1] Cf. *infra* n. 3; p. 288, n. 1.

[2] Cf. Th. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin, 1882), p. 95 ss. et *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* (*Handbuch* de I. v. Müller, I, 3), 1913, p. 293 ss., 344 ss. — W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei d. Griechen u. Römern* (Berlin, 1907), p. 101–112, s'est élevé contre la tendance à dater trop tardivement l'usage du *codex*. Au IIe siècle, celui-ci aurait déjà été passablement répandu. Cependant le *corpus* est une forme particulière de l'emploi du *codex* et est certainement plus récent. Cf. Birt, *Buchwesen*, p. 41. — Cassiodore faisait copier ses MSS sur des *codices* en parchemin, car il signale expressément que les commentaires de Pélage, non revisés par lui, étaient contenus *in chartaceo codice* (1119 B). D'autre part, il mentionne quelques lignes plus loin, que l'exposé de St Augustin sur l'Epître de St Jacques figurait in *membranaceo codice* (1120 B). Le docteur d'Hippone ne faisait pas grand cas de ces notes (*Retract.*, II, 58), qui n'ont point été conservées. Cassiodore ne les possédait sans doute pas dans ses manuscrits en papyrus des grands ouvrages de St Augustin qu'il avait acquis, le papyrus étant répandu davantage au Ve siècle, mais dans une copie de traités secondaires que lui-même avait peut-être réunis.

[3] *In hoc corpore continentur* est même une des expressions favorites de Cassiodore, mais le plus souvent elle est synonyme de *in hoc codice* et n'est point propre à notre auteur. Cf. L. Traube, dans *Theodosiani libri XVI* . . . (éd. Th. Mommsen, P. Meyer), *tabulae sex* (Berlin, 1905), p. II. Cf. G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1914, p. 239, n. 1.

[4] L'étude des *corpus* de logique m'a permis de préciser *Les Etapes du Développement philosophique du Haut-Moyen-Age*, dans la *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1929, p. 425–452. J'espère pouvoir consacrer bientôt un ouvrage aux *corpus* du Haut Moyen-Age.

[5] On peut lire les deux versions chez Laubmann, *Sitzungsberichte bayer. Akad.*, phil.-hist.-Kl., 1878, II, 79 ou dans Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VII, 216, I, qui adopte le texte du MS. de Würzbourg:

suivie peut-être des commentaires de Servius.[1] Les extraits d'orthographie que Cassiodore avait tirés de différents auteurs formaient d'abord un ouvrage distinct.[2] Ce n'est que par la suite que l'auteur les réunit à ce *codex*, en même temps qu'il y ajouta un choix d'étymologies,[3] ainsi que le *De schematibus* de Sacerdos, que nous ne possédons plus. Lorsqu'âgé de 93 ans il édita son *De orthographia*, il l'augmenta de quatre chapitres qu'il plaça en tête et à la fin de ces extraits. Quand alors dans la préface de cette édition il dressa la liste de ses œuvres postérieures à sa *conversio*, il ne mentionna plus, dans la description de ce *corpus* de grammaire, le *liber de orthographia* qu'il éditait.[4] Le premier remaniement des *Inst.* (classe de MSS du *Wirceb.*) a donc fait usage d'une copie qui remonte à un exemplaire dans lequel l'ex-ministre avait précisé le contenu de ce *corpus* postérieurement à la divulgation de son traite d'après l'archétype du *Bamberg*.[5]

Bamb.	:	*Wirceb.=1153 D*
Haec breviter de definitionibus tantummodo dicta sufficiant	:	Haec breviter dicta sufficiant.
Ceterum qui ea voluerit latius pleniusque cognoscere cum praefatione sua codicem legat quem de grammatica feci arte conscribi	:	nostra curiositate formavimus,
	:	id est artem Donati, cui de orthographia li-
	:	brum et alium de etymologiis inseruimus,
	:	quartum quoque de schematibus Sacerdotis
	:	adiunximus,
quatenus diligens lector		
invenire possit, quod illi proposito	:	in uno codice reperire possit, quod arti gram-
	:	maticae
deputatum esse cognoscit.		

On rapprochera du texte du *Wirceb.* la description (1112 D) du *corpus* des 'introductores Scripturae divinae . . . quos *sedula curiositate* collegi, ut . . . *in uno corpore* adunati codices clauderentur' et 1145 C '[auctores orthographos] quos ego quantos potui *studiosa curiositate* collegi.' *Reperire* est également une expression caractéristique de Cassiodore, par laquelle il désigne les manuscrits qu'il a mis à la disposition de ses moines.

[1] Cf. n. précédente le texte du *Bamb.*; *infra* n. 4 et *Inst.* II, 1, 1152 C 4.

[2] *Inst.*, I, 30, 1145 C: '. . . in libro sequestrato atque composito qui inscribitur De orthographia;' *ib.* I, 15, 1129 B ' . . . extrinsecus huic libro De orthographia titulum dedi.'

[3] H. Erdbruegger, *Cass. unde etymol. in psalt. comment. prolatas petivisse putandas sit* (Inaug.-Diss., Iena, 1912), établit qu'un tiers (55) de ces étymologies proviennent du *De lingua lat.* de Varron. L'auteur suppose que Cassiodore aurait réuni ce recueil déjà avant sa *conversio*.

[4] *De orth. praef.*, IV, (p. 144, 7, éd. Keil=1240 D) '. . . codicem in quo artes Donati cum commentis suis et librum de etymologiis et alium librum Sacerdotis de schematibus (Cf. 1153 C) domino praestante collegi.'

[5] Je signalerai encore deux retouches intéressantes que la tradition du *Wirceb.* présente en

La formation tardive du *corpus* de traités de rhétorique et les remaniements que Cassiodore avait fait subir à celui consacré à là grammaire, et enfin son édition complétéé de son recueils d'auteurs d'orthographie à l'âge de 93 ans, prouvent que s'il s'occupa en premier lieu à pourvoir la bibliothèque de ses moines d'un ensemble très complet d'exposés scripturaires encadrant un texte revisé de l'Ecriture,[1] il multiplia par la suite ses efforts et ses instances pour recommander et faciliter l'étude des arts libéraux.[2] Il fut sans doute impressionné par la décadence prodigieusement rapide de l'enseignement et de la culture littéraire après les dévastations de la guerre gothique. Dans l'introduction de ses *Inst.*, il rappelle que de concert avec le pape Agapet (535–536) il avait voulu fonder une université chrétienne à Rome, les études profanes étant pratiquées avec ardeur,[3] tandis que la science sacrée n'était point l'objet d'un enseignement public. Certes, son manuel insiste beaucoup sur la nécessité de se servir des arts libéraux dans l'étude ed l'Ecriture. Mais on y rencontre pas mal d'expressions moins catégoriques et plus réservées ('earum rerum . . . non refugienda cognitio; scripturae saeculares non debent respui'),[4] que celle qui nous frappe dans l'introduction de son *De orthographia*: 'labor nobis antiquorum omnino servandus est, ne

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propre, sans qu'elles puissent être l'œuvre de l'interpolateur des *Inst.* qui ne s'intéressait guère aux choses de Vivarium (Cf. *infra* p. 289): 1205 D, [Gaudentium] . . . amicus noster (om. *Bamb., Sangall. 855*) vir disertissimus Mutianus transtulit in latinum; 1212 C: habetis hic (om. *Bamb. Sangall.*) Gaudentium Mutiani latinum (om. *Bamb. Sangall.*). Cependant, aussi longtemps qu'on ne sera pas informé sur la teneur des autres MSS de la première classe, on ne pourra pas assurer qu'il ne s'agit ici d'une omission dans un groupe de ces MSS.

[1] Toutefois, le *corpus* des *text-books* (*auctoritates*) de logique est déjà mentionné dans 'la rédaction authentique' (cf. Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 85). Cependant, Cassiodore ne possédait sur cette matière qu'une collection très incomplète de traités. Cf. *infra* p. 288.

[2] Evidemment, il ne cessa de consacrer son attention aux études sacrées. Le *liber titulorum* et les *Complexiones* sont postérieures à ses *Inst.*, et vraisemblablement même à ces remaniements; car, dans la liste chronologique placée en tête du *Deorth.*, le *corpus* de grammaire est mentionné — quoique d'après son ultime remaniement — avant ces travaux scripturaires (cf. *supra* p. 271 n. 4).

[3] *Praef.* début: 'Cum studia saecularium litterarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem.' Cf. par contre Boèce, *In Cat.*, *Patrol. lat.*, LXIV, 231, C 6: 'Multae quoque sunt artes quas esse quidem in suae naturae ratione perspicimus, quarum neglectus scientiam sustulit. Multum ego ipse iam metuo ne hoc verissime de omnibus studiis liberalibus dicatur.' Le 'Dernier des Romains' attribuait la décadence des sciences à la *desidia*, cf. *ib.*, 232 C 14; *In Cic. Top.*, 1152 C; *II In περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, l. II, praef., p. 79, 4, éd. Meiser.

[4] 1141 A et *Conclusio*, éd. Mai. *Classici Auct.*, III (Rome, 1831), 350 ss.

nos auctores earum rerum mentiamur qui sequaces esse cognoscimur.'[1]

Cependant, écrivant pour des moines, Cassiodore traite les arts libéraux en sciences auxiliaires de la théologie, suivant en cela le programme des Pères de l'Eglise et spécialement le *De doctrina chr.* de St Augustin. Certes, lui-même cite parfois Virgile et ne se dépouille pas entièrement de ses habitudes de lettré[2]; mais nulle part il ne recommande — ni ne défend, il est vrai, — de lire les poètes.[3] Pour les religieux, le but essentiel de l'étude est de s'élever jusqu'à la pleine intelligence des livres saints. A l'époque de Cassiodore, engager des moines à l'étude systématique de l'Ecriture constituait déjà une entreprise très remarquable. Nous ne connaissons personne qui à cette date l'ait réalisée en Occident avec autant de méthode et en faisant largement appel aux sciences profanes.[4] L'ex-ministre, qui déjà durant l'exercice de ses fonctions à la Cour lisait la Bible

[1] p. 143, 8 éd. Keil, VII = 1239 C 11. Cf. *Inst.*, 1141 A: 'Sit ergo *antiquorum labor* opus nostrum, ut quod illi latius plurimis codicibus ediderunt, nos brevissime . . . secundo volumine [scil. Institutionum] collecta pandamus, et quod illi ad exercendas versutias derivarunt, nos ad veritatis obsequia laudabili devotione revocemus.' Cf. *supra* p. 268 n. 1.

[2] M. Bacherler, 'Cassiodors Dichterkenntnisse u. Dichterzitate,' Blätter f. d. baeyer. Gymn., 1923, p. 215–224, établit que beaucoup de ses citations d'auteurs ne supposent pas une connaissance directe de leurs œuvres.

[3] Cf. M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des Lettres classiques d'Auasone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), p. 131–143; 175–187; —F. Schneider se méprend aussi grossièrement sur l'œuvre de Cassiodore à Vivarium que précédemment sur son action politique, lorsqu'il déclare, 'Cass. ging nicht von kirchlichen Zwecke, sondern vom Interesse an der röm. Literatur aus.' Avec raison, Dom. J. Chapman, *St Benedict and the VI Century* (London, 1929), p. 89, cite ce passage des *Inst.*, I, 28, 1142 A, comme caractérisant le plus complètement le point de vue monastique de Cassiodore à ce sujet:

'Verumtamen nec illud patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur, quia exinde non minimum ad sacras scripturas sensus noster instruitur, si tamen divina gratia suffragante notitia ipsarum rerum sobrie ac rationabiliter inquiratur, ut non in ipsis habeamus spem provectus nostri, sed per ipsa transeuntes, desideremus nobis a patre luminum proficuam salutaremque sapientiam debere concedi.'

[4] Une étude critique et complète sur l'enseignement durant les premiers siècles du monachisme est encore à faire. Il ne faut pas non plus attribuer à Cassiodore l'initiative d'avoir introduit dans les monastères la copie des manuscrits ou l'étude de l'Ecriture. La règle de St Pacôme (†346) prescrivait déjà aux moines de savoir lire et écrire, sinon de suivre à cet effet des leçons trois fois par jour. (Holstenius, *Cod. regul.*, I (Rome, 1661,), 83 §139—140, cf. § 25. Dans ses fondations il y avait une corporation de moines copistes (cf. Lenain de Tillemont, *Mémoires*, VII [Paris, 1700], 179–80). St Jérôme enseignait la grammaire aux moines de son monastère à Bethléem (*Apol. adv. Ruf.*, I, 30–31 [*Patrol. lat.*, XXIII, 421–4], cité par E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* [Cambridge, Mass., 1928], p. 120). En

avec ferveur[1] et méditait la fondation d'une école de théologie, composa peu après un traité d'édification comme le *De anima*, et commenta les *Psaumes* en insistant sur cette idée commune aux Pères de l'Eglise, que toute la culture littéraire, voire toute la science profane, sont contenues dans l'Ecriture et y ont été empruntées,[2] a simplement laissé suivre à ses goûts et à ses préoccupations littéraires qui caractérisaient sa personnalité, l'évolution décadente de son époque, lorsqu'il réalisa l'étude de l'Ecriture dans une fondation monastique.

Car, dans l'Italie ruinée par vingt années de guerre, dominée par les Byzantins ou envahie par les Lombards, le culte des lettres avait été abandonné avec la dislocation de la classe sénatoriale dont avait constitué l'apanage.[3] C'était cette noblesse qui sous le règne restaurateur de Théodoric avait continué les traditions littéraires que ses membres païens, les Symmaque, les Nicomaque, les Prétextat, avaient dressées naguère contre le christianisme triomphant.[4] Entre 494 et 535 leurs descendants chrétiens avaient donné encore des éditions revisées de Virgile, d'Horace, du *De bello gallico*, de

Gaule il y avait des écoles célèbres, comme celles de Lérins. Cf. P. Lahargou, *De Schola Lerinensi* (Paris, 1892). D'autre part, Cassien et Grégoire le Grand rejetaient l'appoint des arts libéraux pour l'étude de l'Ecriture. Cf. Roger, *loc. cit.:* E. K. Rand *loc. cit.*, p. 234 ss.—Cf. encore A. Hauck, *Kirchengesch. Deutschl.*, II² (1912), 61 ss. et quelques suggestions de Dr Erna Patzelt, *Die Karol. Renaissance* (Wien, 1924), p. 41 ss. et de Dom J. Chapman, *loc. cit.*, p. 90–91. Le plaidoyer de Mgr Amelli (Dom-Abbé du Mont-Cassin), 'Cass. e S. Benedetto,' *Riv. stor. bened.*, XI (1920), 168–172, renouvelant celui de Dom Garet, *Patrol. lat.* LXIX, 483 ss., pour établir que Cassiodore aurait été influencé par St Benoît, est resté sans effet. (Cf. R. Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1923, p. 188). Cependant, avec beaucoup de perspicacité, Dom. J. Chapman, *loc. cit.*, p. 93–110, a recherché dans les œuvres de Cassiodore les traces d'influence de la règle de St Benoît; mais les résultats auxquels l'auteur est arrivé, ne seront tout à fait probants, que lorsqu' on aura examiné davantage les sources communes aux deux œuvres; cf. *supra* p. 262 n. 1. A juste titre, il interprète p. 109–110, *præceptoris proprii* (1147 A): 'l'auteur de la règle de ses moines' et il conclut que Cassiodore avait adopté la règle bénédictine. La chose n'a rien d'invraisemblable. Quant aux soins que Cassiodore consacra à l'instruction de ses moines, Dom Chapman admet, avec tout le monde, qu'ils distinguent nettement la fondation de l'ex-ministre de la congrégation naissante de son contemporain.

[1] *Var.*, IX, 25, p. 292, 31: 'hos igitur mores lectio divina solidavit.'

[2] Cf. *In. Ps.*, *passim et præsertim præf.*, c. 15, 20 C; *Inst.*, *præf.*, 1108 C et I, 4, 1115 C.

[3] Cf. p. ex. C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, VIII (Paris, 1926), 242 ss.

[4] G. Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, II (Paris, 1891), 227 ss. Cf. Clifford H. Moore, 'The Pagan Reaction in the IVth Century.' *Transactions and Proc. American Philol. Assoc.*, L (1919), 128.

Pomponius Mela, de Valère Maxime, du Commentaire de Macrobe sur le *Somnium Scipionis*, du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella, des poésies de Sédulius.[1] Par contre, durant la seconde partie du VIe siècle, les suscriptions des manuscrits ne nous révèlent que la revision d'œuvres théologiques. Chose curieuse à première vue, toutes proviennent de l'Italie du Sud. Rome, en effet, ne se releva pas de sitôt des sièges et des assauts qu'elle avait subis pendant la guerre gothique, et l'Italie du Nord était soumise à l'invasion des Lombards. Ainsi, un anonyme corrigea en 559 un *De Trinitate* de St Augustin 'in territorio Cumano in possessione nostra Ascheruscio' (*Divion.* 141, s. XI); à Aquino (vraisemblablement avant 590) le grammairien Dulcitius corrigea, ponctua, et pourvit de notes à la façon de Cassiodore une copie en papyrus du *De Trin.* de St Hilaire de Poitiers (*Vindob. 2160*, s. VI). *Petrus notarius eccl. cath. Neapolitanae* corrigea en 582 durant le siège de Naples par les Lombards (*Paris. 11642* [*Corbie*] s. IX), le choix d'extraits des œuvres de St Augustin, qu'avant d'être abbé du monastère de St Sévérin *in castello Lucullano* (Castel dell'ovo à Naples), Eugippius avait dédié au début du VIe siècle à la parente de Cassiodore, l'illustre vierge Proba, la consœur de Galla, qui était fille de Symmaque et belle-sœur de Boèce. C'est à ces nobles femmes que le champion du monachisme, l'évêque africain St Fulgence, exilé en Sardaigne, avait adressé (entre 510 et 520),[2] de courts traités d'édification sous forme de lettres, tout comme il était en relation avec d'autres cercles aristocratiques à Rome et avec Eugippius lui-même, qui lui fit copier différentes œuvres de sa bibliothèque.[3] L'abbé de Lucullanum resta d'ailleurs en correspondance avec le disciple et biographe de Fulgence (†532), le diacre Ferrandus de Carthage (†546–547)[4] dont nous avons conservé également un billet

[1] Cf. chez Traube, *Vorlesungen*, II (Munich, 1911), 124–5 (cf. Gercke-Norden, *Einll. in d. Altertumswiss.* I, 4 [1923], 96), la bibliographie de leurs suscriptions réunies par O. Jahn, Reifferscheid, etc.

[2] Cf. G. Lapeyre, *St Fulgence de Ruspe* (Paris, 1929), p. 232 ss.; cf. p. 327 pour la date.

[3] Cf. *supra* p. 254; G. Krüger dans Schanz, IV, 2, 1233, 1239; *Patrol. lat.* LXV, 348: 'Obsecro ut libros quos opus habemus servi tui describant de codicibus vestris.'

[4] En 546, Ferrandus fut consulté par la Cour de Rome au sujet de la condamnation des *Trois Chapitres*. Il s'entretint également avec le *scholasticus* Severus de Constantinople concernant la question théopaschite. Enfin, nous avons encore de lui une lettre à l'abbé Félix, sans doute, l'ami de St Fulgence, que j'identifie avec l'abbé du monastère de Gillium

au questeur Junilius de Constantinople, l'auteur des *Instituta regularia* (551).[1]

Après la mort d'Eugippius, auquel Denys le Petit avait dédié avec beaucoup de vénération sa traduction du Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου de Grégoire de Nysse,[2] le monastère de Lucullanum continua à être un centre d'attraction littéraire. Un *presbyter Donatus . . . infirmus* y corrigea en 569 son propre manuscrit de la traduction de Rufin du commentaire d'Origène sur l'*Epître aux Romains* (*Casin. 150* [*346*], s. VI), ainsi que le *De adulteratione librorum Origenis de Rufin* et sa traduction du Περὶ ἀρχῶν du même auteur (*Mettens. 225*, s. XI).[3] En 560, un certain Facistus (Faustus ?) copia un épistolaire de St Augustin d'après un manuscrit de cette abbaye (*Paris. n. acq. 1143* [*Cluniac.*], s. IX). Mais la plus célèbre suscription est celle de l'année 558 dans les *Evangiles* d'Echternach (*Paris. 9389*, s. VII): 'Proemendavi ut potui secundum codicem de bibliotheca eugipi praespiteri quem ferunt fuisse sci hironimi . . .'[4] Par une série de brillantes déductions, Dom J. Chapman a cru établir[5] que le reviseur anonyme aurait été Cassiodore dans les septième volume de son principal texte de l'Ecriture.[6] Eugippius, — que l'ex-ministre a connu et auquel il consacra

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en Afrique (cf. R. L. Poole, *Engl. Hist. Review*, XXXIII [1918], 211–3); G. Lapeyre, *St Fulg. de Ruspe*, (Paris, 1929), p. 110, n. 16. qui en 553, s'opposa à Constantinople avec le diacre Rusticus à la politique du pape Vigile et mourut en exil en 557 (Vict. Tonn., Chron., *ad a.*, et lettre de Vigile, *supra* p. 255 n. *cit.*) Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, §1233 et *Harnack-Ehrung* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 220 ss. Les lettres de Ferrandus publiées par Mai et par Reifferscheid d'aprés le *Casin. 16*, s. XI, ont été éditées également dans le *Florilegium* de la *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, I (1874), 193 ss.—Cf. maintenant G. Lapeyre, *Introd. sur la Vie et l'œuvre de Ferrandus* (Paris, 1929).

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 259.

[2] A l'instar de Denys le Petit, Ferrandus composa une *Breviatio canonum*, à la suite de laquelle un laïque de Carthage, Cresconius, composa une autre compilation de ce genre, tirée de l'œuvre similaire de Denys et conservée entre autre dans le *Veron. 62*, s. VIII/IX (cf. Schanz, *loc. cit.*, p. 574–575).

[3] W. A. Baehrens, 'Ueberl. u. Textgesch. d. lat. . . Origenes Homilien z.A.T.,' *Texte u. Unters. z. altchr. Lit.*, XLII, 1(1916), 193.

[4] Sur ces suscriptions chrétiennes cf. Traube, *Vorles.*, I (Munich, 1909), 108; R. Beer, dans *Monumenta paleographica Vindob.*, I (1911), 9 ss.; II (1913), 14 ss.

[5] *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), p. 23 ss., et *Rev. bénéd.*, 1911, p. 283–295. Le savant abbé de Downside Abbey (Bath) eut l'obligeance de m'écrire qu'il est toujours du même avis. Cf. cependant, E. v. Dobschütz, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 1909, p. 617–621 et Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1909, p. 112.

[6] Nous posséderions ainsi un nouvel élément pour la chronologie des *Inst.*

une notice dans ses *Inst.*, en même temps qu'à Denys le Petit, — se serait procuré ce texte revisé par St Jérôme dans la bibliothèque de son ancienne correspondante et parente de Cassiodore, l'illustre Proba, dont les ancêtres avaient été en relation avec le grand traducteur. Vers 546, date de l'achèvement du *Fuldensis*, la bibliothèque de Lucullanum aurait prêté le même texte à Victor de Capoue (év. de 541 à 544), autre célébrité de l'Italie du Sud à cette époque.[1]

Il est intéressant de constater que ce sont surtout des textes scripturaires, comme le *Fuldensis*, le *codex grandior* de Cassiodore, et peut-être ses pandectes hieronymiennes ou la source de l'*Amiatinus*, auxquels les Irlandais se sont attachés, et que Ceolfrid, en particulier, rapporta de Rome à Jarrow durant le dernier quart du VIIe siècle.[2] Ces renseignements laissent supposer que la bibliothèque de Cassiodore aurait été transportée dans la Ville Eternelle au VIIe siècle, lorsque le rite grec s'installa dans l'Italie du Sud.[3] Mais la majeure partie des manuscrits de l'ex-ministre émigra vers l'Italie du Nord, surtout au monastère de Bobbio (près de Milan) et à Vérone.[4] Ici encore, une bonne partie des auteurs profanes provenant de la bibliothèque privée de Cassiodore[5] devinrent des palimpsestes. Cependant, le fait que bon nombre de traductions que l'ex-ministre avait fait

[1] Cf. G. Krüger dans Schanz, IV, p. 596, 8. Cependant, malgré ses quelques traductions d'*annotationes* de docteurs grecs et sa critique du cycle paschal de Victurius (550) puisée à des sources grecques (B. Krusch, *Neues Archiv.*, IX [1884] 111–113), ses mérites viennent d'être sérieusement diminués par la preuve (Dom D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 5–11), qu'il n'a point traduit une *Harmonie* grecque des Evangiles, mais se vante outre mesure d'avoir numéroté les sections d'un *Diatessaron* vulgate.

[2] En dernier lieu, Esposito, 'Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Mediaeval Ireland, I,' *Hermathena*, XX (Dublin, 1927–29), 227, s'est élevé contre la tendance à surestimer la culture classique des Irlandais.

[3] G. H. Hörle, *Frühmittelalterliche Mönchs- u. Klerikerbildung in Italien* (Freiburg i. Br., 1914), p. 9–12.

[4] R. Beer, 'Bemerkungen üb. d. ältesten Hssbestand d. Klosters Bobbio,' *Anzeiger d. Philos.-hist. Kl. d. Kais. Akad.* (Wien, 1911), n°XI.

[5] Dans ses *Inst.* qui décrivent la bibliothèque des moines, ne sont point mentionnés les grands classiques latins, dont la tradition de Vivarium semble nous avoir transmis les meilleures copies, et quelques unes dans ces éditions de la première moitié du VIe siècle, que nous avons signalées plus haut. Cf. W. Weinberger, 'Hss. von Vivarium,' *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, IV (Rome, 1924), 75–88. A propos des commentaires de Marius Victorinus sur le *De inventione* de Cicéron, Cassiodore déclare (1164 C): 'in bibliotheca mea vobis reliquisse cognoscor.' Par contre, l'archétype des Psaumes (l'un des neuf volumes de texte revisé de l'Ecriture, cf. *supra*. p. 268 n. 1) se trouvait (*in*) *bibliotheca vestra* (1115 D).

exécuter sont perdues[1] doit nous engager à ne pas trop facilement faire remonter à Vivarium la tradition de certains textes.[2]

Quant aux *Inst.*, la plus ancienne copie que nous en possédons et qui reproduit le texte authentique, le *Bamberg.*, fut exécutée au Mont Cassin sur l'ordre de Paul diacre, entre 779 et 797.[3] Comme nous avons pu le constater, son archétype ne quitta Vivarium qu'après que Cassiodore eut pourvu son traité de renseignements bibliographiques complémentaires, entre sa composition du *corpus* de *text-books* de rhétorique et le remaniement de son recueil de traités de grammaire. Dans le *Bamberg.*, le texte des *Inst.* est suivi d'une note par laquelle l'ex-ministre engage ses moines, conformément au plan d'études qu'il leur a tracé, à lire ensuite le *corpus* qu'il a formé d'introductions à l'étude de l'Ecriture.[4] Cette directive, tout comme celle qui fait

[1] Cf. *supra* p. 264 n. 2 à p. 266 n. 2.

[2] C'est le cas p. ex., pour la traduction que Rufin fit des homélies d'Origène sur l'Octateuque. M. W. Baehrens, *loc. cit. supra*. p. 282 n. 3 *cit.*, p. 186 ss., laisse dériver notre tradition de l'exemplaire de Cassiodore quoique nous ne possédions plus l'exposé du prêtre Bellator sur *Ruth* que l'ex-ministre avait fait ajouter aux trois volumes de la traduction de Rufin, ni même les quatre homélies sur le Deutéronome qui étaient comprises dans ceux-ci (1112 B).

[3] E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), p. 6 surtout. (cf. R. Lejay, *Rev. de Philologie*, XVIII (1894), 52; G. Morin, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1908, p. 486–87). Le MS. contient à la suite des *Inst.*: Mallius Theodorus, *De metris*; une copie unique du *De Cursu Stellarum* de Grég. de Tours; Isid., *De Nat. Rerum*.-L. Traube, *Abhandl. d. bayr. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XXIV (1904), p. 11 et *Sitzungsber. München*, 1900, p. 509, estime que ce codex a été apporté à Bamberg par l'empereur Otton III ou Henri II.—S. Milkau, 'Zu Cass.,' *Von Büchern u. Bibliotheken, Festschrift Kuhnert* (Berlin, 1928), p. 40, ignore l'origine cassinienne du MS. et suppose que le dessin que celui-ci présente des monastères de Cassiodore, ne dérive pas de l'archétype, mais a été fait dans l'Italie lombarde au VIIIe siècle.

[4] Elle est reproduite par Laubmann, *Sitzungsber. München*, 1878, II, 93; cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 286–287: 'Complexis quantum ego arbitror diligenterque tractatis institutionum duobus libris qui breviter divinas et humanas litteras comprehendunt, tempus est ut nunc edificatrices veterum regulas, id est codicem introductorium, legere debemus, qui ad sacras litteras nobiliter et salubriter introducunt.' Cf. *Inst*, I, 10, 1122 CD: 'De sex modis intelligentiae (scil. scripturae). Primum est *post huius operis instituta*, ut ad introductores Scripturae divinae, *quos postea reperimus*, sollicita mente redeamus, id est . . . ; quos sedula curiositate collegi, ut quibus erat similis intentio in uno corpore adunati codices clauderentur.'—*Reperimus* est l'expression propre à Cassiodore, par laquelle il désigne les ouvrages qu'il a mis à la disposition de ses moines Cf. *supra* p. 276 n. 3. (*Referemus* est une conjecture de Garet.) Dans la note qui termine le *Bamberg.*, 'id est codicem introductorium legere debemus,' me paraît être une ajoute d'un moine de Vivarium, visant à expliquer la référence obscure: 'edificatrices veterum regulas.' Cette interpolation aura fait tomber le verbe, p. ex.: (. . . regulas) adgnoscamus (cf. 1110 A 3, 1056 C 13; 1175 D 10, 13; 1167 B 6, 1171 B 7, etc.). Car je ne crois pas que Cassiodore ait pu écrire: 'tempus est ut nunc . . . legere debe ⟨a⟩ mus' ni 'codicem introductorium . . . qui . . . introducunt.' S'il y a interpolation, *quos postea reperi-*

suite à son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*,[1] les signes qui y mettent en évidence des matières se rapportant aux arts libéraux, les notes bibliographiques ajoutées postérieurement à ce commentaire, comme aux *Inst.*, établissent que les copies que nous possédons de ces œuvres ne proviennent pas d'éditions vulgarisées par l'auteur, mais ont été transcrites de manuscrits de Vivarium. La suscription du *Bamberg.*: 'Hic est codex archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi,' n'est de Cassiodore, ni de ses moines. Elle suppose une profonde corruption des *Inst.* déjà fort répandues. Dans cette tradition viciée, on n'hésitera pas à reconnaître le remaniement (groupe des MSS du *Wirceb.*),[2] que le second livre des *Inst.* a subi[3] sur une copie qui quitta Vivarium postérieurement à l'insertion des extraits d'orthographie au *corpus* de grammaire.

La première partie des *Inst.*, consacrées aux sciences sacrées, forme avant tout un répertoire bibliographique d'exposés scripturaires, dressé en marge de la description des neuf volumes, entre lesquels

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mus signifie vraisemblablement que Cassiodore avait fait copier ses *Inst.* en tête du *corpus* d'*introductores*. Mais ce n'est peut-être qu'une redondance qui insiste sur la directive, qu'il est dans l'ordre qu'après les *Inst.* les moines s'occupent des introductions à l'étude de l'Ecriture.

[1] Elle informe le lecteur qu'il convient d'étudier ensuite les *Proverbes* et leurs commentateurs (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1056 C; cf. *Inst.*, I, 4–5). On peut joindre cette note à la liste des ajoutes postérieures que j'ai relevées *supra*, p. 270. Dans les MSS, au dire de Garet (évidemment dans quelques-uns seulement), comme dans son édition, un résumé de l'exposé de Bède sur le *Cantique des Cantiques* (qui n'est pas de Juste d'Urgel, cf. D. De Bruyne, *Rev. bénéd.*, 1927, p. 261, n. 1), a été annexé aux commentaires de Cassiodore, sans doute en raison de cette note, plutôt qu'il ne l'ait provoquée. Car elle est entièrement conçue dans le style et conforme à la manière de l'ex-ministre, qui, en l'absence de maîtres, s'évertuait à faciliter à ses moines l'étude de l'Ecriture à l'aide de préfaces, d'annotations, de *corpus*, de renvois concernant l'ordre à suivre, etc.

[2] Les mots *ad cuius exemplaria* prouvent qu'il ne s'agit pas de cette habitude de Cassiodore de reviser et de déposer dans la bibliothèque de ses moines un archétype des œuvres très importantes, comme les Psaumes et le commentaire qu'il leur a consacré (cf. *Patrol. lat.*, LXX, 1115 D 14; 1130 A 10; 9 C 8). D'autre part, on saurait difficilement admettre que la tradition des *Inst.* se soit si profondément corrompue en moins de temps, que l'intervalle qui sépara à Vivarium la composition du *corpus* de grammaire de son premier remaniement; car sinon, pour la nouvelle édition Cassiodore ou ses moines auraient fait usage du texte authentique sur lequel l'interpolateur de la classe de *Wirceb.* a travaillé. Tout porte à croire que la suscription ne vient pas de Vivarium. Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 93, a signalé qu'elle est écrite sur un grattage et il suppose que le texte effacé n'était autre que le début de la note qui suit (*supra* p. 284 n. 4). Pour ma part aussi, j'admettrais volontiers que celle-ci a pu amener le copiste du Mont-Cassin ou son maître, Paul diacre, à reconnaître et à signaler dans la source du *Bamb.*, la tradition de l'archétype des *Inst.*, dont le texte authentique comporte deux livres.

[3] L. Spengel, *Philologus*, XVII (1861), 555–7, était déjà de cet avis, qu'on a trop négligé.

Cassiodore avait réparti un texte revisé de l'Ecriture, ainsi qu'une nomenclature des principaux travaux des Pères de l'Eglise et des historiens chrétiens réunis par l'ex-ministre et que ses moines devaient approfondir. Mais la seconde partie leur apportait un aperçu sommaire des arts libéraux, les initiant à ces sciences profanes qu'ils pouvaient étudier ensuite dans les manuels plus développés que le seigneur de Squillace avait mis à leur disposition. Il est réconfortant de constater qu'à l'époque de Grégoire le Grand il s'est trouvé quelqu'un qui ait jugé trop maigre cet aperçu des arts libéraux.[1] Il l'a complété.[2] Au chapitre consacré à la grammaire, il a introduit un long passage du *De nuptiis* de Martianus Capella que Cassiodore re-

[1] Comme il possédait les monographies de Boèce, qui ne réapparurent qu'à la fin du X• siècle, ainsi que son commentaire perdu sur les *Topiques* d'Aristote (cf. *infra*. p. 292 n. 2 et p. 287), on pourrait difficilement fixer ce remaniement beaucoup plus tard qu'à la fin du VI• siècle.

[2] H. Usener, 'Anecdota Holderi,' *Festschrift z. Begrüssung d. 32 Versamm'. dt. Philologenl* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 2 ss., a le premier donné un aperçu des trois classes de MSS des *Inst.* Cf. F. Perschinka, *Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnasien*, 1906, p. 315–323. Au sujet du premier remaniement (groupe de MSS du *Wirceb.*,), cf. Laubmann, *Sitzungsber., München*, 1878, II, 71 ss.; P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 290 ss.; Bacherler, *Berliner philol. Wochenschr.*, 1922, p. 1217; Th. Stettner, *Philologus*, 1926, p. 241. Ci-dessous, je décris sommairement le contenu des trois classes de MSS du second livre des *Inst.*, en mettant en retrait les modifications propres aux deux dernières classes. Des crochets [ ] indiquent dans les grandes lignes les parties de l'œuvre authentique (classe du *Bamb.*) que son remaniement (classe du *Wirceb.*) a négligées; des crochets repliés ⟨ ⟩ les passages que celui-ci à interpolés. Des signes doubles mettent en évidence les éléments que la refonte de ce remaniement (classe de l'*Augiens. cvi*) a ajoutés ou retranchés à celui-ci. Je mets entre parenthèses simples ou doubles les passages qui ont été déplacés par le premier ou le second remaniement. C'est celui-ci que Garet (*Patrol. lat.*, LXX) a pris comme base de son édition, tout en y introduisant quelques nouvelles modifications.

[1149–1151 B: 9]: Première partie de la préface des *Inst.*, II.

1151 B 10–1153 D 11: Seconde partie de la préface; ch. I, *De grammatica* (ed. Keil, *Gramm. lat.*, VII, 214).

⟨1153 D 12–15; [[Martian. Cap., §300–305, p. 130, 12, éd. Dick (Teubner, 1925); 1154 B 2–1157 B 10 = Mart. Cap., 305–316, p. 140, 1; Mart. Cap., 316 *l.c.*–324, p. 147, 3]]⟩: Extraits de Mart. Capella.

⟨⟨Halm, *Rhet. lat. min.*, p. 501, 5–16; 1157 B 14–1160 B 8 = Halm, p. 501, 17–504, 11⟩⟩: Extraits de Quintilien.

1160 B 9–1167 B 15: ch. II, *De rhetorica* (éd. Halm, p. 495).

1167 C 1–1175 D 12: ch. III, *De dialectica* (sauf le paragraphe *De topicis*).

((-(190 C 8–1192 C 5)-)): paragraphe authentique *De topicis*, déplacé différemment dans les deux remaniements.

⟨1175 D 12–1190 C 8; 1196 A 13–1252 C 12⟩: *De locis dialecticis et rhetoricis* = extraits de Boèce, *De topicis diff., Patrol. lat.* LXIV, 1173 D 5–1196 A 15; 1208 C 1–1216 C 10.

1202 C 13–1203 B 8: liste des auteurs de logique, mais complétée par le premier remaniement.

grettait de ne point posséder.[1] Au lieu de l'aperçu des *Topiques* qu'il déplaça à la fin du traité (à la suite du chapitre sur l'astronomie), il a inséré la majeure partie des livres I–II et IV du *De topicis differentiis* de Boèce, en copiant même les références que l'auteur y fait à d'autres de ses ouvrages. A peu près les mêmes extraits du traité du Dernier des Romains ont trouvé place dans la tradition de ses monographies, qui sont restées hors d'usage jusqu'à la fin du Xe siècle.[2] Les deux interpolations sont-elles l'œuvre d'un même auteur? En tout cas, ce n'est point fortuitement que le passage authentique de Cassiodore sur les topiques a été déplacé. Car le début et la fin de ce texte encadrent aussi les extraits du traité de Boèce. Le texte déplacé est suivi d'un aperçu des formes des syllogismes dans les trois figures qui fait également double emploi avec l'exposé qu'en donne le chapitre sur le dialectique d'une liste des paralogismes de la première figure, d'extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit rédigés pour l'année 562, enfin d'un passage sur l'opposition des propositions. Ces matières hétéroclites font l'impression de notes crayonnées sur des feuilles restées en blanc à la fin d'un quaternion. Toutes les copies de ce remaniement présentent ensuite les *Praecepta artis rhetoricae* de Julius Severianus, suivis d'un passage *De dialecticis locis*,

((1190 C 4–1192 C 5)): paragraphe authentique *De topicis* déplacé ici.

(((1192 C 6–1196 A 12: *De syllogismis, De paralogismis, De propositionum modis*)))

(((*De dialecticis locis*, éd. Joh. Sichardus, *Disciplinarum liberalium orbis* (Bâle, 1528) f° 41–43))).

1203 B 9–1214 A 2: chap. IV-VI, *De arithmetica, De musica, De geometria.*

⟨⟨1214 A 3–1216 B 12⟩⟩: *Principia geometricae disciplinae.*

1216 B 14–1220 A 2: chap. VII, *De astronomia.*

[*Conclusio*, éd. Maï, *Class. auct.*, t. III (Rome, 1831, p. 350 ss.⟩

((-(1190 C 4–1192 C 5; 1202 C 13–D 10)-)): passage authentique *De topicis* déplacé ici par le premier remaniement, et replacé plus haut par le second.

(((1192 C 6–1195 A 15))): *De syllogismis, De paralogismis*, passages insérés par le 1er remaniement et déplacés plus haut par le 2^d^.

[[⟨*Patrol. lat.*, LXIX, 1249 = éd. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI (1912), 297⟩]]: *Computus a. 562.*

(((1195, B 1–1196 A 12))): *De propositionum modis*, passage inséré par le premier remaniement et déplacé plus haut par le second.

[[⟨J. Seueriani *Praecepta artis rhetoricae*⟩]].

(((*De dialecticis locis*, éd. Joh. Sichardus, *loc. cit.*))).

[1] Cf. Laubmann, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

[2] Cf. mon étude sur 'Les Etapes du Développement philosophique du Haut-Moyen-Age,' *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1929, p. 425–452, et spécialement p. 429, n. 1.

composé surtout d'extraits du *De topicis differentiis* de Boèce et qui cite une autre de ses monographies, le *De divisione*. En raison de la similitude des sources des passages interpolés et annexés (notamment les deux monographies de Boèce), il est vraisemblable que c'est l'auteur des remaniements qui a formé ce petit *corpus*, auquel ces extraits variés prêtent un caractère déjà médiéval.

L'interpolateur qui s'intéressait avant tout à la rhétorique et à la dialectique, disposait aussi d'un plus grand nombre d'œuvres de Boèce que n'en connaissait Cassiodore. Il remanie, en effet, la liste que l'ex-ministre dressa des auteurs classiques de logique,[1] en remplaçant les mentions des travaux de Marius Victorinus par celles des œuvres similaires du Dernier des Romains, qui a l'époque de l'interpolateur avaient sans doute mis hors d'usage les écrits de logique de l'Africain. Cassiodore ne cite de Boèce que le *II In Isag.* et le *II In* Περὶ ἑρμηνείας Le texte remanié mentionne, en outre, les *I In Isag.*, *In Cat.*,[2] *I In* Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, *De hyp. syllog.*, *In Cic. Top.*, *In Arist. Top.* Ce dernier commentaire est perdu, tout comme ceux sur les *Analytiques*, qui ne sont pas mentionnés ici. Sauf le *De hyp. syllog.*, l'interpolateur ne cite pas davantage les monographies, ni en particulier le *De top. diff.* et le *De divisione*, dont il a cependant fait usage, apparemment, parce qu'il s'est tenu dans les limites du texte des *Inst.* Si Cassiodore eut revisé cette liste, il ne se serait pas contenté de coller le nom de Boèce sur celui de son devancier; il n'aurait pas biffé la mention du *De definitionibus* de Victorin qu'il appréciait tant[3] et

[1] On peut la lire chez Laubmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 85; le texte remanié, 1202 D 14.—J'ai déjà rappelé que Cassiodore ne possédait pas l'encyclopédie de Martianus Capella, qui pourtant avait été rééditée en 531 par le professeur de rhétorique de la ville de Rome, Securus Memor Felix. Si l'auteur des *Inst.* a fait traduire le traité de musique de Gaudentius, c'est qu'il était dépourvu de celui, plus développé, de Boèce, qu'il ne mentionne même pas, bien qu'il ait utilisé et cité les autres travaux que le 'Dernier des Romains' consacra au *quadrivium* (*De inst. arithm.* et traité de géométrie).

[2] Comme la traduction de l'*Isagoge* par Victorin est conservée en partie dans le premier commentaire de Boèce sur ce traité, nous pouvons constater que Cassiodore a utilisé la traduction de son contemporain. La variante *diversa* que les *Inst.* ont en commun avec Boèce dans la définition des *aequivoca*, pour laquelle nous possédons peut-être la version des *Catégories* par Victorin (*I In Isag.*, éd. Brandt, p. 17, 21: *alia*), m'engage à en dire autant pour ce traité et m'a fait supposer que l'ex-ministre a pu faire usage d'une édition séparée de la traduction boétienne des trois premiers traités de l'*Organon*, puisqu'il ne mentionne pas l'*In Cat.* de Boèce.

[3] Dans son commentaire sur les *Psaumes*, il cite sans cesse les différents genres de définitions

qui faisait partie de son *corpus* de *text-books* (*auctores*) de logique; surtout, il n'aurait pas supprimé la mention de ce recueil, alors qu'il précisa à plusieurs reprises la description des *corpus* de grammaire et de rhétorique.[1] Ce détail, surtout, prouve que l'interpolateur, qui ne visait qu'à fournir une liste plus complète de traités de logique, n'appartenait pas à la fondation de Vivarium. On ne pourrait admettre que les émules de Cassiodore aient abandonné la tradition de leur maître au point d'avoir négligé le premier livre des *Inst.* et le début de la préface qui y rattache le second, tout comme la *conclusio* qui termine le traité,[2] bien des détails qui caractérisent la manière du fondateur de Vivarium,[3] et jusqu'à son nom dans le titre de ce remaniement, qui modifie toute l'orientation de l'œuvre de l'ex-ministre, en s'attachant exclusivement à l'étude des arts libéraux.

J'accorde peu de valeur à la date de la rédaction des extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit (562) pour établir le *terminus ante quem* de la composition des *Inst.*[4] Dans la plupart des manuscrits de comput, les évaluations chronologiques sont recopiées

et dans les *Inst.*, 1173–1175, il résume largement cette œuvre de Victorin, qui ne réapparut, comme les monographies de Boèce, qu'à la fin du Xe siècle. L'interpolateur ne la possédait sans doute point.

[1] Cf. *supra* p. 277.

[2] En effet, tous les MSS de ce remaniement ne possèdent que le second livre des *Inst.*, ayant trait aux arts libéraux. Ce sont le *Wirceb.*, s. VIII/IX, *Augiens, clxxi*, s. IX *in.*, décrit par A. Holder, *Die Reichenauer Hss.* (Karlsruhe, 1906), t. I; *Paris 2200*, s. IX *ex.*; *Ambros. D 17 inf.*, a. 1462, reproduit par un incunable milanais, Hain, n° 7305 (Cf. P. Lehmann, *Philologus*, LXXI, p. 291 ss.).

[3] P. ex. 1152 c 9–13, l'interpolateur a négligé la mention que Cassiodore fait du *De grammatica* d'Augustin, sans doute, parce qu'elle déclare que ce traité a été composé 'propter simplicitatem fratrum breviter instruendum . . . ne quid rudibus deesse videatur.' Apparemment, notre interpolateur n'était pas partisan de la *simplicitas*. Ou bien estimait-il que cette œuvre n'est pas d'Augustin? Cf. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, IV. 2, p. 414. (Cependant, cette remarque figure dans le *Paris. 8679*: cf. *infra* p. 291 n. 3. A-t-elle été réinscrite dans une partiede cette tradition on plutôt négligée posterieurement an second remaniement?

[4] P. Lehmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 290 ss. Cependant R. L. Poole, *Engl. Hist. Review*, XXXIII, (1918), 210–213, (cf. p. 61); *Proceedings of the British Academy*, X (1922), 120, (cf. G. Lapeyre, *St. Fulgence de Ruspe* [Paris, 1929] p. 110, n. 6), opine avec vraisemblance, que le *Felix Abbas Ghyllittanus* (cf. B. Krusch, *Papstum u. Kaisertum. Forschungen P. Kehr . . . dargebracht*, Munich, 1926, p. 53), qui en 616 continua le comput paschal de Denys le Petit pour les années 627–721, était un abbé de Vivarium (*Scyllitanus*). Cf. *supra*. p. 254 n. 3. Quoique le comput du célèbre chronologiste qui semble avoir passé ses dernières années à Vivarium, ne paraît avoir été que fort peu répandu en 562, il n'est pas exclu qu'on s'en soit occupé encore ailleurs. Le résumé en question peut d'ailleurs provenir du monastère de Cassiodore et avoir été annexé

sans être mises à jour.[1] Ces extraits peuvent fort bien avoir été empruntés à un autre MS., et même, avec les bribes de matières de logique qui les entourent (1192 c 6–1196 a 12), avoir été apposés sur une fin de quaternion par un auteur distinct de l'interpolateur. En tout cas, ce n'est pas à Vivarium, en 562, — Cassiodore étant encore en vie — , ni même plus tard, qu'ils ont pu être annexés à ce remaniement des *Inst.* qui en constitue un véritable travesti. Il est même peu vraisemblable que l'ouvrage d'un contemporain ait subi ailleurs un pareil sort. Enfin, tous les arguments que j'ai fait valoir pour établir que le monastère de Vivarium ne fut fondé qu'après 550 contribuent à reculer la composition des *Inst.* pour le moins jusqu'en 560 en raison de l'ampleur de l'œuvre qu'elles décrivent. Or, nous venons de constater qu'à plusieurs reprises Cassiodore pourvit encore son traité d'annotations complémentaires, dont nous possédons les dernières traces dans le texte authentique sur lequel l'interpolateur du *Wirceb.* a travaillé. Ces retouches reflètent en partie les modifications que l'ex-ministre fit subir successivement à ses *corpus*. On peut les rapprocher de son édition du *De orth.*, qui vit le jour vers 573–578 si Cassiodore naquit un peu plus tôt (480–485) que la date (490) proposée par Mommsen.[2]

Le *Wirceb.*, s. VIII–IX, a appartenu au monastère irlandais de St Kilian, près de Wurzbourg. C'est aussi d'après cette tradition qu'Alcuin fit usage des *Inst.*, tandis que vers 630 Isidore de Séville n'utilisait que la rédaction authentique.[3]

Par la suite, au IX–Xe siècle, le second livre des *Inst.* a été répandu dans un nouveau remaniement qui a corrigé quelques uns des défauts les plus apparents du premier. En particulier, cette nouvelle rédaction a déplacé à la fin du chapitre consacré à la dialectique, les

ailleurs au remaniement des *Inst.* Sinon, comme témoins de l'activité des moines de Vivarium nous ne possédons plus que les commentaires expurgés de Pélage sur les Epîtres de St Paul et peut-être *Une Compilation antiarienne inédite sous le nom de St Augustin issue du milieu de Cassiodore* découverte par Dom G. Morin, *Rev. bénédictine*, 1914, pp. 237–243. Cf. O. Dobiache —Rojdestvensky, 'Le codex Q. v. I, 6–10 de la Bibliothèque publique de Leningrad,' SPECULUM 1930, pp. 21–48.

[1] J'en citerai de nombreux exemples dans un travail sur les *corpus* de comput, de géométrie, et d'astronomie du Haut Moyen-Age.

[2] Cf. Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[3] Cf. mon étude citée *supra* p. 287 n. 2, aux pages 429–431.

matières se rapportant à cette branche et que le premier remaniement avait reléguées à la fin du traité, c. à d. à la suite du chapitre relatif à l'astronomie. Elle a supprimé en même temps les extraits des *Argumenta paschalia* de Denys le Petit et remplacé ceux du *De nuptiis* par quelques passages tirés des *Inst.* de Quintilien. Enfin, elle a complété le chapitre consacré à la géométrie, en y annexant quelques extraits de la traduction que Boèce avait donnée des *Eléments* d'Euclide.[1]

De même que les manuscrits de la classe du *Wirceb.*, les copies qui contiennent sa refonte révètent la forme d'un petit *corpus*, en raison des extraits qui ont été annexés à ce second livre des *Inst.* et qui proviennent surtout des œuvres de St Augustin. Comme l'*Augiens.* CVI, s. X, présente en dernier lieu l'*Anecdoton Holderi*, H. Usener,[2] supposant que cet extrait de l'*Ordo generis* de Cassiodore ne fait défaut dans les autres manuscrits que parce qu'ils sont incomplets de la fin,[3] admettait que cet ensemble de textes et ce second remaniement pouvaient dater encore du VIe siècle.[4] Avec plus de raison que le comput de 562, on pourrait invoquer ce texte rare[5] pour faire remonter à Vivarium cette refonte du premier remaniement. Mais tous les arguments que nous avons fait valoir contre cette thèse pour le premier remaniement sont applicables au second. De plus, celui-ci est sans doute postérieur à l'abandon de Vivarium au VIIe siècle. L'*Anecdoton* ne figure d'ailleurs pas dans le *Carnut. 102* (*Chapitre*),

[1] On trouve encore de semblables extraits dans un remaniement du VIII/IXe s. du *Corpus agrimensorum* et dans une compilation de géométrie de la même époque. Le second remaniement des *Inst.* ne sera pas plus récent. Car, ce sont là les seuls restes que nous possédions de la traduction de Boèce que le texte authentique des *Inst.* mentionne, mais que même Gerbert ne possédait déjà plus. Cf. C. Thulin, dans Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.* IIIe (Leipzig, 1916), §478; N. Bubnov, *Gerberti op. math.* (Berlin, 1899), p. 554, *ad* p. X et ss., et p. 164.

[2] *Op. cit*, p. 3.

[3] Dans la description de l'*Augiens.* CVI, par A. Holder *Die Reichenauer Hss.*, t. I (1906), on trouvera indiqué le contenu des *Valentian. 172*, s. IX, *Bern. 212, 234*, s. IX/X et *Sangall 199*, s. X.—Je signalerai, que le *Paris. 8679*, s.X, finit avec 1208 c 7; le *Paris. 13048*(*Corbien.*), s.IX., f° 59–77, se termine avec l'extrait: August., *Contra Priscill.*; le *12963* (*Corbien.*), s. IX/X, va, avec la fin de la dernière feuille, jusqu'au *Carmen de ventis*, comme le MS. de Valenciennes.

[4] A ce propos, il faut se rappeler aussi qu'Usener fixait la fondation de Vivarium vers 540.

[5] Cependant, Schepps, *Neues Archiv.*, XI (1886), 125, (cf. J. Draeseke, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, XXXI [1888], 94–104), a trouvé la notice que l'*Anecdoton* consacre à Symmaque, le beau-père de Boèce, dans trois manuscrits d'un commentaire sur le *De consolatione philosophiae*.

s. x, qui sinon reproduit intégralement le *corpus* de l'*Augiens.* CVI.[1] Il se pourrait dès lors que cet extrait n'ait pas été inséré dans l'archétype de notre tradition.

Ces deux remaniements du second livre des *Inst.* qui au IX–Xe siècle prirent place parmi les résumés encyclopédiques des arts libéraux et servirent à de nouvelles compilations, reflètent le faible développement des premiers siècles du Moyen-Age qui laissèrent se perdre[1] ou négligèrent[2] les traités originaux, trop développés, dont quelqu'isolé s'était borné à faire des extraits.

ATHÉNÉE ROYAL,
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[1] La liste des tons musicaux en grec qui précède l'*Anecd.* a été empruntée au *De inst. musica* de Boèce qu'elle mentionne et qui n'a été repandu avant le Xe siècle que peu ou point, se termine au f° 61^v^ —le deuxième du quaternion—, 9 lignes avant la fin de la page. La même main a recopié f° 62 ss. un *De grammatica* par questions et réponses et des extraits d'une compilation d'arithmétique et de comput, s. VIII/IX, qu'on retrouve dans le *Turon. 334*, s. IX med., f° 20–26^v^ = *Paris. 16361* (*Sorbonne*), s. XII, ainsi que dans de nombreux MSS. Je m'en occuperai dans un ouvrage sur les *corpus* du Haut Moyen-Age.

[2] Notamment, l'*In Arist. Top.* de Boèce (qui peut-être n'a été connu de l'interpolateur de la classe du *Wirceb.* que par la mention qu'en fait l'*In Cic. Top.*) et la traduction des *Elem.* d'Euclide.

[3] P. ex., les monographies de Boèce avant la fin du Xe siècle, tout comme ses commentaires avant le début du Xe siècle; cf. *supra* p. 288.

No. and page in MS.	*No., Vol., and Col. in Migne*	*Col. No. in Sacrum Brev.*	*No. in the original text as established by Wiegand*	*Day*	*Author*	*Beginning*
I 9a	5, 76, 1095		I 5	In dominica tertia adventus Domini.	Gregory	Quaerendum est nobis. The MS. begins with *demonstrare* (1097, 37)
II 9b	13, 76, 1099	144	I 8	In dominica quarta.	Gregory	Ex huius nobis
III 11b	17, 95, 1162	157	I 15	In vigilia nativitatis Domini.	Origen	Quae fuit necessitas
IV 14a	18, 76, 1103	182	I 24	In nocte nativitatis Domini.	Gregory	Quia largiente
V 14b	20, 94, 34	183	I 25	In eadem sancta nocte vel aurora.	Bede	Nato in Bethleem
VI 16b	21, 94, 38	184	I 26	In die sancto.	Bede	Quia temporalem
VII 19b	42, 95, 1179 Also in *Patr. Graeco-Lat.* 13, 1839 in Jerome's translation[1]		I 41	In dominica intra octavam natalis Christi.	Origen	Congregemus in unum
VIII 22b	45, 94, 53	290	I 40	In circumcisione Domini.	Bede	Sanctam venerandamque
IX 25b	48, 76, 1110	325	I 48	In epiphania Domini.	Gregory	Sicut in lectione
X 27b	50, 94, 74	348	I 49	Infra octavam epiphaniae.	Bede	Johannes Baptista[2]
XI 29b	52, 94, 63		I 59	In dominica prima post epiphaniam, infra octavam.	Bede	Aperta est nobis
XII 32a	53, 94, 68	438	I 60	In dominica II post epiphaniam.	Bede	Quod Dominus. . . The frg. ends with *nabucconosor* (72, 10)

[1] The end of this discourse, from *Et ut perfecerunt . . . nomine commendat* (95, 1184,56–95, 1185, 26) occurs also in vol. 94, 341, 28–58, with only very slight variations.

[2] The passage from *in salutem* (Col. 75, 17) to *Baptizat quoque* (Col. 77, 23) was on the leaf which is missing from the MS.

NOTES

THE URBANA MS. OF THE HOMILIARIUM OF PAULUS DIACONUS

In July 1928, in a bookstall along the quay on the left bank of the Seine in Paris, was found and purchased for the University of Illinois Library, by W. A. Oldfather, a considerable fragment of a parchment MS. containing a collection of sermons, which was quickly recognized by the scholarly eye of Mr C. U. Faye of the Library Staff, to be the *Homiliarium* of Paulus Diaconus.

The MS. consists of 23 leaves in three signatures, marked B, C, D (in a hand of the fourteenth or the fifteenth century), of which the first two are complete (despite an error in the contemporary pagination, skipping from fol. xxiii to fol. xxv, although the signature is intact and there is no break in the text), while the third has lost its third leaf, fol. xxviii (or D iii) having been cut out at an early date, and the other half of the double leaf, fol. xxi, being pasted in. The entire first signature is missing, as likewise an unknown number of signatures from the end. The handwriting seems to be French of the late twelfth century, very beautiful and regular but without notable characteristics of any kind. The call number is *xq 264.6 P28h.*

The number of MSS of the *Homiliarium* known to scholars is not very large. F. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1897) has a list of 15 (p. 5–10), to which C. Cipolla, *Note bibliografiche, etc.* (Venice, 1901), 15 f., adds a few from England, and M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911), 267, one from Bamberg. Since the *Homiliarium* was extremely influential directly for many centuries, and is still influential indirectly, and since the history of the enlargements and contractions of the work is not at all thoroughly known, a brief table of contents and correspondences may not be inappropriate here.

As to the value of our fragment for purposes of textual criticism, little can be said until more is known about the older and standard MSS. Where Migne's edition quotes a few MS. readings (especially for the sermons published in vol. LXXVI) the *Urbanensis* agrees now with one group and now with another, but the total number of citations is quite too small to enable one to make any classification of the MSS whatsoever.

There are no glosses or scholia, and but a very small number of corrections by a second hand. The spelling in general is inferior, and the ordinary slight errors of none too careful copying abound. Occasionally a somewhat fuller form of text appears. This is commonly due to mere padding, as

in LXXVI, 1101, 11: 'haec mysterium annuntians' (Migne), compared with 'hec misterium nostri redemptoris adnuntians' (*Urb.*); or in XCV, 1181, 2, where after the words 'in resurrectionem multarum in Israel' (Migne) is added, from the end of the same verse in the Vulgate (Luke ii, 34) 'et in signum cui contradicetur' (*Urb.*), although the discourse pays no attention whatever to these last words of the verse, and obviously had not quoted them.

But such is not always the case. There is clearly an incomplete sentence in a sermon by Bede (XCIV, 71, 40 [Migne]) running: 'Audiens enim quanta sit virtus obedientiae, quanta mercede remuneretur, et ipse obedientiam discere atque habere satagis.' Here it would be very simple to restore *mercedem* before *habere*, but since the context is an elaborate allegory about the six vessels (repeatedly called *hydriae*) of purification placed by the Jews at the entrance to the Temple, the addition in the *Urb.* of the words 'hydriam atque invenisti qua munderis' may suggest what is missing (although perhaps not in exactly this form), in view of the quite similar expression used a few lines above (30–32) 'hydriam profecto aquae, qua mundaretur vel reficeretur, invenit.' Again in LXXVI, iiii, 29, the introduction of *gemina* with *scientia* makes a reading so difficult that it is hard to see in it a mere gloss, one also, by the way, which is attested in other MSS; although, a few lines further on, the variation *in adiutorium* for *ad adiutorium* of Migne's text is pretty clearly an attempt to improve upon the original.

In at least one instance, however, the *Urb.* unquestionably preserves the correct reading against the text of Migne's reprint of the 'worthless Cologne edition of 1539' (Wiegand, 2). That is in the quotation from *Gen.* III, 6, in a sermon by Origen (XCV, 1181, 36 ff.) where the text reads, 'Vidit, inquit, mulier lignum quia bonum erat ad comedendum et optimum oculis ad vescendum. . . .' But Origen of course quoted the *lxx* which at this point, had, as correctly translated by Jerome (*Patr. Graeco-Lat.* XIII, 1141, 41ff.), 'Vidit mulier lignum, quia bonum ad comedendum, et optimum oculis ad videndum . . . (*ἀρεστὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν*)', and that is precisely the reading of the *Urb.* (except *obtimum* for *optimum*). The *vescendum* of the printed text derives from the *Vulg.* which runs 'quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis,' and it was doubtless the memory of this version which produced the absurd reading in the Migne edition of Paulus.

One such sound reading is sufficient to show that the *Urb.* is not entirely worthless even for questions of textual criticism, but a further study of it may well be left to the future editor of the *Homiliarium.* A complete collation of the fragment, prepared by Inez G. Lough, is catalogued in the Library along with the MS. itself, and will be lent to anyone who is interested.

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THE POEM *EX UNGUE PRIMO TENERAM*[1]

THE account given of the contents of this poem by its discoverer: 'die Vorwürfe eines offenbar recht jungen Liebhabers gegen seine noch jüngere Freundin' hardly seems to me to give a true impression.

The lover had brought up the young Lyce 'ut . . . aetatem circa puberem . . . caperem primicias pudoris' (v.1). But he had been disappointed: 'fovisti viros gremio' . . . (v.2). He had made some sort of a rule (v.3). But the girl, 'licet parvula, votum femineum explevit' (v.4). So, 'pubertatem . . . dum stultior experior, virum viro (?) nosti, et doleo.' (v.5.)

Now verse 3 runs:

> 'Me meo memini
> Scripsisse legem virgini,
> Pro foribus astaret,
> Ne molestum virgini
> Profundius intraret.'

'I laid down a law (for the girl) that she (?) was to stop at the threshold, lest what was troublesome to the girl should enter more deeply.' This seems nonsense. Surely it is the *molestum virgini* which was to stay at the threshold and not enter deeply. If so, the subject to *astaret* is concealed in *virgini*, which is, apart from this doubly suspicious: (1) *meo* has nothing to agree with; (2) *virgini* can hardly rhyme with *virgini*. Considering the subobscene tenor of the poem, it is fairly obvious what is the *molestum virgini:* it ends in *-ini* and could be easily mistaken in the MS. for *virgini*. Read *inguini* in its euphemistic sense, and every requirement is satisfied, while the point of *pro foribus* and *profundius* becomes only too obvious.

There seems also to be something wrong with line III, 7 — 'virum viro nosti,' but it is hardly a simple case of the copyist mistaking one word for another: he probably inadvertently wrote *vir-* twice over, so that correction becomes mere guess-work: perhaps *cito* is better than *viro*.

I should like in conclusion to express a wish that similar lyric poems might be published with the music, when this is preserved: I think it a great mistake to study the metres without reference to the tunes to which they were intended to be sung.

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[1] *Speculum* v (1930) p. 433.

NOTES ON KING ALFRED'S NORTH: *OSTI, ESTE*

In Speculum v (1930), 139–167, Professor K. Malone has devoted an extensive study to the first chapter of King Alfred's *Orosius*. This chapter is of considerable interest to the investigator of Slavic antiquities on account of its references to various West Slavic and Baltic tribes. With many of Professor Malone's locations there is no occasion to quarrel. His treatment of the *Osti* (pp. 155–156), however, suggests certain reservations. The passage of Alfred in which this tribe is mentioned runs as follows (H. Sweet, *King Alfred's Orosius*, i [London, 1883], 16):

'Norðdene habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm þe mon hæt Ostsæ, ond be eastan him sindon *Osti* þa leode, ond Afrede be suþan. Osti habbað be norþan him þone ilcan sæs arm ond Winedas, ond Burgendan; ond de suþan him sindon Hæfeldan . . . Sweon habbað be suþan him þone sæs earm *Osti;* ond be eastan him Sermende.'

Professor Malone judges from this passage that the *Osti* were a coastal tribe (p. 155), and wishes to locate them at the estuary of the Oder. The third occurrence of *Osti* in the above passage he interprets as equivalent to *Ostsæ* (p. 156). Then, in treating its derivation (p. 155 n.), he characterizes *Osti* as a 'loan-word from Old Norse, with the $\bar{o}$ representing ON. *au*' (based on E. Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*, 3rd edit., [Halle, 1898], par. 26 Anm.). As in his article 'The *Widsith* and the *Hervararsaga*' (*P.M.L.A.*, xl [1925], 792), Professor Malone considers 'the hypothetical ON. original as a short form of the Ostrogothic name.' 'The Ostrogoths,' he adds, 'were originally settled at the mouth of the Vistula, but at an early period the Ostrogothic realm was extended by conquest westward to the Oder. In consequence, the Ostrogothic name, in its shortened form, seems to have been applied (by the Scandinavians at least) to all relics of the old East Germanic population along the south shore of the Baltic.'

We are here dealing with the geographical situation which prevailed in the last two decades, or, at most, in the last half, of the ninth century. The Goths began to move southeast from the mouth of the Vistula about the end of the second century, and this migration toward the Ukraine continued during the next hundred years. While I am disposed to follow Jordanes only in so far as his highly legendary account is supported by other sources or by unimpeachable archaeological evidence, I see no reason to question his very positive statement (*M. G. H., SS. AA.*, v, 78) that the division into Ostrogoths and Visigoths took place after the Goths arrived in South Russia. F. Kaufmann (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, ii, 17) thus remarks: 'Die Gruppen wurden schon früh im 3. Jahrh. geographisch geschieden und in dem Raum zwischen Don und Dnjestr [?Dnjepr] Austrogoti (Ostgoten), zwischen Dnjepr und Dnjestr *Wisi* (später *Wisigoti*), genannt.'

Or, as L. Schmidt asserts (*Gesch. der germ. Vorzeit* [Bonn, 1925], 198), with a somewhat different interpretation: 'Als Folge der Besetzung Daciens ergab sich die Spaltung der Goten in zwei Stämme, West—(richtiger Wisi-) goten, auch Terwinger genannt, und Ost—(richtiger Ostro-) goten oder Greutungen, von der zuerst 269 in den Quellen die Rede ist.'[1] The exact locus of this division is of minor importance for this critique beyond the fact that it definitely did not take place on the Baltic. The chances that this division and the resulting terminology should have had any reaction on the appellations attached to Pomeranian tribes in the ninth century are thus comparatively slender.

As to the survival of any East Germanic population on the south shore of the Baltic between Oder and Vistula in the eighth and ninth centuries, the historical facts are equally unfavorable to Professor Malone's thesis. At the present day, even the most rabid opponents of the Danzig corridor cannot adduce evidence of German cultural influence along the Baltic coast east of the Oder later than the seventh century.[2] Furthermore, scientific German authorities do not even go this far; as F. Kaufmann remarks (*op. cit.*, II, 148): 'die ostgermanischen Landschaften haben ihre eingesessene Bevölkerung *fast bis auf den letzten Mann* abgegeben. Als das 5. Jahrh. zur Neige ging, gab es *jenseits der Elbe keine Germanen mehr*. Ostdeutschland wurde wendisch.' By the sixth century, the Slavs had filled this vacuum, and the most that can be said for Germanic remnants is Müllenhoff's supposition that 'es ergab sich daraus für gewisse Zeiten in jenen Gegenden eine gemischte Bevölkerung' (*Deutsche Alt.*, II, 372), but hardly beyond the seventh century. A further indication that Slavic tribes occupied the seacoast between Oder and Vistula is Wulfstan's statement (Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 20): 'Weonodland was us ealne weg on steorbord oð Wislemuðan. Seo Wisle . . . toliþ Witland ond Weonodland, ond þæt Witland belimpeð to Estum.' In other words, the Vistula was the frontier between Slavs and *Este*. Immediately to the west of the Oder, in the ninth century, lived the various tribes composing the Velti (or Luticians; cf. Adam of Bremen, III, 21; Anonymus Bavarus, in J. Safařik, *Slov. Star.*, II, 711; L. Niederle, *Slov. Star.* III, 132–139, and sources there cited). The quadrangle between Oder, Netze, and Vistula was inhabited in the ninth century by the Pomeranians (cf. Adam of Bremen, IV, 13). They were traditionally the least advanced and the most ferocious of the Slavs adjacent to Poland, and were not subjected to the latter until *ca.* 995.[3] In

[1] Cf. also T. F. Karsten, *Die Germanen* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 216–217.

[2] Cf. E. Keyser, *Der Kampf um die Weichsel* (Berlin, 1926), p. 39, and *ibid.*: 'An dem Zurückbleiben germanischer Kulturträger bis über die Mitte des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends, also bis zur Einwanderung der Slaven in die Gebiete zwischen Weichsel und Elbe, ist nicht zu zweifeln.'

fact, there is no historical evidence whatever to justify the assumption that there were any 'relics of east Germanic population' in this area when Alfred's informants skirted its edge.

From the standpoint of historical geography, there does not appear any reason to dissociate the *Osti* from the Aestii of Tacitus, the *Aesti* of Jordanes, the *Estes* of Wulfstan, and the *Eistir* of the Sagas. It will be clear, I think, from Alfred's narrative that the *Este* are clearly distinguished from the Finns, whom Ohthere knew as *Beormas*. The Slavs of the Upper Dnieper basin were, in fact, traditionally cut off from the Baltic since earliest times by the Lithuanian tribes to the north of the Narev and the Pripet. The problem of the form *Osti* would be nicely solved if we could follow L. Niederle (*op. cit.*, IV, 43) in identifying as Lithuanians the Ὠστιαῖοι of Pytheas (*ca.* 300 B.C.);[1] it is not entirely certain, however, that we can locate on the Baltic the tribe thus denominated, in view of the textual difficulties of a passage in Strabo (I, 4, 3), which has been sometimes taken as referring to the Ὠστιαῖοι. Two points may, in any case, be regarded as established; the *Osti* have no possible connection with the Ostrogoths and, if located either at the mouth of the Oder (where Professor Malone places them) or anywhere eastward or westward of this estuary, they cannot have been German at this period.

The suggestion may therefore be put forward that the Alfredian passage in question requires an interpretation differing somewhat from the one Professor Malone places upon it. We should perhaps read *him* in the clause 'ond be eastan him sindon *Osti*' as dat. sing. referring to *Ostsæ*, and thus translate: 'The North Danes have to their north the same arm of the sea which is called the *Ostsæ*, and to the east *of the latter* the *Osti* are the inhabitants,' which accords rather better with the northeasterly slant of the Baltic coast from Königsberg to the Gulf of Riga. The *Osti* then, as Alfred goes on to say, actually have to their approximate north the *Ostsæ*, the *Winedas* of Pomerania, and the inhabitants of Bornholm. Similarly, in the sentence '*Osti* habbaþ be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm, ond Winedas ond Burgendan; ond be suþan *him* sindom Hæfeldan,' *him* should be taken as referring not to *Osti*, but to *Winedas ond Burgendan*, thus placing the Hæfeldan at the proper point in the interior south of the coastal Wends. By these interpretations, we locate the Lithuanian *Osti* where they belong historically. It is also more than likely that the third occurrence of *Osti* in the passage cited at the beginning of this Note is a scribal error to the

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[3] Cf. my article 'Scandinavian-Polish Relations in the Late Tenth Century,' in *Studies in Honor of H. Collitz* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 134–135.

[1] "Ὠστιῶνες, ἔθνος παρὰ τῷ δυτικῷ ὠκεανῷ . . . οὓς Πυθέας Ὠστιαλους προσαγορεύει" (A. Westermann, *Stephani Byzantini Ἐθνικῶν Quae Supersunt* [Leipzig, 1839], pp. 318–319).

extent that some copyist, having just written *Osti* twice, miswrote it a third time for *Ostsæ;* there is thus no need to explain it as a doublet for the latter.

It is, of course, apparent that by regarding *Osti* and *Este* as identical we produce two terms for the same people in the same source. This duplication appears explicable, however, though such etymological exercises with non-Germanic proper names are shots in the dark at best. If we assume for this name the primitive form **Aistīs* (nom. plur. i-stem, cf. mod. Lith. *Lëtuvys:* y=ī), this would give an early Germanic **Aistīz*, which would appear naturally enough in ON. as the extant form *Eistir*. If, however, through the influence of analogy, this form were felt by its users to be the result of i-umlaut like *eystra*, it would be associated with an original **Austir*. At this point, a confusion with '*austr*,' 'east,' (the form *Eystir* proves that this confusion was operative), took place in ON., and if the borrowing into primitive OE. or Old Saxon occurred at this juncture, the preservation of the form *Osti* in OS. would be normal. It is also striking that a parallel development of two sets of forms derived respectively from **Austi* and from *Osti* seems to have occurred in Ags. In the first case, we have the line **Austi*>**Easti*>**Iesti*>**Ysti*, *Iste* (*Widsith*, 87); a form *Eastas* showing early operation of analogy with *ēast* also occurs. In the second case, we have *Osti*>**Œste*>*Este*, the last being the normal WS. form. The course of the borrowing appears to have run from Gothic (**Aisteis*) to ON. to OE. and OS., and there seems to be no basis for proceeding beyond the hypothesis that we have in *Osti* an accidentally preserved OS. form. In view of the fact that Alfred's notion of Europe beyond the Vistula was obviously of the haziest, the coexistence of *Osti-Este* side by side is by no means surprising.

R. W. Chambers (*Widsith* [Cambridge, 1912], p. 248) rightly points out that the *Eistir* of the Sagas does not refer to the *Aestii* of Tacitus, but to the Finnish Esthonians. It is apparent, however, from the Russian *Primary Chronicle* that Lithuanian tribes originally extended up the Baltic coast to the Gulf of Finland, though isolated Finnish elements seem to have penetrated toward the seaboard comparatively early, since the *Fenni* were vaguely known to Tacitus. Progressive Finnish settlement in Esthonia and Kurland occurred in all likelihood only after the interior Finns were confronted with a Slavic advance into the basins of the Lovat and the Dvina, and therefore presumably later than the fifth or the sixth century. The migrant Finns then seem to have acquired the name of the adjacent or displaced *Aestii*, whose own tribal designations replaced this appellation as applied to the Baltic element itself further to the southwest.

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REVIEWS

The Cambridge Mediaeval History. Planned by J. B. Bury; edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, Z. N. Brooke. Volume VI., *Victory of the Papacy.* New York: MacMillan Company; Cambridge: University Press. 1929. Pp. xli, 1047. $14.00.

'Books, we know, are a substantial world,' wrote Wordsworth. One wonders, if he had lived in these days, what he would have thought of these massive volumes of polyscholarship. The present volume of this notable series exhibits better joining and mortising together of the component chapters than any which has preceded it. For in some of the previous volumes the gulf between the parts has sometimes been as wide as a church door. It is no mean triumph of the editors to have been able to impart so much homogeneity, though, of course, the nature of the period has helped them. For the thirteenth century was not one of transition, but of completion. As Mr Previté-Orton has written in his masterly introduction: 'Themes common to all the middle ages find their fullest expression in it.' The history and the culture of the thirteenth century was fundamentally one. Even in the case of the minor countries, as Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, it is finely said 'there is an intrinsic likeness in their most aberrant shapes.'

Of the twenty-two contributors, seven are foreign, and of the twenty-five chapters, the first thirteen may be denominated political history and the last twelve cultural history. The volume appropriately opens with a chapter upon Innocent III by Mr E. F. Jacob, whose grasp of this great theme is strong. Yet if the reader really wishes to get a rounded appreciation of the great pontiff he will have to consult Chapters II, III, IV on the Empire; chapters VII and IX on England and France and Chapter XX on heresies. The history of Germany from the death of Henry VI in 1197 to the termination of the Interregnum in 1273 is covered in three chapters by Mr Austin Lane-Poole. Since the *verso* of German history in this epoch is that of Italy and the history of Germany is inseparable from imperial history, these chapters suffer from the attempt made to divorce the two subjects. The method of treatment alternates between a topical one and a chronological one, and in the shift some matters are inadequately presented, notably the history of the eastern frontier. On p. 104, the Mongol invasion in 1241 is briefly related, but one finds no mention of the previous work of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia until pp. 128–129, and then the amount of information given is meagre. There is no hint that this bulwark saved northeastern Germany from what Silesia suffered, or that Frederick II truly had a definite eastern frontier policy, which is more than can be said of any of his predecessors. Chapter V, 'Italy and Sicily under Frederick II,'

is from the pen of Professor Michaelangelo Schipa of the University of Naples. It is crowded with political and military details, but except for the character sketch on pp. 164–65 there is no intimation of Frederick the Magnificent's interest in science and literature. The difficult period of Italian history between 1250–90 is handled by Mr Previté-Orton with a sure touch. The chapters on English and French history are among the most satisfactory in the volume, as one would expect from such scholars as Mr Powicke, Mr Jacob and M. Petit-Dutaillis. The first has written upon Richard I and John and upon the reign of Philip Augustus; the second upon Henry III; the third upon Saint Louis. Professor Koht of the University of Oslo supplies an admirable account of the history of Scandinavia and that veteran scholar Dr Rafael Altamira contributes a less satisfactory chapter on Spain (1034–1248). While it is said that 'we are now beginning to know the historical character of the Cid,' what is here written is much along the old lines. The savant researches of M. Menéndez Pidal, first given to the world in *El Cid en la Historia* in 1921, amplified in *El Romancero: Teorias e Investigaciones* (1922), and crystallized in *La España del Cid* (1929), while mentioned in the bibliography to this chapter, seem to have made slight impression upon M. Altamira. The history of Bohemia and Poland is briefly but capably written by Dr Krofta of the University of Prague and Professor Alexander Bruce-Boswell of the University of Liverpool. The late Louis Léger's account of Hungary has endeavored to compress the history of three centuries into ten pages, which even for a minor nation of Europe is niggardly treatment. Evidently the aged historian wrote reluctantly and was indifferent to his subject.

The last twelve chapters, as has been remarked, deal with *Kulturgeschichte*. Mr Clapham, the author of chapter XIV, 'Commerce and Industry in the Middle Ages,' in the bibliography appended to it, notifies the reader that 'the bibliography is a bibliography of the chapter, not of medieval economic history.' The subject is strictly limited to the history of commerce and industry. Within these limitations the account is satisfactory, but so much cannot be said of the bibliography. Apparently the chapter was written before the war and has not been touched since. The bibliography, while listing a few recent works, on the whole is not up to date. Kalischer's *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalter*, which is superior to Kötzschke's similar work, Gay's *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin* and Byrne's contributions to Genoese commercial history are unmentioned. The reviewer may be pardoned if he also ventures to suggest that his own *Economic and social history of the middle ages* and certain chapters in his *Feudal Germany* might justly have been cited. Professor Pirenne's chapter on 'Northern towns and their Commerce' embodies the quintes-

sence of his many writings upon this subject. But in neither of these chapters is there anything about the peasantry or the great decline of serfdom or any treatment of society as a whole. The common people go begging in the volume. Chapter XVI on 'The development of ecclesiastical organisation and its financial basis' by Mr Watson is a study of the administrative anatomy of the mediaeval church. From the late Hastings Rashdall one knows what to expect of 'The Mediaeval Universities,' and is not disappointed, except for the brevity of the chapter. Mr W. H. V. Reade's chapter on 'Political Theory' is confined strictly to a consideration of the antagonism between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The limitation is unfortunate, for one would welcome some account of the mirrors for princes and the political literature of the epoch which so widely circulated in pamphlet form. Mr A. Hamilton Thompson's chapter upon 'Mediaeval Doctrine' is longer than most of the chapters, but it is hard to see how the subject — which extends from the Forged Decretals to the Lateran Council of 1215 — could have been more compressed. The author apparently is unacquainted with the remarkable work of J. T. MacNeal, *The Celtic Penitentials*, for otherwise he would not have written as he has done on p. 686. Nothing but praise may be accorded Mr Turberville's chapter on 'Heresies and the Inquisition' and Dr. Little's contribution on 'The Mendicant Orders.' The choice of these two writers for these two chapters was inevitable. The two sections (in one chapter) upon ecclesiastical and military architecture by Dean Cranage and again by A. Hamilton Thompson deal with this technical subject with a descriptive grace which relieves the difficult nature of the subject. In the latter's chapter upon 'The Art of War to 1400' it is unfortunate that there is nothing about the Swiss pike, and the significance of some neglected fights between Crécy and Poitiers has been passed over.

This brings us to the last two chapters, that upon 'Chivalry' by Miss A. Abram, and the late Jessie Laidlay Weston's upon 'Legendary Cycles of the Middle Ages.' It is an ungracious duty to have to record that the chapter on chivalry is utterly inadequate. Amid so many excellent contributions it shines out with bad eminence. It displays deplorable lack of understanding of the subject and the presentation is both disordered and fantastic. The bibliography (pp. 973–76) makes a portentous showing, but is a gesture of erudition which is belied by the text. Some of the works cited are grotesque. For among 'modern works' one finds such dessicated antiquities as Fauchet, *Origines des chévaliers* (1600), Favygen, *Le théâtre d'honneur* (1620), Sir W. Segar, *Honor, military and civill* (1590), Selden, *Titles of honor* (3d ed. 1672), the Sieuer de Columbière, *Le vray théâtre d'honneur et de chévalerie* (1648), Upton, *De studio militari* (1654), etc. Even

among recent works Flach's *Les origines de l'ancienne France* is not noticed, although vol. II, bk. ii is full of suggestion. The author would have been wise if she had searched no farther than Guilhiermoz, *L'origine de la noblesse en France au moyen age*, Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, II, ii, 139–43, Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises*, Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, bk. iv, and the literature cited by them.

One expects competent treatment of the *chansons de geste* and the Grail and Arthurian romances from Miss Weston, and is not disappointed. Objection, however, must be made to the limited view of mediaeval literature presented in chapter XXV. There is nothing in this whole great volume on the Latin literature of the thirteenth century, or the great historians like Matthew Paris, or the *fabliaux* or the beast stories or the important body of satirical literature current in this age which voiced the spirit of protest against social and economic conditions, and *Aucassin et Nicolette* is unmentioned. Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* is twice mentioned — by title — that is all. As grave as this omission is the oversight of science and art (except architecture) in the thirteenth century. It may be objected that the inclusion of these themes would have enlarged the volume to ponderous dimension. But the reader has the right to expect an account of these subjects or at least to be told that he may expect it in a subsequent volume.

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G. G. Dept, 'Les Influences Anglaise et Franaçise dans le comté de Flandre au Début du XIIIme Siècle,' (*Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Gand*, 59e fascicule), Ghent, 1928. Paper. Pp. 231.

It is safe to state that in the English-speaking world far too little attention has been paid to the history of Flanders, a land which played so vast a rôle in the economic, social, cultural, and political affairs of western Europe. Because of the dearth of studies on English relations with that land, this contribution ought to be welcomed by students.

The author essays to sketch the rival English and French influences which agitated the county from 1202 to 1226. He does not recite in detail the political facts of the external relations, which already had been done by Pabst, Cartellieri, Petit-Dutaillis, and Miss Norgate. A brief survey of the relations with England precedes the main part of the study.

Economic connections between England and Flanders can be found as early as the seventh century, but the battle of Hastings in 1066 marks an important turning-point. The dukes of Normandy were the ruling house in England. Their political power was a menace to the safety of Flanders, and the counts often revealed strong hostility to them. This did not change

until the Capetian monarchy became powerful enough to endanger the freedom of the counts, their vassals. Baldwin IX (1911–1202) first adopted a bitter hostility to his suzerain. He drew nearer to the English king, his vassals received money fiefs, and his towns, which were growing rapidly and waxing rich from the great volume of commerce, knew how to make their English sympathies known in the count's council.

This ascendancy of English influences continued after Baldwin IX left on the fourth crusade in 1202. Alliances were made imperative for England upon the loss of Normandy and Plantagenet lands in France in 1204. In 1208 the towns of St Omer, Ghent, Bruges, Douai, Lille, and Ypres became the allies of King John. But the captivity of Baldwin, followed by his death in 1206, sensibly checked the ascendancy of the English sympathizers. The government passed into the weak hands of Baldwin's brother, Philip of Namur, who allowed himself to be led by the wishes of Philip Augustus. The latter assumed direct control over Count Baldwin's daughters, Jeanne and Margaret. He sought to build up a party of supporters such as his English rival had done. He determined to marry Jeanne to a person who would surely befriend his interests, and in 1212 united her to Ferrand of Portugal.

While thus in high places the king could congratulate himself on having won a position of ascendancy, he failed to win the towns and finally also Count Ferrand. In 1213 he occupied the county and thus drove it definitively into the arms of the English. King John scattered money among the Flemish chivalry, the towns supported him, and the apogee of English influence was attained.

The battle of Bouvines on July 27, 1314, brusquely changed all this. The count and his Anglophil chivalry were prisoners, and Countess Jeanne was constrained to make peace on humiliating terms. The English party therewith suffered eclipse. Philip Augustus retained Ferrand as a guarantee of loyalty and Jeanne affixed her seal to the treaty of Melun (April, 1226). The English sympathizers were obliterated. Only the towns, because of their economic connections, remained friendly to the English, but this never led them to support Henry III against the French king.

The book has an excellent bibliography, and a section devoted to documents. The footnotes are very full and clear. It would perhaps be impossible for scholars in England or America to trace the reference *Album Vercoullie* in the first note on page 31. The full title is *Album opgedragen aan Prof. Dr. J. Vercoullie door Ambtgenooten, oud-leerlingen en vereerders ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigsten verjaardag en van zijn emeritaat, 1857–1927*, Vol. I (Brussels: Paginae, 1927).

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EDMOND FARAL, *La Légende Arthurienne.* (Première partie, Les plus anciens textes.) Paris: Champion, 1929. Paper. 3 vols. Pp. iv+315; 463; 389.

ARTHURIAN students will be grateful to Faral for providing in his third volume handy texts of the three oldest Latin sources: *Historia Britonum*, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and *Vita Merlini*. No longer will it be necessary at every reference to Nennius to consult the ponderous Mommsen, and it is convenient to have both Nennius and Geoffrey in one volume. Faral has prepared his normalized texts not for the specialist but for the general scholarly reader, and this is quite proper because, in the case of works so important as these, a readable edition has its uses. Indeed, it is probable that even the specialist in Arthurian romances will consult Faral's texts nine times out of ten, but on the tenth time when he is in search of the greatest possible accuracy he will quote from Mommsen: *Historia Britonum*, Griscom: *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and Parry: *Vita Merlini*, and for reasons that I will try to show.

Students of Arthurian origins are interested in every mistake and every queer spelling in the older manuscripts, because they hope that these peculiarities may give a clue to the sources that lie behind our Latin texts. In Griscom's Geoffrey, for example, it is possible to trace all mistakes and queer spellings. In Faral's edition it is not possible.

Arthurian students regard Geoffrey's text somewhat as other people do the armless Venus de Milo. If you want arms for Venus de Milo I concede that Faral will supply more beautiful ones than anybody else. But some of us prefer to leave Venus in the armless condition in which she stands at the end of that long corridor in the Louvre. We leave the statue as it is because we are searching for the original splendid vision of the Greek artist, and we are afraid that this might be somewhat obscured to us if we allow any modern improvements however excellent. In the same way, the scholar who prefers Griscom's text of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* will do so, I think, not out of perversity but because he is trying to grasp Geoffrey's original conception and trying to see what sources he used, and he fears that these shadowy backgrounds may be obscured if he observes Geoffrey's text only through the colored glasses of Faral's normalizations.

Another reason why careful scholars will prefer Griscom's edition of Geoffrey's *Historia* to that of Faral, is that Griscom set before himself a sharply defined and definite task in which accuracy is possible. Griscom's[1] editorial canon is as follows: 'The following Latin text is a faithful reproduction of a manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, *No. 1706.* . . . The usual manuscript abbreviations are extended throughout.' To

[1] Acton Griscom: *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York: Longmans Green, 1929), p. 218.

carry out this simple canon, Griscom needed only one or two sharp-eyed and careful helpers.

Faral's editorial canon[1] leaves too much room for the 'personal equation:' 'J'ai employé (sauf pour les noms propres, où j'ai respecté rigoureusement la lettre des originaux) les graphies qu'on peut appeler traditionnelles et qui ont le mérite de faciliter la lecture.[2]' He also admits 'Un minimum de corrections' of the manuscript chosen as a base. By altering all mediaeval spellings to those of classical Latin, Faral has pulled down upon himself an avalanche of petty changes, in the confusion wrought by which, accuracy becomes difficult. Moreover, since no two persons could agree precisely on the normalization of spelling, or the correction of real or supposed mistakes, Faral probably had to do all the editing and correcting himself, a task so great that a few errors may be condoned.

I have compared Griscom's printed Latin text with two facsimile plates of *Cambridge 1706* (one is the frontispiece, and the other faces p. 52), and have also checked two other pages against rotographs of the manuscript, and find no errors of any kind.

I have compared the second page of Faral's printing (p. 72) with a facsimile leaf of the manuscript which he has chosen as a base, *Cambridge 1125* (in Griscom's edition facing p. 32), and find that in his footnote to chapter III, line 2, Faral says that *Cambridge 1125* reads *gaulfridi*. The facsimile shows *galfridi*. The reading *gaufridi* (not *gaulfridi*) is from the Bern manuscript, as may be seen in the facsimile plate in Griscom (facing p. 86). In the next line Faral says that *Cambridge 1125* reads *exortum*. The facsimile has *extortum*.

In a footnote on p. 84 to chapter XVI, line 23, Faral says that the Leyden manuscript reads *apis*. Griscom's edition contains (facing p. 50) a facsimile plate of Leyden. Anyone can see that it reads *apris*.

Parry's edition of the *Vita Merlini* lays down an editorial canon which is even stricter than that already quoted from Griscom's edition of the *Historia*.[3] 'From the text [Brit. Mus.] *Cotton Vesp. E. iv*, I have not knowingly departed in any way either in spelling or punctuation except that I have expanded (in smaller type) the abbreviations of the MS.'

So far as I can test the work, Parry has lived up to his canon. In Faral's edition of the *Vita*, on the other hand, I find on the first page (III, 307) a variation from the facsimile in a proper name, and Faral promised to keep the spelling of proper names. Faral in line 15 prints *Rabirius*, whereas the

[1] Vol. III, 2–3; cf. also 69–70, 306.

[2] That is, Faral has changed the manuscript spellings to those of classic Latin: *nihil* for the mediaeval *nichil*, *saepius* for *sepius*, etc.

[3] John J. Parry, *The Vita Merlini* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. X, no. 3, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929), p. 25.

facsimile plate in Parry's *Vita Merlini* (facing p. 9) reads *Rabiruis*. A rotograph of *Cotton Vesp. iv* that I have consulted at the University of Illinois Library shows that in line 953, where Faral prints *producit* the manuscript reads *protulit;* and where Faral begins a new paragraph at line 977, thus giving this line to Merlin, the manuscript begins the paragraph at line 976[1] and gives the line to Taliesin.

All of the mistakes that I have pointed out in Faral's texts are unimportant. They suffice, however, to show that careful workers will prefer to quote, not from Faral, but from some edition that aims to be an exact reprinting of one good manuscript, because such an edition can be practically accurate. Faral then has done a good readers' edition of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and not a critical edition at all.

Let me add that even if he had done a critical edition, it would be too complicated to be of much use. Unless by a study of the relations of the manuscripts, the number of important sets of variants can be reduced to three or four, a critical edition of any ancient book is nearly useless to a careful student. If not more than three or four sets of variants are given at the foot of the page, it may be possible by a great deal of labor to reconstruct some idea of the character of each of the different manuscripts, or families of manuscripts; but when the number of variants goes beyond three or four, reconstitution of a manuscript becomes a super-human task. Griscom lists 185 manuscripts of Geoffrey's *Historia* and nobody,[2] has seen any way of reducing the chief variants to manageable proportions. Under these circumstances, assuming that Griscom's edition is an exact reprint of *Cambridge 1706*, what is needed is that all other good manuscripts be collated with Griscom's text, and their variant readings be printed in consecutive order. Such collations show many things that a critical edition conceals. If it be too expensive to publish all the collations, then an onomasticon of proper names, giving all the spellings of all the different manuscripts, should be constructed. Such a dictionary would be an indispensable tool for Arthurian students.

A critical study that fills the first two volumes of Faral's work is, like his texts, addressed to the general intelligent reader. Neither Faral's texts nor his critical study are objective performances. They are alike in being considerably more simple than the facts that he is studying. Most people know nothing of Irish or Welsh, and most readers will be attracted by Faral's treatment of the Arthurian legends which completely ignores Irish and

[1] Paragraphs are not indented in this manuscript, but are marked with a ¶.

[2] Faral defends his way of editing in *Romania*, LV (1929), 484, note 3, and calls Griscom's edition no better than a rotograph. Surely a printed book is more convenient than any rotograph.

Welsh influence. They will applaud his work because it is easy to understand. Why is it that Faral never refers to the assured results of Irish scholarship? He does not mention, for example, the derivation of *Caliburnus*, the name of Arthur's sword, from the Irish *Caladbolg*, and remarks (II, 266) that Caliburnus is unexplained[1] unless it be from *chalybs* in Virgil.

Taine wrote a History of English Literature to illustrate a theory. His history, although in details very often wrong, met with great popular success and is still on everybody's book-shelf because it is clearly written. Faral is writing a history of the Arthurian Legend to prove that everything in the Arthurian material of any importance at all comes from the main stream of European literature and is based on classical writers. Perhaps Faral's History of the Arthurian Legend, of which these three volumes are the first fruits, will have a popular success like Taine. Faral writes clearly and well. His book will, doubtless, turn the minds of many students toward the Arthurian romances. It is a pity that he says nothing about those fascinating Irish stories that throw light on many things in the romances he purposes to discuss.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN,
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STEFAN GAEVSKII, *'Aleksandrija' v Davnii Ukrainskoi Literature* [*The* 'Alexandria' *in Old Ukrainian Literature*] (Istorično-filologični Viddil Vse-ukrainskoi Akademii Nauk, Zbirnik No. 98). Kiev, 1929. Pp. xvi+237. Paper. Rubles 2.40.

THIS substantial volume, issued under the auspices of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, is devoted to the legendary history of Alexander the Great as it flourished on Ukrainian soil, and constitutes one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the Alexander romance which has appeared in several years. Among Alexander studies that have been published in the Slavic world it is the most notable in this century.

This volume is chiefly a collection of texts, but of texts hitherto scarcely available or available only in manuscripts. There are four main items which follow the brief introduction in Ukrainian. Of these items by far the most

[1] The derivation of Geoffrey's *Caliburnus* (IX, 4) from the Welsh *Calet-vwlch* (J. Rhŷs and G. Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion*, 105.28; 136.11), and that from the Irish *Calad-bolg* (LL. 102a28; 102b23) has been demonstrated with almost mathematical precision. Both in Geoffrey and in the Irish this magic sword was brought from fairyland. See Zimmer, *Gott. gel. Anz.* (1890), pp. 516–17; Windisch, Leipzig *Abhandlungen*, 1912, 'Das Kelt. Brit.' p 174; J. Loth, *Les Mab.*[2] (1913), I, 258, n. 2; Thurneysen, *ZCP*, XII (1918), 281; *Irische Helden und Königsage* (1921), 114. On the derivation of *Caliburnus* from *Caletwlch* (*l* interchanges with *r*, and *-nus* is the regular ending) see W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 92, 326.

On the other hand *Caliburnus* cannot come from *chalybs*, and *chalybs* 'steel' is not the name of a sword, cf. 'Fluit aes rivis aurique metallum, Volnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit,' *Aeneid*, viii, 455–6.

important and interesting is item I (pp. 1–85), a new text of the so-called Serbian *Alexander*. Entering Slavic territory in perhaps the fourteenth century from the South-east, this has developed in the course of its long life and as a result of many scribal remaniements into a variety of forms, suggestive rather of a folk-tale than of a work of purely literary tradition. Representatives of the South-eastern types have long been available in the editions of V. Jagić and S. Novaković (see F. P. Magoun, *Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 37, 38, for literature); here we have a Ukrainian text represented in at least 9 MSS. The MSS Т, У, Х are late and were not used for the present edition; А and С in Lemberg were not available in preparing the text for publication, nor was MS. *No. 3517* in the Krasinski Library, Warsaw. The text is based on MS. П (from the collection of M. Peretz), carelessly excuted in detail but complete; the edited text follows this closely with the use of question and exclamation marks in square brackets after words or phrases which might be taken for typographical errors; the MS. improves as it advances and difficulties have, furthermore, been cleared up with the aid of variants from Б and $П_1$, deriving from the source of П. Б and $П_1$ are unfortunately defective at the beginning, but where П is abridged, lacunae have been often supplied from $П_1$, such additions being placed in square brackets without disturbing the text of П. The use of MSS with an East Slavic or Muscovite coloring — conservatism characterizes these redactions — is eschewed in order to give a clear picture of the Ukrainian redaction, though some help has been derived from these for places where the readings of П in its earlier parts (before Б and $П_1$ could be drawn upon) are damaged.

The introductory discussion of item II (pp. 89–173), ultimately a translation through a Polish intermediary of one of the Strassburg incunabula of the *Historia de Preliis*, recension I^3, needs modification and revision in the light of the study of this text made in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XLII (1928), 262–274; the Polish text printed in *Prace Filologiczne*, Vol. IX (1920) is, of course, of no use for purposes of comparison here; what is badly wanted is an edition of the Polish texts printed in Cracow in 1550 and later.

Item III (pp. 177–210) is the Ukrainian *Alexander* from Marcin Bielsky's *Kronika*. This exists in two forms: (1) the basis of the edited text with a long interpolated passage and preserved in 3 Chronicles, designated as М, $Б_1$, И; (2) without the interpolation and existing as an independent work, from which variants are cited as $Л_1$. The sources and relationship of this work need further study.

Item IV consists of 6 supplementary passages taken variously from MSS Л, К, $М_1$, $П_1$, Б, and П. No. 1 illustrates an early type of preface not in the later MSS; No. 2 serves as a specimen of the language of the Kievan Ukrai-

nian fragments; Nos. 3, 4, and 5 illustrate in the episode of the Gymnosophists (*nagomudretsi*, the 'naked wise') the variable character of the MSS; while No. 6 gives us the story of the poisoning and death of Alexander.

The publication of the above-mentioned texts with apparatus, taken in connection with Mr Gaevskii's earlier work on the MSS of the Serbian *Alexander*, is certain to give impetus to studies which have languished since the appearance of the fundamental books of Veselovskii and Istrin. Scholarship owes a debt of gratitude to the editor and to the directors of Ukrainian Academy.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.,
Harvard University

Halldór Hermannsson, ed., *The Book of the Icelanders (Islendingabók) by Ari Thorgilsson, edited and translated with an Introductory Essay and Notes (Islandica* xx). Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, 1930. Pp. 89. Paper. $2.00.

Finnur Jónsson, ed., *Are hinn Fróði þorgilsson, Islendingabók, tilegnet Islands Alting 930–1930 af Dansk-Islandsk Forbundsfond.* Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaards Forlag, 1930. Pp. vii+74, with a phototypic reproduction of the MS. *AM 113 B*, 10 leaves. Paper. Kr. 18.

It is an interesting coincidence, but by no means a surprising one, that two born Icelanders now resident for many years abroad chose the same subject for books to be offered as homage to their native land on the occasion of the millenary observance of the founding of the Icelandic Commonwealth with the establishment of the *Alþingi* in 930. Ari's historical work is not only the first book written in the vernacular in Iceland, but it possesses an intrinsic importance far beyond that due to such a merely fortuitous chronological precedence. The first Icelandic historian was a worthy founder of the line which culminates in Snorri Sturluson.

Professor Finnur Jónsson's edition has a brief introduction on Ari's life and literary activities, followed by a phototypic reproduction of one of the two surviving manuscripts, *AM 113 B*. Next he gives a modified diplomatic text, with critical and exegetical notes. The latter are very full and form a running commentary in the course of which the editor takes occasion to discuss various controversial matters at some length. Thus the three short sentences of the Prologue are followed by 6½ pages of commentary. Such an arrangement makes it difficult to read the text consecutively, but the notes themselves amply compensate for this defect. The reader is not surprised to discover that Professor Jónsson's opinions on the crucial questions of interpretation and his conclusions drawn from them remain unchanged by the additional literature on the subject which has appeared since his history of Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic literature, and one would not have him other than he is, a Viking of scholarship who wields

his broadsword with slashing strokes calculated to demolish his opponents with an epic finality. May he live long to carry on the fight! The book also contains a translation into Danish and various supplements, including a bibliography.

Professor Hermannsson has followed quite a different method. His introductory essay of 46 pages is well conceived to fulfill its purpose of acquainting a wider public with Ari's life and times and presenting in a clear and judicious manner the chief problems connected with the *Libellus* and its place in the tradition of Icelandic historiography. He summarizes all the significant contributions of previous commentators to the discussion of the many interesting questions posed by Ari's work, nor does he fail to advance a new theory of his own regarding the much disputed genesis of the book. Mr Hermannsson suggests that the *Islendingabók* was written at the direct instance of the two bishops who are reported in the Prologue to have criticized it, and the changes which Ari made in the second redaction, the only one preserved, he believes to have resulted from the suggestion of the clerical critics that more stress should be laid on ecclesiastical matters and less on purely secular history. These alterations were made, according to Mr Hermannsson's theory, in order to make the book better adapted to its purpose as a work of propaganda to further the adoption of the Ecclesiastical Law obtained by the bishops in 1123, which must have followed the appearance of Ari's work since it is not mentioned there, as pointed out by Bley. Mr Hermannsson makes out a plausible case, arguing his point persuasively and with due restraint. Once or twice he seems to the reviewer to overstress a fact which he believes to support his theory, as when he implies that it is unlikely that Ari should have consulted the two bishops in connection with his book, 'neither of whom was a literary man, or a patron of letters' (p. 36), except under the circumstances which he assumes. But it need not surprise us that the author of the first book in the vernacular, and doubtless one of the first secular works in any language, composed in Iceland, should apply for advice to the bishops of the country, the titular heads of the clergy who represented the only literate class of the population. Nor can it be justly said that a disproportionate amount of space is devoted to ecclesiastical affairs in the book as we now have it, considering that its author was after all himself a man of clerical education. Many readers will not agree with the editor when he interprets the Prologue as implying that Ari's critics suggested omissions as well as additions; Heusler's objection that this is to make a hypothetical *minca* out of the plain *auca* of the text is still a valid one. It is this consideration which is one of the strongest arguments in favor of Schreiner's conception, which cannot be brushed aside so loftily as Finnur Jónsson would have us believe.

The present writer confesses to a furtive leaning toward the heterodox interpretation of the phrase 'fyr utan attartolo oc conunga ævi' as 'except for the (now added) genealogies and lives of kings,' endorsed by Jón Sigurðsson and Jón Þorkelsson. It seems to fit the transmitted context much better than to understand the words in the opposite sense. What these additions, which must have been removed later, may have consisted in, we can never know with certainty. With regard to the passage 'meþ því at þeim lícaþi svá at hava eþa þar viþr auka,' the true explanation is most probably that of B. M. Olsen, who took *eþa* not in a disjunctive, but in a copulative sense (practically = *oc*). This use is amply attested for the older language by several passages in the Elder Edda (see the commentary of Detter-Heinzel on *Vǫluspá* 24, 5–8; 26, 7; 28, 8, and Neckel's glossary *s.v. eða*).

Mr Hermannsson prints the text in a normalized orthography for the benefit of the general reader to whom he addresses himself, and his translation is perspicuous and soundly literal. The notes are informative and scholarly, as was to be expected.

F. Stanton Cawley,
Harvard University

Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts* (*Islandica* xix). Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, 1929. Pp. 80, 8 plates. Paper. $2.00.

This is an extremely welcome account of the whole body of Icelandic parchment codices and the fates which have followed them through various vicissitudes to their present resting-places, for the most part in the libraries of Denmark and Sweden.

After an introductory section on the beginnings of writing and bookmaking in Iceland, the author proceeds to a discussion of the criteria for dating the extant manuscripts and a concise summary of the most important arranged in chronological order. He then takes up the question of authorship in connection with the problem of tracing the history of the various manuscripts, most of which are anonymous, and contributes here a valuable excursus on the part played by clerics in the literary transmission of secular material. He reaches the conclusion, in confirmation of views already propounded by Rudolf Meissner, that members of the clergy had only a minimal share in the merit of preserving from oblivion the sagas and the ancient poetry, both Eddic and Scaldic.

The melancholy story of how Iceland was gradually stripped of its manuscript treasures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is told with much interesting detail. Mr Hermannsson properly emphasizes the disastrous effect which this process of spiritual denudation exercised upon the Icelandic nation. It is, as he says, 'surprising that the people ever recuperated after such a loss, subjected as they were also to political and economic

oppression.' He is not disposed to accept without question the usual argument that the removal of the manuscripts saved them from the destruction to which they were exposed under the conditions in which they were kept in the country of their origin, and points out that the very success of such an indefatigable collector as Arni Magnússon in gathering them together in one place resulted in an irreparable loss when a large part of his library was burned in the great Copenhagen fire of 1728. There is a tragic irony in the fact that 'the country which produced so many manuscripts should now possess only one parchment codex of the *Jónsbók* (of *ca.* 1600) and about twenty vellum fragments, none of them important.'

Only a few items have found their way to America, including three vellum codices of the *Jónsbók*, one in the Fiske Icelandic Collection, Cornell University, and two in the Harvard College Library (Maurer Collection). These two libraries also possess some paper manuscripts of late date and slight importance.

Appended to Mr Hermannsson's essay is a useful 'List of Catalogues of Icelandic Manuscripts.'

The reviewer has noted two misprints, on p. 6, footnote 2: *1280* and *1270* should be *1180* and *1170*, respectively.

F. Stanton Cawley,
Harvard University

James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: an Introduction and Guide*, (Vol. I, Ecclesiastical), (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies). New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi+807. $12.50.

It is difficult to refrain from a lavish use of superlatives in a notice of this contribution to Early Irish Studies, which is published under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, and the general editorship of Austin P. Evans, Ph.D. (in succession to James T. Shotwell, LL.D.). Everyone who has been interested in the investigation of any phase of these studies, whether historical, literary, or ecclesiastical, or of any particular point such as hagiography, development of culture, palaeography, and numerous others, has been forcibly impressed with the need, first, of a complete bibliography, and second, of a critical appreciation of the sources which will serve as a guide in the use of the immense body of detailed studies which have appeared in this broad field. Hitherto, one has been limited to partial bibliographies of particular subjects, selected lists found in various places, especially in connection with reviews, and catalogs of library collections on the various branches. The most notable help, up to now, has been R. I. Best's *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, published by the National Library of Ireland. Here, at last, are brought together in a single convenient arrangement all the important

contributions to history and allied studies, particularly philology, palaeography, chronology, geography and topography, archaeology, and anthropology, as they relate to Ireland. The present volume is confined to sources dealing chiefly with ecclesiastical affairs up to A.D. 1170, except for the earliest period, for which, naturally, no distinction could be drawn between ecclesiastical and secular matters. It is to be followed by another volume dealing with Irish secular sources, and with foreign sources for the later periods.

The utility of the assemblage in one place of such a varied mass of documentary sources is surpassed, however, by the usefulness of this volume as a guide to students in the appreciation of the importance and critical value of the works that have appeared, not only from the viewpoint of history as such, but also from that of the various aspects of historical study. The fundamental manuscript sources being mentioned, and the printed editions available, the questions that have arisen are noted, the controversies that have been or are being waged are succinctly summarized, and often a hint is given as to the direction in which the solution probably lies.

The chapter on 'History in Ireland,' in which is given a sketch of the actual state of learning in Ireland in the early centuries after the introduction of Christianity, and of its progress through the war-periods of the Viking and Anglo-Norman invasions, and so through the succeeding attempt to substitute the English for the Gaelic tradition of learning, presents in the brief compass of sixty-eight pages a summary of Irish literary history for a millennium and a half which is unsurpassed anywhere. The remainder of the chapter, dealing with 'Modern Scholarship and the Gaelic Revival' and the 'Chief Collections of Manuscripts,' is, from the point of view of the history of the study of the Irish language, one of the most important portions of the work.

But one cannot select any one part of the volume as more valuable than any other, except from the subjective angle of one's own academic interest. The following chapters on the knowledge of Ireland among the classical peoples, on the introduction of Christianity and the relations of Ireland with the Continent during the so-called 'Celtic' period of the Irish Church, on the foundation and development of monastic churches, on the work of Irish missionaries in North Britain and the Continent, on the literary connections between Ireland and the Continent from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, on the religious literature and ecclesiastical culture of the same period, and finally on the external reorganization of the Church in Ireland in the twelfth century — all of these show the same painstaking and detailed accounts of the circumstances of the period, and of the more general primary sources of information that have come down to us, with their

printed editions and commentaries, if any, followed by studies of the particulars (listed under the names of individuals, churches, schools, manuscripts, and the like), always with a critical appreciation of the value of the works cited, and of the questions which remain unsettled.

This volume is the fruit of over twenty years of research, and Dr Kenney may be said to have lengthened the life of every student of this field by approximately that span, for it takes a score of years to become acquainted with a mere fraction of the sources here discussed. The students of the future may well be said to start from the shoulders of their predecessors if they work from the beginning with such a guide as this in their hands. All who are interested in Celtic studies, more particularly in the Irish portion of the field, will gladly acknowledge themselves deeply indebted to the author and to the editors of the 'Records of Civilization' Series, and will fervently pray that the intended second volume, on the secular sources, may soon complete this magnificent work.

James A. Geary,
Catholic University of America

Steven Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire.* London: G. Bell's Sons, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+337. 16 shillings.

Apart from Mr William Miller's scant fifteen pages of cursory survey in the *Camb. Med. Hist.* iv, 230–245, and Chap. xi of J. B. Bury's *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I*, there has been heretofore practically no material in English on the First Bulgarian Empire, and very little on the subject of the conversion of the Bulgars and their relation both to Rome and to the Eastern Church, though the latter topic has been treated succinctly and accurately in French by F. Dvornik (*Les Slaves, Byzance, et Rome* [Paris, 1926], pp. 184 ff.). The best discussions of early Bulgarian history have been, in fact, hidden from western scholars in numerous Russian articles and monographs and in the monumental Bulgarian work of Professor V. N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na Búlgarskata Dúrzava prěz Srědnitě Věkove* (*History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages;* Sofia: i, 1918; ii, 1929).

The Bulgars are particularly interesting on account of their Turcotatar origin, their apparent racial identity with the Huns, and their rapid fusion with a Slavic population with whom they made contact during their southward movement. They appear in motion between the Volga and the lower Danube in the second half of the fifth century; in 482, the Emperor Zeno enlisted them as his allies against the Goths. Their first raid into Thrace occurred in 499, from which date their incursions were frequently repeated, sometimes with Hunnish or Slavic reinforcements, until in 626 they ad-

vanced toward Constantinople under command of an Avar khan. Up to this time, they had been more or less submissive to the Avars, but the Pannonian realm of the latter was weakened about 640 by Bulgarian and Slavic attacks, and the loose agglomeration of Bulgar tribes swarmed down through the Balkans until they invested Thessalonica thirty-five years later. While the Bulgars must have pushed through the territory of certain Eastern Slavic units (particularly the Antes) in the course of their migration, the Slavs they met below the Danube doubtless belonged to the southern branch, which had begun to settle in the Eastern Balkans from the sixth century. A hundred years later, the Slavs of Moesia were thus glad to submit to Bulgar domination in return for protection both against the Avars and against Byzantium. Indeed, as Niederle remarks, 'cette occupation et la soumission conjointe des tribus slaves installées dans cette région se firent dans le calme, sans soulever de résistance.'

Mr Runciman outlines the struggles between the Greek Emperors and the Bulgar Khans and the interplay of ecclesiastical influences which culminated in the triumph of the Eastern Church in Bulgaria (a most striking instance of the slow and pacific penetration of Byzantine Christianity) and contributed to the rise of the powerful state under Greek administrative and intellectual influence ruled over for thirty-seven years by Tsar Boris (*regn.* 852–889). Within his reign falls that traditional mission sent by Rostislav of Moravia to Michael III which resulted in the missionary journey of Cyril and Methodius, the relation of which to Bulgarian culture is effectively treated. The progress of the Bulgarian Empire continued under Symeon (*regn.* 893–927), in whose reign intellectual advance was acceler ated by the stimulus of the royal school at Preslav and of Clement's group at Okhrida. The economic situation of the growing state was improved by its position on strategic trade-routes, though difficulties with Byzantine commercial interests led to a military collision with Leo the Wise. The latter was not loth to use the advancing Magyars as a threat, but was worsted in both diplomacy and warfare by the calculating Symeon, who repulsed the Magyars toward the Danubian plain, where their settlement perpetuated the separation of Bulgaria from the West which had already resulted from the policy of Tsar Boris. Mr Runciman skillfully traces Symeon's campaign for the Byzantine throne during the regency for Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–919), his eventual peace with Romanus Lecapenus (924), and the ill-fated operations in Croatia which foreshadowed Symeon's death. The concluding chapters deal with the Bogomile heresy, the Russian invasion under Svyatoslav of Kiev, and the decline and final subjugation of Bulgaria under Basil II.

The appendices to Mr Runciman's volume treat (among other matters)

the so-called 'Bulgarian Princes' List,' Bulgar titles, various questions of chronology, and the Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets. In the last connection, it suffices to observe that the author is a convinced adherent of the Minns-Rahlfs view (shared at present by E. F. Karski) which rejects not only the priority of the *Glagolica* but also its derivation from Greek cursive; it may be questioned, however, whether many Slavicists would regard Rahlfs' remarks (Kuhns *Zeitschrift*, XLV, 285 ff.) as adequate reason to throw overboard the entire Taylor-Jagić theory. The book contains a comprehensive bibliography, though I miss references to any modern text of the Russian *Primary Chronicle* more recent than Léger's French translation and, in connection with Cyril and Methodius, A. Brückner's pamphlet *Die Wahrheit über die Slavenapostel* (Tübingen, 1913), as well as H. von Schubert's important study 'Die sogenannten Slavenapostel Constantin and Methodius' (*Heidelberg Sitz.-Ber.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1916). A. Rahlfs' article (cited above), though cursorily referred to p. 298 n., does not figure in the bibliography. The book contains a good map.

Mr Runciman's work is a valuable adjunct to both Byzantine and Early Slavic history, and makes available for the first time a considerable amount of information hitherto accessible with difficulty, and then only to students familiar with one or more Slavic languages. One is tempted to suggest to the author the potential interest of a similar detailed treatment of the Serbian Empire from Stephen Nemanya to the battle of Kosovo Polye, for which, to be sure, Jiriček-Radonić supply a somewhat inferior background to that furnished by Zlatarski for the present study.

SAMUEL H. CROSS,
Harvard University

A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (From the Crusades to the Fall of the Empire). Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1929. Cloth. Pp. 10+502.

THE present volume is the second and last part of Professor Vasiliev's important text, of which the first half appeared in 1928. The whole work is of special value as the first modern inclusive treatment in English of Byzantine history as a whole from Constantine the Great to Constantine XI conceived and executed with sufficient breadth to permit an adequate insight into most of the chief phases of Byzantine civilization during the entire course of its evolution. The author's standing as a specialist emanating from the school of V. G. Vasilievski indicates the outstanding character of this study. The second volume itself is an amplification of three monographs published in Russian by the author in 1923 and 1925, each of which covers one of the three main divisions into which this volume naturally falls: the period of the Crusades, the Empire of Nicaea, and the two final

centuries of gradual decline under the Palaeologi. In addition to the general survey of the literature on Byzantine history which opened Professor Vasiliev's first volume, the author has provided in the second detailed bibliographies for each of the sections which it comprises.

Professor Vasiliev's description of the administration, politics, foreign relations, and culture of the Eastern Empire reflects an admirable command of the voluminous source material, though at times the strictly chronological presentation creates a certain (and perhaps unavoidable) monotony through absence of specific emphasis. One also misses any extensive effort at detailed treatment of the commercial relations and internal economics of the Byzantine State. While more or less satisfactory general data on the former are of course available in such works as W. Heyd's *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age* and Professor J. W. Thompson's *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, it would seem that complete synthetic treatment of the influence of trade and financial factors on imperial evolution is essential for a proper understanding of the strength and weakness of the Byzantine economy. Such supplementing of the traditional political view-point in history would thus appear as useful in the study of the Eastern Empire as in dealing with the relations of modern states, and the functions of budgets, taxes, customs, and the purchasing power of the bezant were doubtless fully as important for imperial stability as the theological arguments which play so extensive a rôle in Byzantine intellectual life. Neither volume of Professor Vasiliev's work contains any maps, though they would have contributed greatly to its usefulness for the student.

In the foreword to the third Russian monograph referred to, Professor Vasiliev expressed his intention 'to refrain for the moment from any general estimate of the significance of Byzantium in world history, since such a task deserves a special monograph, which should not relate to any particular epoch of Byzantine history, but to its whole external and internal development, with all the complicated processes of its political, social, economic, and intellectual life.' Professor Vasiliev's brief but inclusive treatment, in the present volume, of literature, learning, and art during the three epochs which it discusses, and, in particular, his short survey of the relation of Byzantium to the Italian Renaissance (II, 433–444), justifies the hope that he will eventually devote to Byzantium a work as authoritative in the interpretation of Byzantine culture in its European significance as the present study is in the presentation of the historical facts of imperial evolution and decline.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

H. A. Wolfson: *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. Cloth. Pp. xvi+759. $6.00.

The sixth volume in the *Harvard Semitic Studies*, a study of the problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy, opens with the very significant statement that 'Mediaeval philosophy is no longer considered a barren interval between ancient and modern philosophy,' and is a new evidence of the revival of interest in Mediaeval Philosophy. By means of philological and textual studies on which he has spent nearly twenty years, the author attempts to trace the history of certain philosophical problems, and by a picture of the reaction against Aristotelianism in Jewish schools of the fourteenth century to furnish a background for corresponding discussions in scholastic philosophy.

Hasdai Crescas (born in Barcelona in 1340, died in Saragossa in 1410) flourished two centuries after Maimonides, a period during which the center of Jewish philosophic activity had shifted to Christian Spain, to Southern France and to Italy, and an attitude of independence from, even of opposition to, Aristotle's philosophy had developed. Of his book *Or Adonai* ('The Light of the Lord') Professor Wolfson takes for consideration about one sixth: the first twenty-five chapters of Part I of Book I, which are written in the form of proofs of the twenty-five propositions in which Maimonides summed up the main principles of Aristotle's philosophy, and the first twenty chapters of Part II of the same Book, which are written in the form of a criticism of twenty out of the twenty-five propositions.

The present work comprises an Introduction (pp. 1–127), the Text and Translation of the Twenty-five Propositions of Book I of the *Or Adonai* (pp. 130–315), Notes (pp. 319–700) and Bibliography and Indexes (pp. 703–759). Critics well qualified to estimate the merit of Dr Wolfson's scholarship have called his work 'the most thorough piece of historical and critical scholarship in the field of mediaeval Jewish Philosophy' (Dr Isaac Husick, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XXI, p. 166). Here we shall content ourselves with a brief statement of the main points upon which Crescas challenges Aristotle's positions and arguments. Professor Wolfson's valuable Introduction gives a systematic presentation of these points.

The first problem dealt with is that of infinity and space. In the arguments by which Aristotle tries to establish the impossibility of an infinite corporeal extension, Crescas discovers certain fallacies, as, for instance, that of arguing against the existence of an infinite from the analogy of a finite, and he holds that the infinite may be a body. He takes issue with Aristotle's definition of place and affirms against him the possibility and existence of a vacuum and of an infinite incorporeal extension.

Crescas approaches next the problem of motion and time, and makes the

relation between time and motion one of the pivotal points of his criticism of Aristotle. He finds fault with the definition of motion as the 'actuality of that which is in potentiality in so far as it is in potentiality:' he insists that matter is not inert, but naturally endowed with motion; he concedes that the immediate cause of motion must be distinct from, though not necessarily external to, the object moved, but does not apply this to the ultimate cause of any transition from potentiality to actuality. Making duration the essence of time and duration independent of, though measurable through, motion, he admits the possibility of time prior to creation.

Taking up at last the matter and form theory, Crescas eliminates the purely potential unextended prime matter. For him matter is something actual, not depending upon its form for existence, from which it follows that form is no longer to be considered as the cause of the existence of a being.

Summing up the results of his analysis of Crescas' main positions, Professor Wolfson credits him with having foreshadowed a new conception of the universe, and striking indeed are the analogies between some of the Jewish thinker's ideas and some of the concepts of modern physics: an infinite universe, a universal ether, revival of atomism, complete homogeneity and continuity of nature, the forces of which are unified by bringing magnetic attraction under the general laws of natural motion. He stops short, however, of the pantheistic attribution of extension to God 'who continues to play the traditional part of a transcendant being unlike anything within the universe.' Professor Wolfson's final estimate of Crescas' position is that of a mind fluctuating between tradition which he considered sovereign in matters religious and which he sought to defend against Aristotle's rationalism, and the method of experience to which he appealed without making it the basis of inductions giving rise to universal laws. Having renounced the 'wilds of speculation' and the 'artificial structures of the Aristotelian system' he sought but did not find a new way of returning to nature.

Professor Wolfson has earned the gratitude of students of scholastic philosophy and mediaeval thought who are not familiar with Hebrew for having given them access to a work little known so far. They will look with interest for the publication of a separate study of Part III of Book I and of the remaining chapters of Parts I and II of *Or Adonai* which Professor Wolfson promises to give shortly under the title, *Crescas and the Existence and Attributes of God.*

J. A. Baisnée,
Sulpician Seminary,
Washington, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS

With reference to Professor W. Thomson's review of Professor P. K. Hitti's *Memoirs of Usāmah ibn Munqidh* (SPECULUM v, 448–551), the Editors of SPECULUM have received the following communication from Professor Hitti. Professor Thomson was invited by the Editors to submit a reply to Professor Hitti's remarks, and Professor Hitti has supplied certain comments upon this reply which appear below in italics as bracketed notes to the appropriate passages of the latter.

To the Editors of SPECULUM:

The review of my book *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* which appeared in your October issue reduces itself mainly into a comparison between my English translation and Derenbourg's French translation, on the one hand, and Derenbourg's Arabic text, on the other. But my translation is *not* of Derenbourg's text. That text was characterized as 'suspect' in my preface (line 8). My translation is based on photographic reproduction of the Escurial manuscript to which your reviewer had no access. How does he then justify his checking my translation against a text which is not its original and which I had refused to use?

Mr Thomson knows and states that I have 'gone back to the original source' and remarks twice on the '36' variations in reading pointed out in the English translation. These, however, were only illustrations, as expressly stated in the introduction, and were not meant to be all-inclusive. As I was not translating Derenbourg's text I did not consider it necessary to indicate *all* the variant readings. In my new Arabic text which was issued this October by the Princeton University Press, and after the review had been made, Mr Thomson will find about 748 variations from the Derenbourg text, some 86 of which have been emphasized in the footnotes.

Ignoring the source of the English translation is not the only pit into which Mr Thomson has fallen. He even failed to consult the *errata* of the text which he used as his standard. His first paragraph of criticism he introduces with: 'Unfortunately Professor Hitti has sometimes followed Derenbourg's French translation where it is wrong.' In support of his claim he cites an Arabic word (Arabic text, p. 6. 13) which Derenbourg translates (*Autobiographie*, p. 7. 14) 'qu'il soudoya,' which Hitti (p. 33.9) translates 'whom he won over to the scheme by distributing money' and which Thomson 'corrects:' 'whom he had offended.' As a matter of fact that Arabic word is not *asā'lahum* (which Thomson translated from the Derenbourg text); it is *istamālahum* as corrected by Derenbourg himself in his long list of *errata* attached to his *Vie d'Ousāma*, première partie (Paris, 1893), p. 625. In this eleven-page list, which the reviewer ignores, Derenbourg made no less than 369 corrections in the reading of his own text which is only 168 pages. The reading of this particular word was also corrected by Carlo de Landberg, *Critica Arabica* No. II (Leyden, 1888), p. 16. 15. Landberg devotes 57 pages and lists some 536 different readings from Derenbourg's text — with which the reviewer does not seem to be familiar. The second illustration which Thomson produces belongs to the same category. *an fi'ah* (Arabic text p. 19, 2), which he would have us 'correct' so as to translate 'without a man,' is *'arraftuhu*, as Landberg (p. 18. 17) points out, and as corrected by Derenbourg in his *errata* p. 626. Other cases where we all agree on the original reading such as *qala'ūhum* (text p. 28.8) and by which Thomson understands 'cut off' instead of 'dislodge,' and *ghashiyahu* (text p. 28. 21) which he would render 'attack' rather than 'envelop,' we leave to the verdict of the Arabists. Not one of Thomson's translations can I accept.

PHILIP K. HITTI,
Princeton University

To the editors of SPECULUM:

Professor Hitti has consigned me to a pit dug, no doubt, for an unwary reviewer. For although his translation, as the above communication shows, must be regarded as based ultimately, in some instances at least, on Derenbourg's *Additions et Corrections* occupying pages 625–637 of his *Vie d'Ousāma*, which Professor Hitti cites occasionally in other connections, I have so far found no specific reference to Derenbourg's errata in Professor Hitti's translation of Usāmah's memoirs, while his text, *Usāmah's Memoirs Entitled Kitāb Al-I'tibār*, which has just come to hand, only cites them twice, in note 54 to page 16 and note 9 to page 201, despite the fact that in the first thirteen pages of that text Professor Hitti has adopted seventeen of the readings suggested by Derenbourg in his errata, which is a little over 50 per cent of all the variations from Derenbourg's text that occur in these pages. And Professor Hitti's two citations merely serve to demonstrate the superiority of his own text over against even Derenbourg's errata. [*As a translator into English of an Arabic manuscript in Spain I had no occasion to make any 'specific reference' to a list of errata issued by Derenbourg for his own text. But I now see how such an emphasis on the existence of the errata would have proved of extreme value to a reviewer who compared my translation with the wrong text and failed, through ignorance or 'oversight,' to make the proper use of its errata.*]

I should gladly avail myself of the plea of ignorance which Professor Hitti has so kindly advanced on my behalf, but I am unable to do so. Not only did I know of, but I also used, Derenbourg's *Additions et Corrections*, and in the two instances, therefore, to which Professor Hitti has so happily called attention, I must confess to the graver offense perhaps of an oversight, for which I apologize to SPECULUM and to Professor Hitti.

I am, however, in good company. Professor Hitti himself sits in the pit with me. For in note 14 to page 202 of his text he cites Derenbourg's reading that we may compare it with his own undoubtedly superior one, but ignores the errata, where Derenbourg suggests the very reading which Professor Hitti has adopted (*Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 634, note to p. 147, 4). The same oversight occurs in note 126 to page 223. Professor Hitti's reading in this instance may be found in Derenbourg's errata, *Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 635, note to p. 165. 6. And the emendation which Professor Hitti proposes in note 42 to page 13, merely repeats what Derenbourg has already suggested in these fatal errata of his, p. 634, note to p. 9, 20. [*This is all beside the mark. Even if it were relevant it would not be difficult to answer. Referring in a footnote to another reading for the sake of comparison is not parallel, as anyone can see, to using admittedly faulty readings as a basis of attack upon two translations, French and English, which was done by the reviewer.*

It is regrettable, therefore, that Professor Hitti insists herewith in rejecting *in toto* the twenty further suggestions which I put forward. Some of them are obvious, some are based on good Arab authorities, and the others will be plain to any Arabist who takes the pains to consult Professor Hitti's own text. The meaning of *qala'ūhum*, for instance, which Professor Hitti mentions (p. 38, line 7 from the bottom), is clear from the context. For it is manifestly used in the same sense as the *ahlakuhum* of two lines above and the *yatamakkanū* of the next line and, therefore, signifies 'cut off' or 'destroy.' Usamah's horsemen are not holding any position from which they might be dislodged. They are scattered and in danger of annihilation. If Professor Hitti had written, 'and unhorse them,' which is perhaps what Derenbourg meant, it would have been a possible translation. A classical example of the use of *qala'a* without a complement in this sense will be found in Professor Hitti's text p. 58, line 4 from the bottom. In the present context, however, I prefer the meaning which I have proposed and which Professor Hitti himself approximates on page 181, 4 of his translation, where he renders *aqla'uhum* (*aqla'ahum?*) by, 'and rout them.' The case of *ghashiyahu*, which Professor Hitti renders by 'enveloped him' and Derenbourg by 'l'enveloppait,' is one of idiomatic English. G. R. Potter, who made an English translation of Usāmah's memoirs from Derenbourg's

French, felt the difficulty of Derenbourg's phrase and translates, 'closed in [on him] on the left.' The matter is simple. *Ghashiya* may mean 'to come to or approach a person,' 'to surprise him,' or 'to fall upon him,' also, of course, 'to enclose an army completely;' but the last signification has no meaning in this instance. [*Every one of these cases has been covered by my answer above. For Professor Thomson to treat them again is an indication that he is not willing to acquiesce in the judgment of the jury of Arabists to whom the words were referred. Who would blame him?*

Professor Hitti has not impugned any of the other instances which I advanced, but to replace the two which have fallen by the wayside, I shall add one or two more with the remark that this list of Professor Hitti's errors can be expanded ten- or twenty-fold at the pleasure of Speculum or Professor Hitti. [*The two 'instances' acknowledged as impugned were in fact, as in name, instances serving as illustrations and not meant to be exhaustive. To brush aside here the issues raised by the original review and start on a new one is nothing less than evasion. With the unlimited space which seems to be accorded the reviewer, why not proceed to give the 'ten- or twenty-fold' list?*]

On pages 32, 10; 58, line 11 from the bottom; 71, line 8 from the bottom; and 119, 11, Professor Hitti renders by 'Early the second morning' and 'The second morning' two Arabic words (*Ghadā, asbaḥa, sabbaḥa*) which are generally translated by 'Early next morning' or just 'Next morning' (see text, pp. 8, 6; 32, 5; 43, bottom; 89, 8). In all four cases Derenbourg writes, 'Le lendemain matin,' The Arabic could hardly have led Professor Hitti astray, but the source of his error remains obscure, since on page 46, 7 (text 20, 6 from the bottom) he quite correctly says, 'The next morning,' where Derenbourg again has, 'Le lendemain matin' (p. 19, bottom). [*If all the 'errors' committed in the translation are of this nature, I feel quite satisfied.*]

On page 37, 15 of his text Professor Hitti proposes to read *jaish* instead of Derenbourg's *ḥbs*, one of those emendations no sooner suggested than accepted by every scholar. The Arabic then runs, 'while Mālik al-Ashtar was in the army of abu-Bakr.' But Professor Hitti writes (p. 64, line 14 from the bottom), 'while Mālik . . . was at the head of the army of abu-Bakr,' which recalls Derenbourg's convenient circumlocution (p. 37, 4), 'tandis que Mālik . . . était l'un des généraux d'Abou Bekr.' [*Reply unnecessary.*]

On page 116, top, of Professor Hitti's translation we have the story of how the Patriarch William of Jerusalem pitched a tent during an attack on Bāniyās and used it as a church in which the Franks held their prayers. The Arabic then proceeds, 'An old deacon was charged with the care (or maintenance) of the church and had covered its floor (not 'floors') with bulrushes and grass, which resulted in a pest of fleas.' Derenbourg correctly states (p. 87, 16) that 'un vieux diacre veillait au service de cette église,' but Professor Hitti has the astonishing announcement that 'The church services were conducted by an old deacon.' Deacons, however, did not conduct services, although they might assist in parts of the service, and in the Arabic it is quite clear that Usāmah is referring to the old deacon's job of attending to the decency and order of the church itself. The source of Professor Hitti's error is not immediately evident. [*This is the only good point raised in the whole review — or rather, in the two reviews — I must admit.*]

Professor Hitti's text, page 192, 2, says that Usāmah's father used to consider no expense too great for the diversion which hunting gave. Professor Hitti writes (p. 222, 5), '. . . for the satisfaction of his curiosity in this sport,' and Derenbourg has (184, 1), '. . . pour satisfaire cette passion.' [*A more intimate knowledge of colloquial Arabic would convince Professor Thomson of his mistake.*]

Professor Hitti expresses astonishment that I should check his translation against a text which is not its original and which he had refused to use. The fact that I avoided the manifold pitfalls strewn through his translation in the form of his 748 variations from Derenbourg's

text and only stumbled twice by inadvertence where his 748 variations presented the craftier snare of correspondence with Derenbourg's errata, should have conviced him that the feat is not only feasible, but in a certain sense an elementary form of scholarship. Derenbourg's text is not so bad. It is quite possible, for example, to read Professor Hitti's translation in conjunction with it and to tell where the text behind Professor Hitti's translation and Derenbourg's text agree and where they do not agree, and also, to some extent, to recognize where the text underlying his translation is superior to Derenbourg's. Both texts are based on one manuscript, and a scholar of Derenbourg's eminence and honesty can be relied on to give a fairly sound text and also to indicate where in his opinion that text is doubtful.

As Professor Hitti says, however, Derenbourg's text was characterized as 'suspect' in the preface to his translation. He writes: 'A comparison of the photographic reproduction of folio 36 of the original manuscript appearing at the end of Hartwig Derenbourg's *Texte arabe de l'autobiographie d'Ousāma* (Paris, 1886) with the corresponding pages 37–38 of the book convinced me of the *suspect character* of the published text.' A comparison of Professor Hitti's text (pages 50–51) with that of Derenbourg discovers four variations in his text from that of Derenbourg. Of these, three appear in those fatal errata of Derenbourg's (*Vie d'Ousāma*, p. 627, notes to p. 37), since *fafaragha* there is evidently, as Derenbourg's translation plainly shows, a misprint for *fafaza'a*, while the fourth, *hamalah* to *jumlah*, is an unsuccessful attempt, in my opinion, to be rid of a difficult phrase, which Professor Hitti, even with his emendation or perhaps because of it, is unable then to translate correctly. The adage of classical scholars that of two readings the more difficult is probably the better, might have been taken to heart. However, it would be interesting to know just what was the basis of Professor Hitti's judgment as to the suspect character of Derenbourg's Text. [*The last two paragraphs carry their own condemnation with them. On the one page of the original MS. which Derenbourg chose to reproduce in his text as a sample of the work he did, four initial mistakes were made of which three were nine years later detected and attached to his French book. If this is not enough to arouse Thomson's suspicions as to the integrity of the whole text, all efforts on my part to arouse his suspicions as to his competence to make a review of such a work will prove in vain.*]

William Thompson,
Harvard University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles will be reviewed in a future issue.

R. Bauerreiss, *Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit.* Munich: K. Widmann, 1931. Paper. Pp. 130.

L. Bayly, *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb* (*The Practise of Piety*). Cardiff: University of Wales, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xv+447. £0/10/6.

F. Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos.* Giesen: A. Töpelman, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+197. RM. 17.

T. B. Burch, ed., *The* De Sacramento Altaris *of William of Ockham.* Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+576. $6.00.

P. Champion, *Notice des Manuscrits du Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc.* Paris: Champion, 1930. Pp. 32 and 11 plates.

C. Chapman, *Michel Paléologue.* Paris: Figuière, 1926. Paper. Pp. 204. Frs. 25.

F. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII.* Turin: G. B. Paravia, 1930, 2 vols. Paper. Pp. vi+274, vi+232.

O. Dobiache-Rojdestvenski, *Les Poésies des Goliards.* Paris: Rieder, 1931. Paper. Pp. 271. Frs. 35.

E. S. Duckett, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century.* New York: Holt, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xviii+271. $2.50.

J. Evans, *Pattern, A Study of Ornament in Western Europe 1180–1900.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. 2 vols. Pp. xxxi+179, 249. $50.00.

H. F. Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 344. $7.50.

G. Frank, ed., *Le Livre de la Passion* (*Poème narratif du xive siècle*). Paris: Champion, 1930. Paper. Pp. xxvii–123. Frs. 12.

C. Grimm, *Etude sur le Roman de Flamenca.* Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 175.

T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings.* New York: Scribners, 1930. Cloth. Pp. vii+412 $5.00.

J. Kirchner, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Phillipps-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926. Cloth. Pp. 140, 131 illustrations, 6 colored plates.

R. Latouche, ed. and trans., *Richer: Histoire de France* (*888–995*). Vol. I. Paris: Champion, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvii+303. Frs. 25.

L. Lockert, trans., *The Inferno of Dante.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+253. $2.50.

R. McKeon, *Selections from Medieval Philosophers* (Vol. II, From Roger Bacon to William of Ockham). New York: Scribners, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xviii+515. $1.25.

A. Masnovo, *Da Guglielmo d'Auvergne a San Tomaso d'Aquino.* I. Milan: Soc. Ed. 'Vita e Pensiero,' 1930. Paper. Pp. viii–283.

C. G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry* (Books XIV and XV of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xlix+213. $5.00.

P. Piur, *Cola di Rienzo, Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes.* Vienna: L. W. Seidel, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+239. $2.40.

E. M. Sanford, trans., *Salvian's On the Government of God.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. viii+241. $3.75.

D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 419.

A. G. Solalinde, ed., *Alfonso el Sabio-General Estoria, primera parte.* Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, 1930. Paper. Pp. lxxxi+820.

K. Strecker, ed., *Hrotsvithae Opera,* 2nd edit. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xii+278.

J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages,* New York: Knopf, 1931. 2 vols. Cloth. Pp. xxx+1069+xliv. $12.50.

H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den deutschen Handschriften bis 1500.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1927. Cloth. Pp. 182. 157 illustrations. 6 colored plates.

H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der deutschen Bilderhandschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1926. Cloth. Pp. 118, 102 illustrations. 4 colored plates.

M. Wilmotte, *Le Poème du Gral et ses Auteurs.* Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 102.

J. S. Zybura, trans., *M. Grabmann: Introduction to the Theological Summa of St Thomas.* St Louis: Herder, 1930. Cloth. Pp. vii+220. $2.00.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE WESTERN ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAM DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES[1]

BY DANA CARLETON MUNRO

AT THE time of the First Crusade, very little was known in western Europe about the Muslims and their religion. This may seem strange, as Prutz points out[2], when we consider how long the Christians had been fighting against the followers of the Prophet and how many pilgrims had visited the Holy Land. In the accounts of the pilgrimages there is little if any information about the Prophet or the beliefs of Islam and very little about the character and customs of the Saracens. What little is said in the earlier accounts is favorable. A passage from Bernard the Wise has often been quoted, 'The Christians and pagans have there such peace between them, that if I should go a journey, and in the journey my camel or ass which carries my baggage should die, and I should leave everything there without a guard, and go to the next town to get another, on my return I should find all my property untouched.' In general, except for a short period early in the eleventh century when the mad Hakim persecuted both Jews and Christians, pilgrims were not persecuted by the Muslims and were allowed freely to visit the Holy Sepulchre and other spots hallowed by the events of the Old and New Testaments. When large bands with evidences of wealth began to go on pilgrimages, the cupidity of the Bedouins was aroused. The attack on Bishop Gunther and his companions on the pilgrimage in 1064–1065 was the outstanding instance; but it is to be noted that they were rescued by a Saracen force as soon as their plight was known. Joranson brings out very acutely that the account of 'the harrowing experiences' of Gunther and his associates was writ-

[1] Presidential address read at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA, April 25, 1931.

[2] H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), p. 72.

ten about the year 1075, that is, just at the time when Pope Gregory VII announced 'the project of an armed expedition against the enemies of God,' which he stated in one of his letters was 'designed to go to the Lord's Sepulchre.'[1] Thus the inception of the crusading movement was accompanied by propaganda to excite the passions of the Christians against the Muslims.

How far such propaganda was used by Pope Urban II is uncertain. At the Council of Clermont, he spoke more or less definitely about the sufferings of their fellow Christians in the East. Fulcher of Chartres, who was living in the Holy Land when he wrote his account of the speech, represented Urban as saying that the Turks 'have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the Kingdom of God.' The Archbishop Baldric of Dol makes the Pope speak indefinitely of 'dire sufferings, scourgings, and enslavements.' According to Guibert of Nogent, Urban dwelt upon the extortion and unspeakable cruelty from which the pilgrims had suffered and said, 'remember, I pray you, the thousands who have perished vile deaths.' But Robert the Monk was not content with such generalities. In his version of the speech, he dwells at length on the atrocities committed by the Muslims:

> 'From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears; namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation, forsooth, which has neither directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by the sword, pillage, and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness.'

Then he gives some of the special atrocities, dwelling upon the hideous cruelty, torture, and rape. The purpose is brought out clearly in the following passage: 'On whom, therefore, is the task of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above other nations God has con-

[1] *The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro* (New York: Crofts, 1928), p. 43.

ferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily energy, and the strength to humble the hairy scalp of those who resist you.'

Robert, however, is not as full or as explicit concerning the atrocities as is the so-called *Epistola Spuria* of the Emperor Alexius I. This document presents additional details of the cruelties and mockery of the victims. It was certainly written before Robert composed his history, and was used as an *excitatorium* to arouse the Christians to take the Cross against the infidels. It was a more brutal age than ours, and the atrocities which are alleged to have been committed were highly spiced to suit the spirit of the time. That the letter was widely used to influence the western Christians is attested by the numerous manuscripts which have been preserved. It is not necessary here to go into the vexed questions of the date and provenance of the letter and into its undoubted connection with Robert's account. At first, the tales of atrocities were fully credited and undoubtedly had a great influence in inciting many to take the Cross.

Other varieties of propaganda were also used. The Muslims were held up to detestation as worshippers of false gods and idols. This is a commonplace in the literature of the age. The *Song of Roland* says ,'the Muslim loves not God, serves Mahound, and worships Apollon.' The *History of Charles the Great and Orlando* by the pseudo-Turpin, recounts how 'the Emperor utterly destroyed the idols and images in Spain, except in Andalusia. . . . The Saracens had a tradition that the idol Mahomet, which they worshipped, was made by himself in his lifetime; and that by the help of a legion of devils it was by magic art endued with such irresistible strength that it could not be broken. If any Christian approached it he was exposed to great danger; but when the Saracens came to appease Mahomet, and make their supplications to him, they returned in safety. The birds that chanced to light upon it were immediately struck dead.'

For the purpose of propaganda, much was made of the supposed idolatry of the Muslims. Widespread was the belief that they worshipped Mohammed as a god, and had other gods and idols; and this belief was fostered by the accounts written by participants in

the Crusades. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* reported Corboran (Corborgha) as swearing 'by Mohammed and all the gods,' and his account was widely copied and served as the basis for the histories written by Robert, Baldric, Guibert, and others who repeated its statement. This belief in Mohammed as a god is frequently repeated throughout the period of the Crusades. In fact, Humbert of Romans, who wrote about 1274, declares, 'there are men not only among laymen but also clerks who know nothing about Mohammed or the Saracens except that they have heard that they are infidels, not believing in Christ, and think the Saracens believe in Mohammed as their god, which nevertheless is false.'

Bishop Thiemo, who lost his life on the Crusade of 1101, was reported to have been tortured to death because he refused to worship the idols of the Muslims. It was commonly reported that Tancred in 1099 had found a silver idol of Mohammed in the Temple of the Lord. The origin of this fable is interesting. It arose from a misunderstanding and mistranslation of Fulcher of Chartres; and he has generally been held responsible for the story, since modern scholars have usually made the same mistake as did his contemporary copyists. Of course, the story grew in the telling, and the silver idol became larger and heavier so that ten men could scarcely lift it. One hundred years later Jacques de Vitry wrote: 'as often as the followers of Mohammed possess the Temple of Solomon, they set up his statue in the Temple and permit no Christian to enter.' Possibly there may have been some grounds for the belief that the Muslims had idols. The Franks thought of all non-Christians whom they found in the Holy Land as Muslims, and some of the heretical sects may have had idols; for example, the Crusaders may have heard of the golden calf of the Druses. Büdinger calls attention to the fact that some of the heretical Mohammedans in eastern Syria did have idols in the tenth century and possibly later.[1]

The marriage customs of the Muslims naturally gave rise to accusations against their morals, which were common throughout the period of the Crusades. This is shown in the account of Guibert of Nogent, which is also important as a statement of the actual knowl-

[1] Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, XCVIII (1881), 354, note 1.

edge, or ignorance, concerning Mohammed and his followers. When he wished to preface his history of the Crusades by an account of the Prophet and the beliefs of Islam, he says that he had not found anyone who had written about the life of Mohammed or his conduct, and consequently was able only to tell what he had heard on the common report of those best informed. He thought that the existence of 'this profane man' could not go back to a great antiquity because he had not been able to find that any Doctor of the Church had written against Mohammed's infamies. Then he tells the familiar story of the hermit who was disappointed in his candidacy for the patriarchate of Alexandria and consequently, tempted by the devil, trained Mohammed in heresy and arranged for his marriage with the wealthy widow. He recounts the latter's disgust when she found her husband was an epileptic and the hermit's reassurance that these fits revealed the fact that Mohammed was a prophet of God and was receiving divine instruction. Guibert relates the story of the cow who followed Mohammed everywhere and at his call appeared with the book of the law which permitted his followers to commit all kinds of turpitude in order the better to seduce them to follow him:

'. . .The more they abandoned themselves in all ways, as if authorized by heaven itself, to all kinds of excess in these permitted vices, the more they covered up the wickedness of it, in praising the grace of God, who accorded, in his indulgence, these loose times. All the severity of Christianity was condemned and given over to public insults; the teachings of honesty and virtue which had been laid down by the Evangels were accused of being hard, of being cruel; and on the contrary those that the cow had brought were called the teachings of generosity and were recognized as the only ones in accord with the liberty instituted by God himself. Neither the old Mosaic law, not the new catholic law could receive any belief; all that had been written before the law, under the law, under the régime of grace, was accused of irremediable falseness; and to employ, however improperly, the language of the Psalmist, they repeated everywhere that "God has not dealt so with any nation." . . . But since they did not place any restraint on the indulgence of the senses, one soon saw them giving themselves up to vices that even the ignorant animals ignore entirely and that are not even decent to mention. . . .

'Let us now recount the end of this great and marvelous law-giver. I

have already said that he was subject to attacks of epilepsy: one day as he was walking alone, he fell attacked by one of his convulsions, and while he was being tormented by it, some hogs, having come upon him, so completely devoured him that only his heels were found as remains. So thus this excellent law-giver is given over to the swine and eaten by them, so that his evil rule was terminated as just, by a most vile end. And certainly, while his heels were left, it was without doubt so that he could show those fools whom he had miserably seduced a witness of his perfidiousness and his deceits. Thus this illustrious man, happier than all hogs, can say with the poet: "Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei vitabit libitinam".'

The last part of Guibert's account illustrates another kind of propaganda — ridicule. This may be the purpose of the passage which William of Malmsbury places in the mouth of Urban at the Council of Clermont:

'. . . feeble men, who, not having courage to engage in close encounter, love a flying mode of warfare. For the Turk never ventures upon close fight; but, when driven from his station, bends his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds with his meditated wound; and as he has poisoned arrows, venom, and not valour, inflicts the death on the man he strikes. Whatever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune, not to courage, because he wars by flight, and by poison. It is apparent too, that every race, born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflexion, than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess.'

Guibert did give some accurate information. He stated that the Muslims did not worship Mohammed as a god. Otto of Freising, who participated in the Second Crusade, doubted the legend of Thiemo because he said that it was well known that the Mohammedans did not worship idols. The notion of the cowardice of the Muslims was dispelled at once when the Crusaders came into conflict with them. The anonymous author of the *Gesta* becomes enthusiastic about their bravery when he describes the Battle of Dorylaeum:

'Whoever will be wise or learned enough to dare to describe the valor, skill, and fortitude of the Turks? Indeed, they say that they are of the Frankish race, and that no one ought naturally to be a knight except the Franks and themselves. I shall speak the truth, which no one will dare deny. Certainly, if they had ever been firm in the faith of Christ and holy Christianity, and had been willing to confess the One Lord in Trinity, and that the Son of God was born of a Virgin Mother, suffered, and arose

from the dead, and ascended to heaven while His disciples looked on, and then finally, sent the consolation of the Holy Spirit; and had believed with a right mind and faith in Him, ruling in heaven and on earth, no one could have found more powerful, braver, or more skilful fighters then they.'

Probably Guibert of Nogent had heard similar accounts of the Muslim's bravery from the participants in the Crusades who furnished him some of the material for his history, for he says, 'The empire of the Parthians, whom we call Turks by corruption of language, is superior to that of the Babylonians not in extent of territory (for it is smaller) but in the military talent, the chivalrous character, and the magnanimity which characterizes its inhabitants.'

Not only did the Franks learn to admire the valor of their foes but contact with them dispelled many prejudices. In Syria and Palestine, the Christians were brought into constant and close association with the natives, both Christian and Muslim. As the Crusaders were few in number, they had to rely on the natives for agriculture, in building the churches and castles, and even used them as soldiers. They made little distinction between the Christian heretics and the Muslims. As they lived in close proximity to the Muslim lords, courtesies were exchanged, and hunting pacts were made. It was manifestly impossible for either Frank or Saracen to engage in his favorite sport, hunting, if he was likely to be taken captive when engaged in the chase. Many Franks were made prisoners and long held in captivity. They were frequently well treated, allowed considerable liberty, and came to know their captors intimately; some Muslim captives fared equally well at the hands of the Christians; and in some cases from these captivities friendly relations resulted. Trade was a necessity for the Christian principalities, and commerce brought about contact with the Muslims. Frankish women were scarce and intermarriages were common. 'Some have taken wives not merely of their own people but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or step-son, or step-father.'

Alliances between Christian and Muslim were very frequent

[1] P. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1929), p. 162

when either sought the aid of the other against a rival of his own faith. From these contacts sprang the friendships between Muslim and Christian of which Usāmah and other contemporaries write. The Christians preferred the Muslim doctors because of their greater skill in curing disease and less frequent use of the knife or axe. Common beliefs brought them together at some places of worship. Muslim as well as Christian venerated the spring where the Virgin had washed the clothes of the infant Jesus, the palm that bent its boughs so she could assuage her hunger, and the image near Damascus which healed Jews and Muslims as well as Christians.

With such conditions in the Holy Land, and with the constant going and coming of the pilgrims from the West and the building up of an active trade between the Orient and the Occident, the feeling about the Muslims became very different.

Possibly the feeling of hatred became less marked because the hatred was being transferred to the Byzantines. Mutual suspicion and frequent clashes in arms had marked the relations of the Byzantines and Crusaders during the First Crusade. When, after the capture of Nicaea, the Emperor gave great gifts to the leaders, Stephen of Blois waxes enthusiastic in a letter to his wife and tells her that he had received more from the Emperor than he got with her dowry; on the other hand, measures of brass coins had been distributed among the common people, and they felt aggrieved at being deprived of the pleasure of looting the city. Raymond the Chaplain expresses the feeling of many when he says that 'as long as they live the people will curse him and proclaim him a traitor' and, he continues, 'we recognized then that the Emperor had betrayed Peter the Hermit . . . for he compelled him . . . to cross the strait with his men and expose them to the Turks . . . who cut them down without effort and delay to the number of 60,000.'

The relations between the Emperor and the crusading leaders, especially Bohemund, became constantly more strained. Alexius was blamed for the failure of the Crusade of 1101, and a few years later Bohemund toured France denouncing the Emperor and raising a great army to attack the Byzantine Empire. From this time on until the capture of Constantinople in 1204, there was ever present an undercurrent of hostility to the Greeks. Consequently the Mus-

lims were seldom execrated or ridiculed as had been the custom during the early years of the Crusades.

Accounts of atrocities may still have been used occasionally to inflame the minds of the Christians, but in the sermons that have been preserved only indefinite expressions are found. This is true, for example, of the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, of the Abbot Martin, and of Innocent III.

The propaganda against Islam now took on a new form. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, felt it necessary to counteract the prevalent tendencies by a refutation of the beliefs of Islam and a portrayal of the character of the Prophet. Interest had been aroused in the beliefs and doctrines of the Muslim antagonists. Possibly some reports had already come to the West of Christians who had been converted to the faith of Islam. But the more active influence seems to have been a visit to Spain by Peter the Venerable, made about 1141. There he witnessed 'the progress and power of the Saracens.' He determined to find out what the *Koran* contained so that its teaching might be refuted. He hired three Christian scholars and set them to work, together with an Arab, to translate the *Koran*, under the direction of his secretary. The translation cost Peter a large sum, and unfortunately it was very inaccurate and full of errors; but it was the only one known in the West until almost the end of the seventeenth century. Peter asked Bernard of Clairvaux to write a refutation of the *Koran*. When the latter refused, Peter himself undertook the task. He could not decide whether the Mohammedans were pagans or heretics, but in either case their teachings ought to be refuted and ridiculed. The portion of his work which has been preserved seems to be founded not only upon the translation of the *Koran* but also upon a life of Mohammed and a dialogue concerning the main points of his religion which Peter also had had translated from the Arabic. His work was frequently imitated, and polemical writings appeared in the various vernacular languages. As is to be expected in that age, they were frequently in verse. They did much to perpetuate the false beliefs about Mohammed and Islam which are so common in the literature of the thirteenth and the following centuries.

Such beliefs persisted in spite of the fact that more accurate in-

formation was given by Christians of approved faith even as early as the time of Saladin. Of especial interest is the account by Burchard, written about 1175 and incorporated in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronicle*.[1] He had been sent by Frederick Barbarossa on a mission to Saladin. He gave a good statement of the beliefs of Islam, and lauded their tolerance. In Alexandria he reported that there were several Christian churches, and almost every village in Egypt had one. Every man was free to follow his own religion. He testified that most Moslems had only one wife. He told of their constancy in prayer and their belief that God was the creator of all things and Mohammed his most holy prophet and the author of their law, that the Blessed Virgin conceived by an Angel and after Christ's birth remained a Virgin; that the son of the Virgin was a prophet and was marvelously assumed by God into Heaven; and that they celebrate His birthday. They denied that he was the Son of God, that He was baptised, crucified, dead, and buried. They also believed, he declared, that the Apostles were prophets and they venerated many of the martyrs and confessors.

In spite of quoting this account by Burchard, Arnold of Lübeck elsewhere makes Saladin swear 'by the virtue of my god, Mohammed.' And he makes the Templar's reply to Saladin after the Battle of Hattin, 'We laugh at Maumath, the son of perdition, whom you call your god.'

Saladin was much admired in the west. His merciful conduct and generosity after the capture of Jerusalem, so different from that of the Crusaders in 1099, excited wonder. As was the custom among the Muslims, he was very tolerant. He allowed the Latin Christians to have two priests and two deacons at Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, and at Nazareth, and to carry on their services freely. He was noted for his courtesy. Between him and Richard the Lion-Hearted there were many friendly relations. Richard even proposed that his sister should marry the brother of Saladin and that the two should receive Jerusalem as a wedding present, thus ending the strife between Christians and Muslims. Many legends grew up about the name of the great Saracen leader, who was said to have received

[1] In the *Chronicle* he is called Gerhard; but as Laurent has shown in *Serapeum*, XIX (1858), no. 10, and XX (1859), no. 11, this is a mistake.

knighthood from a Christian. Tales of his mercy and generosity were spread to the west. It is interesting to note that earlier in the century the Crusaders had explained the greatness of Zangi by the belief that he was the son of the Countess Ida who had taken part in the Crusade of 1101; at the time of the Third Crusade, Qilig Arslam was supposed to be descended from the German nobility; but after the fame of Saladin had spread, a legend grew up to explain the greatness of Thomas à Becket by the fact that he had had a Saracen mother. All of these factors caused a very different feeling about the Muslims especially when, as has already been suggested, the hatred of the Byzantines became the dominant factor among many of the westerners.

A remarkable change was evident in the thirteenth century on the part of some Christians. The missionary journey of St Francis of Assisi to the Moslem countries is well known. St Louis of France is said to have directed the Crusade of 1270 to Tunis from the mistaken belief that the ruler of that country was ready to receive baptism, and he is reported to have said that he would love to be the god-father of such a god-son. This century saw the beginning of a period of great missionary activity. A plan was formed to have oriental languages taught in the University of Paris so that missionaries might be trained in the use of the necessary tongues. Later in the century, there was also a suggestion that Christian girls should be sent out as missionaries to marry Muslims and then convert their husbands.

Several writers of this period were influenced by the missionary movement. Oliver the Scholastic, in his *Historia Damiatina*, tells how the son of Saladin had destroyed Jerusalem in 1219, except the Temple of the Lord and the Tower of David. The Saracens considered destroying the Holy Sepulchre, but none dared to do so because of their reverence for the place. The book of the law, the *Koran*, says that Christ was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary and lived without sin that He was a Prophet and more than a Prophet; He restored sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, and raised the dead. The Muslims believe, Oliver asserts, that He is the word and spirit of God and ascended alive into Heaven. They deny His passion and death, the union of the divine and human na-

tures in Him, and the Trinity. Therefore, they should be called heretics rather than Saracens, but the usage of the false name has prevailed. When in the time of the Truce their learned men went up to Jerusalem, they asked to be shown the Gospels and they kissed and venerated these because of the cleanliness of the doctrines which Christ taught and especially because of the verse in the Gospel of Luke, 'He sent His Angel Gabriel,' which the learned among them often repeat and discuss.

Oliver likewise declares that their book of the law which, at the dictation of the devil and through the agency of the monk Sergius, apostate and heretic, Mohammed gave to the Saracens, written in Arabic, has won its victories by the sword, holds its territory through the sword, and will be ended by the sword (this idea will be taken up more fully by later writers).

In 1221, Oliver wrote a letter to 'the King of Babylon' urging him to accept the Christian teaching, and in this letter he stressed the many points of belief common to the followers of the two religions. At the same time, he wrote a similar letter to the Doctors in Egypt, that is, the learned Mussulmen. In his letter to the King, he mentioned a debate which had taken place between a Christian, a Jew, and a Muslim in which the Christian placed the Mosaic above the Muslim law, the Jew preferred the Christian doctrines to the Muslim, and the Muslim placed the Christian above the Jewish. He argues from this circumstance the superiority of the Christian religion, since the two non-Christians praised it. This custom of debate between the adherents of the different religions seems to have been common, much as a St Louis might have condemned the practice. It is interesting to note that a century earlier it had not occurred to Abelard to introduce a Muslim into his debate where the Christian, the Jew, and the philosopher appear, although the Muslim would have fitted in well with the argument; but too little was known about the Muslim faith in the first half of the twelfth century.

Jacques de Vitry also attempted to convert the Muslims. He says in one of his letters, 'as I was not able to preach in the land of the Saracens, I showed the errors of their religion and the truth of ours by letters which I sent to them, written in the Saracen tongue.'[1]

[1] Philipp Funk, *Jakob von Vitry: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909), p. 138.

He may have had access to the work which William of Tyre had written about the Muslims. He certainly was acquainted with the writing of Peter the Venerable, who had also wished to convert them. His accounts of Mohammed and of Islam are very biased, but contain some accurate statements. He has the date for Mohammed approximately correct, he derives the name of the Saraceni from Sara and that of the Agarini from Agar. He tells correctly the Muslim belief about the Virgin and John the Baptist. He knows the books of the Bible which they receive. Most of those who did follow Jacques de Vitry chose his inaccurate statements rather than the true ones to quote. This is done by Matthew Paris, who uses both Jacques de Vitry and also another unnamed source, possibly Guibert; from the latter, he copies the story of Mohammed's being eaten by the pigs, and explains by this the Muslim's abhorrence of pork. Some others explains this in another way.

The accounts written in the second half of the thirteenth century are frequently more accurate. William of Tripoli, who wrote about 1271, wished to facilitate the task of the missionaries to the Muslims. He knew Arabic, and had been requested to write by Thedaldus, later Pope Gregory X. He first gives an account of Mohammed, and follows the Bahyra legend. He tells how Mohammed was appalled by the discovery that he had himself, while intoxicated, killed his teacher, and consequently forbade the use of wine to his followers. He believed that the power of Islam was nearing its end, and cited various alleged prophecies of the Mohammedans to show that the destruction of the Caliphate by Hulagu portended the end of the rule of the Saracens. He says that the *Koran* was compiled by learned Muslims; he states the Muslim belief that it contains the sayings of Mohammed transmitted by the Angel Gabriel, but he says that he has learned from Catholic Christians that this is not true, and that, fifteen years after the Prophet's death, a commission was appointed to draw up the book. As they found nothing worth while in Mohammed's teachings, they themselves composed the *Koran*. In discussing the contents of the letter, he says that it contains much praise of the Creator, lauding His power, knowledge, goodness, mercy, justice, and equity. It also commends those who believe in God and act justly. It praises and extols above all sons of men Jesus,

the Son of Mary, and above all women Mary. It commends and praises all the Holy Fathers of the Old Testament. Four books the Muslim believes have come down from Heaven, the *Law*, the *Gospels*, the *Psalter*, the book of the Prophets, and a fifth, the *Koran*. The last mentions Mohammed only in two places and does not praise him at all. William gives other teachings of the *Koran* at considerable length, stressing those which are similar to the Christian doctrines, and concludes that the Muslims are close to the Christian faith and to the way of salvation. Then he describes briefly their marital customs and the Muslim paradise.

Humbert of Romans, Master-General of the Dominican order, wrote a pamphlet of advice for Pope Gregory X. As he had lived in the Holy Land, he possessed intimate knowledge, and his account is one of the most valuable. He says Mohammed's law is fraudulent, but the Saracens believe it was delivered by an angel. It pictures Paradise so that the most bestial man can understand it: full of delights of the flesh. The Muslim law, he continues, does not teach great austerity, but encourages lust and the enjoyment of many women. Mohammed does not threaten eternal punishment, but promises final salvation to true followers. He does not emphasize the disagreeable aspect of alms, prayers, and fasts. From this it is obvious that Mohammed's law was devised to destroy that of the Christians, whose religion is difficult in creed, as it is above reason, difficult in the austerities of this life, and difficult in its doctrine of eternal damnation for the wicked. For this reason, says Humbert, evil and foolish men are more easily turned from Christianity to Mohammedanism than vice versa. 'And thus it actually happens that many Christians are going over and have gone over to the Saracen faith. . . .' Some, he observes, object that it is wrong to attack the Saracens, as this does not make for conversion, but, on the contrary, incites them further against the Christian faith; when we conquer and kill them we send them to hell, which is contrary to Christian charity; and when we conquer their land, we have not obtained permanent power over those who cultivate and live on it, since our men do not wish to remain in those parts; in all there is no spiritual or temporal profit from this war.

The world, Humbert declares, was once converted to Christianity

by preaching, miracles, and the holy example of the preachers. The Saracens exclude preachers, they decapitate anyone speaking against Mohammed's law or sect. The time of miracles is past; examples of Christian believers do not move the Saracens. They prefer their own prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, etc., to ours. What is more absurd, they prefer their own incontinence to our continence. Christian continence they call superstition, as may be seen in a letter of a Saracen to his Christian friend in which he invited the Christian to become a Saracen. There is no hope of converting them. They will always be in the world and multiply in increasing numbers unless they are destroyed by a Christian or barbarian power. Just as Mohammed acquired the world with the sword, Humbert concludes that he will likewise lose it by the sword.

Burchard of Mount Zion, who wrote about 1283, was often copied by later writers, for instance, by Marco Sanudo. Laurent calls Burchard the most noteworthy of all the mediaeval pilgrims. His account gives the beliefs of Islam accurately and concludes 'they are very hospitable, courteous, and kindly.'

Ricoldus, who wrote about 1294, says that 'we have been amazed that among the followers of so perfidious a law works of so great perfection are found.' He then records briefly some works of perfection on the part of the Saracens, more to reproach the Christians than to praise the Saracens. 'But who is not amazed by their zeal, devotion in prayer, mercy to the poor, reverence for the name of God, the prophets and holy places, their courtesy in manners, their affability to strangers, their concord and love for one another?'

Despite such testimony, the attitude of the majority of the clergy remained unchanged. They felt that it was impossible to convert the Muslims. They were alarmed at the number of Christians who had gone over to Islam. In 1274, Pope Gregory X felt it necessary to forbid giving any aid to apostate Templars. In a treaty made with the Muslims in 1283, the Franks were compelled to promise to protect the rights of renegades from the Christian faith. The Popes were working for a new Crusade and encouraged the propaganda against Islam.

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ROGER BACON AND THE VOYNICH MS

By JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

IT is now more than fifteen years since the late Wilfred M. Voynich brought to America a mysterious manuscript which he had found hidden in the treasure chest of a south European castle. With characteristic generosity, he not only showed it to many American scholars, as he had shown it to those of Europe, but also gave photostats of many pages to those who professed a serious intention to undertake the solution of its mysteries.

That the manuscript is in the highest degree mysterious admits of no doubt. One of the most eminent of French savants declared, 'C'est une diablerie.' Externally it is a small quarto of rough vellum (9 in. x 6 in.), containing now 116 folios and several large folding sheets. Originally it seems to have consisted of 17 quires of 8 leaves or 16 pages. Many pages contain drawings accompanied by inscriptions in a strange form of writing not known to occur anywhere except in this volume, and there is a large body of continuous text in the same script. Some of the drawings represent whole plants, as in a herbal; others, roots and leaves. Some are obviously astronomical diagrams, with distinct suggestions of occultism; still others have been interpreted by modern biologists as representing cell structures, ova, spermatozoa, and other biological phenomena.[1] The volume as a whole apparently deals with some branch or branches of medical science; a few of the characters used in the script appear in other occult writings of the Middle Ages, but the script as a whole is unlike that of any known language.

Of the many attempts to read the cipher only one has been announced as successful. In April, 1921, at public meetings of the American Philosophical Society and the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, before brilliant and learned audiences, the method of solution and certain tentative results were skilfully explained and illustrated by the discoverer, Professor William Romaine Newbold.

The method was understood by few. The results were in the high-

[1] See W. R. Newbold, *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, ed. by R. G. Kent, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928, Chap. III.

est degree sensational. The manuscript — if Professor Newbold's interpretation of it was correct — was one of the most important documents in the whole history of scientific thought. Not only did he find confirmation of the rumor current in the sixteenth century at the court of the Emperor Rudolf II that the mysterious writing was the work of the English friar, Roger Bacon — that was only a beginning — he credited him with palaeographical knowledge of the most recondite sort and asserted that the MS was a document in which this thirteenth century friar, to avoid the dangers then awaiting the unconventional thinker, had secretly recorded discoveries made with a compound microscope — constructed centuries before its known invention — discoveries in which this unparalleled genius had anticipated the theories of twentieth century biologists and histologists concerning germ cells, ova, spermatozoa, and the general mechanism of organic life.

For several years after this first disclosure of his results it was rumored that Professor Newbold was at work on a complete decipherment of the mysterious MS. From time to time we heard reports of new revelations: a medical treatment for Pope Clement IV; a recipe for refining copper ores, that had been verified by chemists of the University of Pennsylvania.[1] In the midst of all this came the distressing news of Professor Newbold's untimely death.

But it appears that he had not only completed several chapters of a book but had also left a large mass of work sheets, rough drafts, and extensive notes; and — even more important — he had from the very beginning of his investigations discussed every phase of his work and every new discovery with a sympathetic and intelligent friend. This friend, Professor Roland G. Kent, in 1928, with devoted fidelity, published a volume which sets forth Professor Newbold's work clearly, skilfully, and impressively.

My own acquaintance with Professor Newbold's cipher has extended over several years, for he sent me his alphabets in 1921, and from time to time communicated to me the materials and results which now constitute several chapters of Professor Kent's book. Be-

[1] Later it appeared (see below) that these revelations were derived, not from the Voynich MS., but from documents written in Latin.

fore I had thoroughly tested the methods of Professor Newbold, I was disposed to welcome his results, for I had long been romantically interested in Roger Bacon and was eager to believe, with Professor Newbold, that he was the greatest scientific genius the world has ever possessed. In an article in *Harper's Magazine* for June, 1921, I pointed out the unreliability of the supposed cipher, but — influenced by the interpretations given to the biological drawings by eminent scientists — I emphasized the attractiveness of the problem and the need for further study. But the more I studied the nature and operation of the cipher system attributed to Bacon, the more clearly did I see that it was incapable of being used as a medium of communication, and was indeed not Bacon's work but the subconscious creation of Professor Newbold's own enthusiasm and ingenuity. I told Professor Newbold my conclusions and gave my reasons for them in several letters, and if this were a mere matter of curious and insignificant learning, I should be content to let the subject rest.

But Professor Newbold's decipherments have already been accepted by some eminent scientists and philosophers, and consequently threaten to falsify, to no unimportant degree, the history of human thought. One of the most eminent philosophers of France, Professor Gilson,[1] though bewildered by the method, has accepted the results; Professor Raoul Carton, the well-known Baconian specialist, in two long articles[2] accepts both method and results with enthusiasm; and American chemists and biologists have been similarly impressed. The interests of scientific truth therefore demand a careful examination of the claims of the Newbold cipher.

In my opinion, the Newbold claims are entirely baseless and should be definitely and absolutely rejected. In the first place, the cipher system as expounded and worked by Professor Newbold is not a practicable means of communication, for the decipherer could never know that the message he got from the cipher was that intended by the encipherer. In the second place, the application of the cipher system to certain basic texts is open to objections of so grave a character as to make it impossible to accept the results. Passages

[1] *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, LXII (1928), 378–83.

[2] *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie*, III (1929), 31–66 and 165–79.

which certainly were not enciphered by Bacon gave Professor Newbold decipherments which he accepted as genuine messages from Bacon. In one case, he got three different decipherments from the same basic text; in another, he got satisfactory decipherments from texts erroneously transliterated. Finally, the messages deciphered contain assumptions and statements which could not have emanated from Bacon or any other thirteenth century scholar.

I. THE CIPHER SYSTEM AND ITS DEFECTS

The cipher system is explained in Chapters IV, VI, VII, and VIII of the Newbold-Kent volume, and information concerning the mode of discovery and application is given in Chapters V and IX. These are supplemented by Chapter XX, containing tables for encipherment and decipherment. In reality, Professor Newbold credited Bacon with two systems, which are best understood by taking them separately. The first of these, the Latin-text cipher, has, in reality, no connection with the Voynich MS., but is applicable only to certain Latin texts, mainly alchemical, in which Professor Newbold supposed Bacon to have concealed, by means of a cipher system, messages or records which he wished to hide from the eyes of the casual reader. The other system is a variation of this and has thus far been found, according to Professor Newbold, only in the Voynich MS.[1] I will discuss first the Latin-text cipher, both because it is fundamental to the second or shorthand system and because by far the greater part of the passages interpreted by Professor Newbold belong, not to the Voynich shorthand cipher, but to the Latin-text biliteral cipher.

1. *The Latin-text Cipher.* Professor Newbold supposed that Bacon incorporated some of his cipher messages in texts consisting of Latin words so chosen and arranged as to appear to the casual reader to be discussions of alchemy or some similar subject; that in reality, however, the upper or visible text existed only as a vehicle for the inner or secret text, each pair of visible letters representing a single letter of the invisible secret message.

[1] See, however, Newbold-Kent, p. 70 and p. 143 n. 7, where the occurrence of the shorthand signs in the Gunpowder Formula is asserted.

As the 22 letters of the Latin alphabet afford 484 pairs if each letter is taken with itself and with every other letter, it would obviously be possible to have 22 different pairs to represent each letter of the secret alphabet. That is, *a* might be represented by any one of 22 pairs that might be chosen for that purpose; *b* might be represented by any other 22 pairs that might be assigned to it; and so for each of the other letters. Such a cipher, if correctly used, could be easily and accurately read by any person who had a key or table giving the 484 pairs and their meanings. It would, however, be very clumsy, for it would require twice the normal number of letters. To avoid this objection, Bacon, according to Professor Newbold, adopted the plan of so choosing and arranging the pairs in the visible text that the first letter of each pair after the first is always the same as the last letter of the preceding pair. The repeated letters could then do double service and need be written only once: for example, if we wish to encipher the word *unius* and if we take *or* as representing *u*, we must choose a pair beginning with *r* — say *ri* — to represent *n*; and so on:

or - ri - it - tu - ur
U N I U S

Then omitting repeated letters, we should have *oritur*.

This effects a great reduction in the number of letters, but unfortunately it would not often happen that the pairs chosen on this principle would give good Latin in the visible text. In order to be able to produce a visible text that would not at once awaken the reader's suspicion that he was dealing with a cipher, Bacon — according to Professor Newbold — adopted four devices. In the first place, he pretended in his visible text to be discussing alchemy — a subject traditionally obscure, incoherent, and nonsensical. In the second place, while retaining in the visible text the 22 letters of the ordinary Latin alphabet, he reduced the number used in the secret inner text to 11 by treating certain letters as equivalent and interchangeable: 1)*b*, *f*(*ph*),*p*; 2)*c*(*k*),*g*,*q*; 3)*d*,*t*; 4)*i*,*y*; 5)*l*,*r*; 6)*o*,*u*; 7)*s*,*z*. The letter *h* was treated as silent and was to be supplied when needed. By this means, for example, the same letters in the visible exterior text might encipher any one of the following words of the secret message:

god, got, gut, cod, cud, cot, cut. Next, he allowed many pairs of letters in the plain text to have more than one cipher equivalent; for example, *af* (e.g., in the word *afflatus*) may represent any one of the following letters: *b, f, p, d, t, e, l, r, m, n; en* (e.g., in *denuo*) may represent any one of these: *c, g, t, d, e, m, n.* Finally, the letters of the hidden cipher words need not come in their normal and proper order but may be scattered in disorder. Professor Newbold asserted that letters that belonged together, though disarranged, were generally not scattered very widely; he wrote me once that Bacon seemed to operate with sections of 55 or 110 letters, that is, that the anagramming process came out even or nearly so at about such intervals.

To anyone who has ever played word-building games or worked anagrams it will at once be evident that out of so many as fifty-five letters — especially with the large liberty of equivalents permitted by this system — a considerable number of entirely different sentences can be constructed. The possibilities of anagramming are much greater than anyone without experience would readily believe. Walter Begley's *Biblia Anagrammatica* gives some very interesting facts about these possibilities. Even so short and simple a sentence as the Angelic Salutation, 'Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum,' has afforded thousands of different anagrams, perfect in spelling, diction, and syntax. Using these thirty-one letters and only these, Frater Ambrosius produced 1500 hexameters and 1500 pentameters. Lucas de Vriese produced 3100 anagrams in prose, and in verse an acrostic poem in which the first letters of the anagrams spell out the salutation itself, and the first word of each verse echoes the last word of the preceding verse, thus:

'A macula ter munda, ita per omnia viges.
V iges, enormi mulcta Adami pura enata.
E nata Malis pura vige, ac merito Munda.

M unda Mater emicas, o pura Geniti Aula.
A ula Dei micat, nota summe pura Regina.
R egina, o Tu pura macula, et Dia Immensa.
I mmensa, o Tu diva integre pura ac alma.
A lma ter unice pura Summa io Dei Gnata,' etc.

Even more remarkable perhaps are Pompeius Salvi's *Life of the Virgin* in 27 anagrams of the Salutation and Kovacic's *Dialogus Anagrammaticus ex Salutatione Angelica* in 100 verses.[1]

In view of such facts as these, the production of intelligible words or sentences from a series of 50 or more letters is no guarantee that they represent any message intended by another person.

Still more is this true if the anagrammatist is not only allowed to rearrange the letters but also can at will choose from a considerable number of substitutes. How greatly this increases the possibilities may be seen by an example from Professor Newbold's decipherment of the Vatican MS (p. 151). In the upper line I give the basic clear text used by Professor Newbold; below each letter of this I place the whole list of cipher equivalents of the pair formed by the preceding letter and this. These equivalents are taken from his Table VI (pp. 210 ff.), where they are given in the reduced alphabet of 11 letters. I have therefore added the other values; that is, where the Table gives *d*, I give *d* and *t;* where it gives *u*, *p*, I give *u*, *o*, *b*, *f*, *p*.

I	n	c	i	p	i	u	n	t		q	u	a	e	d	a	m		c	a	r	e	t		q	u	a	e	s	t	i	o	n	e	s
t	e	u	e	a	c	p	s		t	e	r	t	t	r		u	c	e	i		t	e	r	e	p	p	a	u	a	e			
d		o	i	c	t	c	z		d	u	m	d	d	m		o	t	r	r		d	u	m	i	c	t	i	s	c	i			
			m	r	d	s			o	l				l			g	l	l			o	l		m	b	m	y	o	e	m		
			n	g	g	b											d		y						n	f	b		z	r	n		
			y	l	q	f											q								y	g	f			n	y		
				q	e	g																				q	d			g			
					m	q																								l			
					n	z												*												q			
					a																												

B	e	r	n	a	r	d	i		c	u	m		s	u	i	s		r	e	s	p	o	n	s	i	o	n	i	b	u	s		e	t		e	s	t
s	t	s	r	c	t	t		t	s		c	e	i		e	e	p	c	u	n	r	a	u	e	r	c	p		i		e	p	
z	i	z	m	t	d	r		d	z		g	n	y		r	i	b	g	s		l	i	s		m	m	b		r		i	c	
	d		s	g		m		r	u		q	a			l	m	f	q	o			y	o		u	u	f		l		m	b	
	y		l	d		d		l	o		b	c				n		z				z			o	o	c				n	f	
			z	q		l		n			f	r				y									l	g	g				y	g	
											p	g													q	q					q		
												l													i								
					*	*						q						*							*	y	*						

[1] For the facts and examples cited, see Walter Begley, *Biblia Anagrammatica,* pp. 132–163.

By rearrangement of these letters Professor Newbold gets the title and first few words of a communication concerning the work of the celebrated mystic, Raymond Lull. These words are: "De Via ex Terra ad Coelos. Despicit mixta principia lume[n]."[1]

One of the ablest cryptographers I know, Captain W. F. Friedman, of the War Department, at Washington, informs me that it is not difficult to get fictitious messages by the Newbold method. He writes: 'I offer the following as the result of about fifteen minutes' work upon the sequence of letters appearing on pp. 114–115 of the Kent volume:

QS TPI EEQQREUPQTEI DPNEBECTPI SEN

| | | |

the word *conmuta* to a special process called 'commutation'.[1] Neither of these processes, however, alters the general characteristics of the system. The phonetic alphabet of 11 letters is still used, multiple equivalents are still assigned to the letters taken by two's, and the process of anagramming is still necessary to secure an intelligible decipherment.

In considering this second system, the first new question that arises concerns the objective existence of the 'microscopic shorthand signs.' Professor Newbold contended that the strokes forming the obvious symbols of the Voynich cipher MS were not produced by ordinary strokes of a pen but were carefully built up of a multitude of tiny strokes[2] which could be discerned (as they had been written) only with the aid of a microscope. These microscopic strokes, he declared, were shorthand symbols for individual letters, derived from or suggested by one of the ancient Greek systems of shorthand.

To me, the scattered patches of 'shorthand signs' with which Professor Newbold operated seem merely the result of the action of time on the ink of the written characters. The vellum of the MS has a very rough surface, and the ink used was not a stain but a rather thick pigment. As the pigment dried out, the variations in sedimentary deposit and the cracking produced the phenomena which Professor Newbold has taken to be microscopic elements in the strokes. This view of the matter is shared by such experts in palaeography as Professors Beeson and Ullman of Chicago, Professor Fritz Saxl of Vienna, Mr Robert Steele of London, and Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr Eric Millar of the British Museum.

Professor Newbold himself said (pp. 102 f.): 'But the difficulty of reading the cipher characters is very great indeed. When first the letters were written they were, I think, distinctly visible under the proper degree of magnification, but after the lapse of more than six hundred years the writing on many pages has been so injured by fading, scaling, and abrasion, that the characters can scarcely be

[1] Professor Newbold did not explain the process of commutation in encipherment. If he had attempted to do so, I think he would have found it difficult to perform; see Professor Kent's note 3 on page 100.

[2] In the letter *b* analyzed on p. 117, there are 18 strokes; in the last *x* on p. 119, 24; in the *h* on p. 120, there are 30.

seen at all. In the second place, much depends upon the degree of magnification which was used by Bacon at the time of writing. The line which to the naked eye seems quite simple, when magnified three or four or five diameters is frequently seen to be composed of individual elements, and if it be magnified still further some of the elements will be resolved into still other elements, many of which may be taken as characters . . . Another very great difficulty is that offered by the elusiveness of the characters themselves. The differences between them are very slight; when they are written under a microscope, even Bacon's own hand often gives to the differences but faint and ambiguous expression. Furthermore the characters are so interwoven one with another that it is often all but impossible to disentangle them . . . I frequently, for example, find it impossible to read the same text twice in exactly the same way.'

The correct conclusion undoubtedly is that the 'microscopic shorthand signs' have, as such, no objective existence, but are the creatures of Professor Newbold's imagination. As a matter of fact, the visible cipher characters could not have been built up as Newbold supposed they were. If the microscopic signs were kept separate enough to be recognizable, the strokes into which they were incorporated would not have had the appearance of simple pen strokes. If the microscopic signs had been placed close enough together to simulate simple pen strokes, the ink would have run and the signs would have become unidentifiable. Even Professor Newbold could hardly claim that microscopic characters can be discerned in all the strokes forming the grouped cipher letters of the Voynich MS. The vast majority of the strokes were obviously and certainly not built up, but written freehand.

Professor Newbold suggested that this form of cipher was devised by Bacon 'to diminish the difficulty of writing and reading.' 'The only restrictions [upon the encipherer in this method] are those imposed by the shape of the spurious letters into which the tiny characters are introduced as components' (pp. 96, 100). If Bacon had in fact wished to write a secret document in such microscopic signs, it is difficult to see why he could not have done so with equal security and with greater certainty of being accurately read by the person or

persons for whom the cipher was intended. It is very unlikely that anyone in the Middle Ages was expert enought to solve a biliteral cipher (even one with single and definite values for each pair) if written in shorthand signs, whether microscopic or not. And a careful study of the analyses of strokes given by Professor Newbold in Plates XVIIA–XIXB shows that the signs representing the letters of a word could always have been arranged in their normal order. As a matter of fact, the symbols of the microscopic cipher are considerably disarranged, even when not so widely scattered as in the other system; cf. the analyses on pp. 114 ff. and 129 ff.

Of the chapter (IX) on the Interpretation of the Key, I will remark only that it exhibits strange inconsistencies, unexplained omissions, and arbitrary assumptions, and that the confused and incoherent Latin text derived from the so-called 'key page' does not encourage a belief that the person who composed it had a clear idea of what he was saying.[1]

Even the reader who has had little experience with ciphers will probably have begun to see — as all cipher experts to whom the system has been expounded saw immediately — that the Newbold system, whether in its Latin-text form or in the modified form of the microscopic shorthand system, is so vitiated by its flexibility and ambiguity that no confidence can be given to messages deciphered by it. What the decipherer gets is not a message enciphered by a thirteenth-century scholar but the product of the subconsciousness of a twentieth-century scholar. A good cipher authenticates itself by its mode of operation, it does not need to be proved by the revelation of verifiable facts unknown to the decipherer; Professor Newbold

[1] Not even the skilful paraphrase on pp. 112 ff. can disguise the fact that the author of the passage derived from the key page confused three distinctly different processes: (1) the decipherment of the key ('The Sentence is to be set over against the individual letters'); (2) the construction of the 484 pairs (which cannot be done by joining the letters of the Sentence and the letters of the alphabet, as is next stated); (3) the method of composing the biliteral symbols into the visible text ('When every biliteral group has been set down overlappingly, let every second letter be omitted unless it is final; let such final letter be kept'). That the author of the sentence last quoted was not thinking clearly is proved by the immediately following sentence: 'When those letters have been deleted, the 484 biliteral groups will be reduced to half.' But the whole passage is a jumble of obscurely expressed ideas, and does not describe the construction and use of the biliteral alphabets, as it is presumed to do.

recognized that his system was so flexible and ambiguous that it required authentication. He said of the *De Accidentibus Senectutus:* 'I applied the alphabet to it and found that it read off very easily. This, however does not prove it to be in cipher: for that one needs a series of unknown but verifiable facts.'

Before testing the statements of fact obtained by Professor Newbold's decipherments, it is necessary to discuss certain important matters concerning the application of his system to particular texts.

II. CRITICISM OF THE APPLICATION OF THE CIPHER SYSTEM TO PARTICULAR TEXTS

1. *Decipherments Obtained from Texts Not Written by Roger Bacon.*

a) The Gunpowder Formula.

The briefest and simplest case of a decipherment obtained from a text not written by Roger Bacon is furnished by the famous Gunpowder Formula (Ch. xv). Here, in a letter attributed to Bacon, occurs, according to Brewer's reprint from the printed text of 1542, the famous: 'Sed tamen sal petrae LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET sulphuris; et sic facies tonitruum et coruscationem, si scias artificium.'[1] I shall not now insist upon the probability that the last three chapters of this epistle are not the work of Bacon, or upon the fact that without any warrant Professor Newbold took a well-known symbol for *Sed* as *Sume*. The important fact is that the letters LURU VOPO VIR CAN UTRIET are not found in any extant MS., but are apparently due to a misreading of the distorted Greek letters occurring at this point in the MS. from which the 1542 edition was printed.[2] Yet applying his system to this misreading, which originated more than three centuries after the death of Bacon, Professor Newbold got a thoroughly satisfactory decipherment.

b) The *Verbum Abbreviatum* of Reymundus Gaufridus.

A more extensive example of the same procedure is furnished by

[1] Brewer, *Opera Hactenus Inedita*, App. I, p. 551.

[2] See Robert Steele's note in *Nature*, CXXI (Feb. 11, 1928); p. 208. The suggestion (Newbold-Kent, p. 69) that the 1542 text was edited by Dr John Dee does not take account of the fact that Dee was then only 15 years old, and that the editor is stated on the title page to have been 'Orontius F. Delph. Regius Mathematicus,' *i.e.*, Oronce Fine.

the decipherment of the opening words of the *Verbum Abbreviatum de Viride Leone*. Let us turn to p. 187 for the Latin text deciphered on p. 190. The first twelve lines — the basis for nearly 500 letters at the beginning of the decipherment — are stated in the lines themselves to be the work, not of Roger Bacon, but of Friar Reymundus Gaufridus: 'Incipit *Verbum Abbreviatum* fratris Reymundi Gaufridi . . . Istud vero *Verbum Abbreviatum*, multis non immerito desideratum, ab egregio doctore nostro Rogero Bacone est primo declaratum: deinde ego frater Reymundus Gaufridus ordinis fratrum minorum minister generalis, ipsum verbum brevius quam potui breviter explanare filiis philosophiae curavi.' These sentences surely ought not to yield a Baconian message. Or does anyone contend either that Raymund wrote them under the instruction of Bacon or that Bacon himself wrote them as a hoax?

2. *Decipherment from a Text Written Years before the Date of the Cipher Message.*

Less obvious, but perhaps equally interesting, is the situation in the *Epistola de Accidentibus Senectutis*, from which Professor Newbold read directions purporting to have been sent to Pope Clement IV after January 1267 for the treatment of stone, and the famous recipe for procuring metallic copper. This document was edited in 1928 by Messrs A. G. Little and E. Withington[1] from twelve MSS, including the Paris MS discovered by Mr. Robert Steele, which was the basis of Professor Newbold's decipherments in Chapters XVII and XVIII. The Paris MS purports to be addressed to Pope Innocent IV (1243–54): 'Incipit epistola de accidentibus senectutis missa ad Innocentium quartum quondam summum pontificem.' Certainly the name of Innocent is here no careless blunder for that of another pope, for he is clearly indicated in the first line of the proem: 'Domine mundi qui ex nobili bina[2] stirpe originem assumpsistis.' The *Epis-*

[1] *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. ix [British Soc. of Franciscan Studies].

[2] Dr Little, p. xxiv, says, 'The statement in the colophon that the pope was Innocent IV is probably correct,' and explains that 'ex nobili bina stirpe' — if the reading 'bina' is correct — would apply to him, as both his father and his mother belonged to noble Genoese families. That the reading 'bina' is correct seems to be proved by the evidence Dr Little cites. *Vat. Pal. lat. 409* reads 'bona' and *Vat. Pal. lat. 1180* apparently 'una'; but surely no one would be apt to write 'ex nobili bona stirpe,' nor if so written, would 'bona' be changed to 'bina' whereas if 'bina' were the original reading, 'bona' and 'una' would be easy variants.

tola, therefore, seems to have been written by Bacon at least twelve years before the date to which Newbold assigned it. At any rate, as Dr Little[1] pointed out long ago, Bacon referred to it in 1267[2] as already published and 'it bears internal evidence of having been an early work; for it was written at a time when the author did not know Greek.' It therefore cannot contain a cipher message addressed to Pope Clement IV in the last months of his life.

Why Professor Newbold suspected the *Epistola* of containing cipher is very puzzling. The reason he himself assigned seems eminently unsatisfactory. He said: 'I had read the first few chapters and had found it difficult to believe that Bacon could have written such clumsy and confused Latin, for his natural style is exceptionally clear. But if it were cipher-Latin, all would be explained' (p. 176). Such a judgment on the style of the text from which Professor Newbold deciphered his Oxford Story (see below) would be intelligible, but it would not be true of this *Epistola.* Doubtless the latinity of Bacon would often have made Quintilian stare and gasp, but this particular bit of it is, to a modern reader, singularly simple, clear, and straightforward in style, and there is no reason to think that it is anything but what it professes to be — a treatise on the causes that produce old age and the means of preventing or retarding it. Five minutes or five hours spent with the text will equally confirm this judgment on the style.

3. *Different Decipherments of the Same Text.*

Another reason for rejecting Professor Newbold's system is that in at least one instance he got three different decipherments from the same basic text.

Chapter XIV is devoted to what is called the Oxford Story, an account of a supposed conflict in the last days of March, 1273, between 'knights' said to be studying at Oxford and 'monks' under the leadership of Bacon. At present we are not concerned with the date or authorship of the text from which this story was deciphered (Ch. X of the *De Secretis Operibus Naturae*) or with the relations of the

[1] *Roger Bacon's Essays* (1914) p. 4.
[2] *Opus Majus,* ed. Bridges, II, 209.

story to historical evidence, but only with the startling and decisive fact that from the same text Professor Newbold made at least three decipherments differing from one another sufficiently to prove that even if Bacon had composed a cipher message by this system no one could be sure of obtaining the message as originally intended.

On p. 139, Professor Kent printed what is probably Professor Newbold's final version of the decipherment. For the sake of clearness, he displayed the decipherment in sections of approximately 40 letters, prefixing at the beginning of each section an exact indication of the letters involved in it. For ease of comparison, I will print along with a few of these sections the variant readings of an earlier decipherment which lies before me in Professor Newbold's own handwriting:

A (The later version) 1–42 Quarto Martii . . .
B (The earlier version) 1–43 Quinto Kal. Mart. . . .

A 479–522 potestate militum. Nunc Oxoniae studebant milites;
B 475–519 potentia dominorum. Extant Oxoniae milites; et fine

A 523–554 ii armant se adversus ecclesiasticos.
B 520–550 aestatis murmurant ecclesiasticos.

A 555–599 Transportant milites Oxoniae succursus militares
B 550–596 Stetit si quis transportet rem militarem sedulissime

A 600–625 occulte. Idem fit deinde monachis
B 595–626 occultet. Monachi tremescunt vulvas

A still earlier decipherment by Professor Newbold of this same passage differs from both of the later ones, and differs even more than they do from one another. It may seem to some readers that this means merely that Professor Newbold was approaching nearer and nearer to the correct reading, that is, to the message enciphered by Bacon, but such a view would entirely miss the point with regard to the whole system, which is this: that no system of cipher can be valid or have the slightest claim to recognition if it permits such widely divergent readings as these. The fact that all three of these decipherments report a conflict between knights and monks at Oxford does not redeem the system. All that it means is

that Professor Newbold still continued to believe that the passage contained an account of such a conflict. Inquiry into the historical accuracy of this account is reserved for discussion below (pp. 29–34.).

4. *Decipherment Based on Faulty Transcription.* But if a cipher system which affords more than one reading of the same basic text cannot have any validity, what shall we say of a system that obtains a satisfactory decipherment from a text so wrongly transliterated that it contains many letters that do not belong to the text as composed by the original writer but are the mere product of errors on the part of the decipherer? But this is precisely the situation with regard to the highly acclaimed Vatican Document.

The Vatican Document is a passage inserted in the Vatican Latin manuscript *No. 3102*, in blank spaces at the end of a copy of Bacon's *De Perspectiva*. It occupies 35 lines and is written in highly abbreviated Latin, in which are interspersed groups of characters which Professor Newbold regarded as 'meaningless letter groups' but which a little study reveals as Latin words enciphered by a very common and easy method. On the face of it, the document purports to record certain alchemical questions, addressed to a person designated as Beatus Bernardus, and his replies. Who this Beatus Bernardus was I cannot say, but the name Bernardus is not unfamiliar in the history of alchemy[1]; and there was, no doubt, a confusion with Bernard of Clairvaux — Beatus Bernardus or Bernardus Magnus. At any rate, the presence of the piece in a manuscript containing Bacon's *De Perspectiva* is no reason for assigning it to Bacon. It is written in a different hand from that of the *De Perspectiva*, which

[1] Besides the well-known Bernardus Trevisanus Dorothea Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in the Libraries of Great Britain*, I, 292), there were Bernard de Gordon (*ibid.*, I, 261), and Bernardus, a monk of Bermondsey, said to be author of directions for making the Elixir (cf. MS. *Sloane 3644* [3]); a *Tractatus quale fit Athanor, id est furnus philosophicus*, ascribed to Bernardus, occurs in MS *Sloane 976*, ff. 81–82 (Singer, I, 294); the *Liber Trium Verborum Hermetis*, commonly ascribed to Khalid (Zetzner, v, 186–90) appears in *Sloane 323* and Trin. Coll. Camb. MS *1120* with the heading, 'Hic incipit opus et practica Bernhardi magni alkimiste in album' (Singer, I, 47); and other alchemical treatises are in Corpus Christi Coll., MS *136* and the Bodleian *Ashmole 1450*, ascribed respectively to Barnardus and Bernardus Magnus. The practice of fathering alchemical treatises on such famous men as Plato, Aristotle, King Arthur, Pope Boniface, St Thomas Aquinas, not to mention Ramon Lull and others, is too well known to require illustration.

Symbols Supposed By Professor Newbold To Represent Complete Words:

I

I^a

I^b

I^c

I^d

I^e

I^f

I^g

I^h

II

II^a

III

IV

V

VI

VI^a

VI^b

VII

VIII

VIII^a

IX

Cipher Letter Symbols:

2

3

4

PLATE I

precedes it, or that of the note on Averroes, which follows it, and was copied into the vacant spaces left after these two pieces were copied. The Bernardus piece was obviously composed after Bacon's death, for the replies make use of the alchemical symbols which first appeared in the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*.[1]

To anyone familiar with simple ciphers and with alchemical jargon the Vatican document will not appear more mysterious or unintelligible than scores of other writings on alchemy, but Professor Newbold maintained that it stood in a class by itself and was so suspicious in appearance as to warrant the assumption that it was one of Bacon's hoaxes, concealing a message enciphered by the biliteral method. He undertook to read it and obtained results for which important claims have been made. His transcription and decipherment are given in great detail in Chapter XVI (pp. 144–175).

Unfortunately his transcription, which forms the basis of his decipherment, is incorrect to a degree that demonstrates unmistakably the subjective character of his deciphering. The correct transcription, with a decipherment of the real cipher groups, will be given as soon as I have discussed certain peculiar symbols contained in the MS and explained the cipher alphabet used in writing the cipher groups. The MS contains seven characters which undoubtedly are symbols for alchemical substances, utensils, or processes. In Plate III I have displayed these seven symbols together with certain others discussed in connection with them. The exact size, form, and use of the symbols can be seen in the reproduction of the Vatican Document in Plates II and III.[2]

[1] For the alchemical treatises falsely ascribed to Lull, see Singer, *op. cit.*, I, 221–259 and of course Ferguson, *Bibl. Chem.*, with the discussions in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 271–289, and Peers, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 405–407. They must all be later than Lull's death (1315). The *alphabetum practicum* of the alchemical treatises was of course suggested by Lull's use of the alphabet in his treatises on reasoning; cf. below, p. 369, n. 2.

[2] For the convenience of the reader I give references to the lines of the Vatican text in Plates II and III in which each of the symbols discussed below occur.

I. 2, 8, 10, 13, 14, 33.
II. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 18, 30.
III. 4.
IV. 33.
V. 8, 13, 15, 34.
VI. 31, 33.

1. Professor Newbold regarded Symbol I as the alchemical symbol for *arsenicum* written backwards, and he accordingly took the letters of this word in reverse order — mucinesra — for his cipher. For the original form of the symbol he referred to Berthelot, *Introduction à l'Etude de la Chimie des Anciens et du Moyen Age* (1889), p. 108. But the symbol given there (No. 16) shows no circle at the apex of the angle;[1] see form I^a in my Plate I. The particular form shown in the Vatican Document (form I) I have been unable to find either in the extensive list given by G. W. Gessmann, *Die Geheimsymbole der Alchymie*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1922, or in any of the lists of symbols which I have examined in MSS at the British Museum and the Bodleian. Form I^b — the form Professor Newbold had in mind as being reversed — appears in Gessmann (Tafel XXXXIII), but as designating, not 'arsenic,' but 'orpiment.' Several symbols similar to this occur both in Gessmann and in the MSS with various meanings. For example, the symbol that I designate as I^c appears in Tafel IV as 'red sulphuret of arsenic'; I^d in Tafel VI as 'sal alcali' and in Tafel XXXV as 'aqua vitae'; I^e in Tafel XXXXII as 'distilled oil'; I^f in Tafel XXXXIII as 'boiled oil'; I^g in Tafel XXXXII as 'oil'; I^h in Tafel VI as 'olive oil,' in Tafel XXIX as 'lapis silex,' and in Tafel XXXVI as 'aqua vitae.' MS. *Sloane 496* lists both I^f (fol. 23^v) and I^g (fol. 43^v) as meaning 'oil,' I^g (fol. 45^r) as 'exiccatio,' and I^h (fol. 46^r) as 'dephlegmatio.' MS *Sloane 830* (fol. 179^r) gives I^g as 'sulphur.' MS *Sloane 2792* gives I^d and I^g as 'aqua vitae' (fol. 9) and I^g as 'oil of any kind'; I^e as 'spiritus vini.' It is obvious that, although there is considerable doubt as to the meaning of the symbol in the Vatican

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VII. 31, 33.

VIII. 15 (last word).

IX. 16 (second word).

2=c 17, 24, 32, 34(2).

3=d 15, 17, 24, 31, 32.

4=r 11(2), 12, 16, 17, 18, 21(2), 25(4), 26, 30(3), 32, 34(3).

As remarked on p. 24, the scribe sometimes confused the cipher symbols for *d* and *r* with one another and with the letter *z* (the cipher symbol for 1), but the Latin words are easily recognizable where such confusion occurs.

[1] That it should have none is confirmed by the forms in Berthelot's Plate V (p. 114) lines 7 and 19.

MS, there is no justification for Professor Newbold's assumption that it represents 'arsenicum' spelled backwards.

2. Symbol II also I have not met with elsewhere. Professor Newbold called it 'paragraphus' and referred to A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, ed. 2. (1912), p. 412, as authority. But none of the paragraph symbols given there bears any close resemblance to the Vatican symbol. The nearest is perhaps that shown in my Plate III as II[a].

3. Symbol III also occurs nowhere else, so far as I am aware. Professor Newbold represented it by 'tria-puncta-et-duo-quadrantes.'

4. Symbols IV and V Professor Newbold rightly regarded as different symbols, but he was mistaken, I think, in the meanings he assigned to them ('sol-oriens' and 'sol-occidens'), and also in ascribing three occurrences to each. In my opinion IV occurs only once (l. 33;) in the other five instances the symbol is V (ll. 8, 13, 15, 34, 35). Gessmann (Tafel XX) gives a sign very similar to IV, with the meaning 'sol, gold,' as in l.33. Symbol V seems to represent 'ignis, fire,' as that meaning suits the context in all five of its occurrences.

5. Symbol VI Professor Newbold called 'asteriscus' and represented by the letters of that word both times that it occurs. His authority is Cappelli, *op. cit.*, p. 412. But the symbol (VI[a]) given by Cappelli is less like that in the Vatican MS. than is VI[b], an alchemical symbol given by Gessmann (Tafel XV) for 'acetum distillatum.' The context suggests, however, that it means 'alumen.'

6. For Symbol VII, which occurs twice, Professor Newbold substituted the word 'spiculum,' but it seems rather to be the well-known symbol for the planet Mars and the metal iron.

Two other signs occur in cipher groups which Professor Newbold interpreted as representing whole words. The first of these he regarded as the Latin word 'atterit,' written with three Tironian signs. He drew it as shown in Plate I as No. VIII. In my opinion, this character, which occurs only once — as the first letter of the cipher word for 'distillat' (last word, l. 15) — is merely a badly made example of the cipher symbol for the letter *d* (cf. VIII[a]). The second symbol, shown in Plate I as IX[a], also occurs only once. For reasons

unknown to me, Professor Newbold regarded it as representing the word 'ymnus'; but it is clearly only the letter *y* (underdotted for deletion) with the letter *s* written above it. The Latin word in which it occurs is 'aquam,' which ought to have been enciphered *c q s c m*, but instead of the *s* the scribe first wrote *y*, the cipher symbol for *s*, and afterwards corrected it (l.16, 2nd word).

Among the symbols which occur in cipher groups — 'meaningless letter groups' he called them — Professor Newbold recognized one as the Hebrew letter *beth* and five as the Tironian symbols for the syllables *la*, *li*, *ri*, *te*, *ti*. The symbol that he called 'beth' occurs frequently, and constantly has the value of *c* in the cipher text; but the five supposed Tironian symbols, in my opinion, reduce to two — one (discussed in the preceding paragraph) representing the letter *d*, and the other the letter *r*. The signs for *d* and *r* are much alike and when carelessly made are confused with one another and with *z*, but no one familiar with cipher will be misled or disturbed by the confusion.

The cipher alphabet, fortunately, is very simple. First the five vowels are discarded and replaced by the letters *c*, *d*, *l*, *r*, and *s*. Then *l* and *s* are replaced by *z* and *y*, respectively, and *c*, *d*, and *r* by three symbols — which may indeed be the Hebrew letter *beth* and the Tironian signs for *ri* and *ti* — shown in Plate I as Nos. 2, 3, and 4.[1] The other letters of the alphabet, so far as they occur, retain their normal values. The alphabet, then, is as follows:

(1) For enciphering

Clear:	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	i	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u
Cipher:	c	b	2	3	d	f	g	l	z	m	n	r	p	q	4	y	t	s

(2) For deciphering

Cipher:	b	c	d	f	g	l	m	n	p	q	r	s	t	y	z	2	3	4
Clear:	b	a	e	f	g	i	m	n	p	q	o	u	t	s	l	c	d	r

The cipher equivalents for the letters *h*, *x*, *y*, and *z* do not happen to be in our text.

[1] For typographical reasons I shall use these Arabic numerals in the transliterated text instead of the cipher symbols representing *c*, *d*, and *r*.

After this long preliminary explanation, which unfortunately seemed necessary to prepare the reader for an understanding of the cipher groups and consequently of the text as a whole, I will proceed to the decipherment of the cipher groups, taking them up in the order in which they occur and giving first the cipher group as it stands in the MS. and then its decipherment by means of the deciphering alphabet just given:

1) g c z l n d; cf. No. 31 below
g a l i n e

2) g c z l; cf. 30
g a l i

3) The same as 1. In all three of these words, Professor Newbold read the second letter as *t*. It is clearly a *c*, and the Latin words are easily recognizable, although spelled here with only one *l*; cf. the spelling of *ebulit* in the clear text in Question 4.

4) c p d 4 t s 4 c
a p e r t u r a

5) f r 4 c m d n
f o r a m e n
Newbold mistook the final *n* for *ii*.

6) 3 l y t l z z c t; cf. 36
d i s t i l l a t
The character which I designate by 3, representing the letter *d*, Professor Newbold read as the Tironian signs for *atterit*. It was carelessly written. The third letter he read as *p* instead of *y*.

7) c q s c m; cf. 17, 34 and 39.
a q u a m
This is the word in which the scribal error of *y* corrected to *s* was read by Professor Newbold as *ymnus*. See p. 20 and Plate III, No. IX.

8) y d 4 d n l y l m c m; cf. 39
s e r e n i s i m a m
The sixth letter Professor Newbold read as *b* instead of *l* and the eighth and ninth as *hn* instead of *lm*.

9) s l t d z z s m; cf. 13
u i t e l l u m

10) 4 s b l 2 s n 3 l y y l m s m
r u b i c u n d i s s i m u m

11) p 4 d g n c n y
p r e g n a n s

12) c z b s g r
a l b u g o

13) The same as 9. For the third letter, *t*, Professor Newbold read *c*.

14) c 4 b r 4 l y; cf. 31
a r b o r i s

15) g c z l n c; cf. 13 and 31
g a l i n a
The second and last letters Professor Newbold read as *t* instead of *c*.

16) r s s m; cf. 19
o u u m

17) c q s c; cf. 7, 34, and 39
a q u a

18) s l t d
u i t e

19) The same as 16.

20) p s z z l f l 2 c n 3 s m
p u l l i f i c a n d u m
The third letter from the end Professor Newbold read as *z*.

21) g d n b 4 c t s 4
g e n e r a t u r

22) p s z z s y
p u l l u s

23) c z b s y
a l b u s

24) The same as 21.

25) The same as 22.

26) 4 s b d s y
r u b e u s

27) c n l m c t l r
a n i m a t i o
After the second *l* the scribe wrote an *i* by mistake and canceled it by putting a dot under it.

28) b c z n d r
b a l n e o

29) y d m l n d
s e m i n e

30) g c z z l; cf. 2
g a l l i

31) g c z z l n c; cf. 1, 3, and 15
g a l l i n a

32) c 4 b r 4; cf. 14
a r b o r
The second and last letters Professor Newbold read as the Tironian symbol for *ri.*

33) l s n l p d 4 s y
i u n i p e r u s

34) c q s c; cf. 17 and 39
a q u a
The letter *c* was twice read as *t* by Professor Newbold.

35) g z c l d l
g l a i e i
It is obvious that the cipher for the letter *c* has been carelessly omitted at the middle of the word. The reason for this omission is probably that the cipher letter *c* had just occurred. The Latin word is obviously *glaciei.*

36) 3 l y t l z z c t r; cf. 6
d i s t i l l a t o
The first symbol Professor Newbold read as *z.*

37) c z z d m b l 2 s m
a l l e m b i c u m

38) 3 l d y
d i e s

39) c q s c + y d 4 d n l y y
a q u a + s e r e n i s s
Clearly the scribe forgot to encipher the ending *ima.*

40) 2 c 4 b r n s m
c a r b o n u m

41) 2 l n d 4 l b s y
c i n e r i b u s

42) l s n l p d 4 l; cf. 33
i u n i p e r i
The penultimate symbol Professor Newbold read as Tironian *li.*

A peculiar feature of Professor Newbold's transcription is his treatment of what look like ordinary scribal errors and corrections. In the first sentence, for example, the word *questiones* is written above the line with a mark in the line to show where it belongs; Professor Newbold transcribed 'caret quaestiones' and treats the word *caret* as an integral part of the basic text from which he derived his decipherment. Later the omission of the words *in* (see below p. 369, l. 25) and *in quo* (p. 369, l. 16) and of the letter *l*(= *i*) in the enciphered word *rubicundissimum*, corrected in the same way by the scribe, gave Professor Newbold excuse for inserting *caret*, *carent*, and *caret* in his text. Five letters written by mistake and underdotted for deletion (Question 12, Question 10, and Reply 1) provided him with *expunctis*, *expunctiscarent* and *expuncto*. By his procedure Professor Newbold assumed that the errors were made intentionally, for the express purpose of introducing into the basic cipher text the words: *caret*, *carent*, *expunctis*, *expuncto*. As not even he claimed that the Vatican manuscript was written by Bacon himself or under his direct supervision, he was obliged to assume that the fourteenth century scribe who did write the manuscript had received instructions to commit exactly these errors of transcription and correct them precisely as he did. To me at least this seems incredible: but if it is not true, the 59 letters involved must be added to the number of those for which Bacon cannot in any event be held responsible.

The following is a correct transcription of the Vatican MS. It will be observed that the cipher groups which Professor Newbold called 'groups of meaningless symbols' are readily translated into Latin words easily recognizable in spite of some carelessnesses in spelling, and that these words fit admirably into the context both in syntax and in meaning. For purposes of identification I have printed these deciphered groups in italics; details of the decipherment will be found in the list on pages 365–367. For typographical reasons I have substituted tentatively for the alchemical symbols their probable meanings, but it is easily possible that some expert in alchemy can suggest more appropriate meanings for some of them. I have placed all of them between square brackets, for purposes of identification.

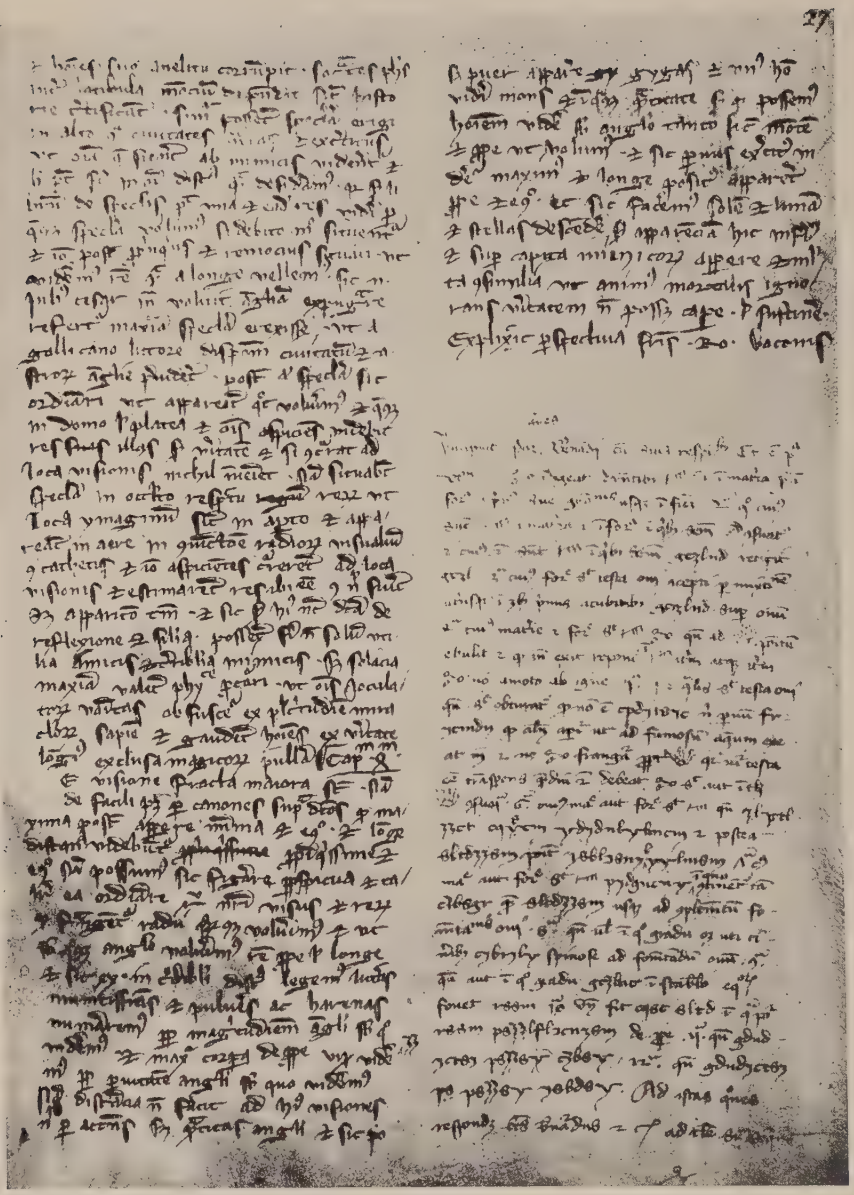

PLATE II

VAT. *Lat. 3102* fol. 27r

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Vatican *Lat. 3102* fol. 27r

Incipiunt quedam questiones Bernardi cum suis responsionibus, et est prima Utrum [ouum philosophicum] indigeat differentibus [uasibus] tam in materia quam in forma[1] a principio sue generationis usque in finem. 2ª questio. Cuius sint [uasa] in materia et in forma, in quibus semen [galli] conseruatur et cuius etiam sint [uasa] in quibus semen *galine* recipit *gali.* 3ª. Cuius forme sit testa oui concepti per mixtionem utriusque in tribus primis acubitibus *galine* super ouum. 4ª. Cuius materie et forme sit [uas] [oui philosophici] quando ad [ignem] positum ebulit et quod inde exit reponitur in [uase] iterum atque iterum, [ouo philosophico] non amoto ab igne. 5ª. Que et qualis sit testa oui quando sic obturatur quod non est *apertura* nisi paruum *foramen*, quod aliquando aperitur ut aliquod fumosum aquosum exeat inde et ne [ouum philosophicum] frangatur propter [ignem], quia uidetur testa esse transparens; quamdiu etiam debeat [ouum philosophicum] sic aut in tali [igne] conseruari. 6ª. Cuius materie aut forme sit [uas] quando *distillat aquam serenisimam* et postea *uitellum* ponit *rubicundissimum.* 7ª. Cuius materie aut forme sit [uas] pregnans in quo continentur tam *albugo* quam *uitellum* usque ad complementum fomentationis oui. 8ª. Quando uel in quo gradu oportet uti cineribus *arboris* spinose ad fomentandum ouum. 9ª. Quando aut in quo gradu *galina* in stabulo equorum fouet *ouum.* 10ª. Unde fit *aqua uite* in qua ponitur *ouum pullificandum* de propositione. 11ª. Quando *generatur pullus albus.* 12ª. Quando *generatur pullus rubeus.* Ad istas questiones respondet beatus Bernardus et cetera ad tale signum sequens.

fol. 27v

Prime questioni dicit quod a b c[2]. B tamen non est necessarium nisi sit *animatio* facta in *balneo;* 2ª, quod a pro *semine galli*, c uero pro *gallina.*

[1] The reader should bear in mind that *materia* and *forma* are here used, not in their common modern senses, but as technical terms of mediaeval science. *Forma* is the spirit or shaping principle or force which causes the substratum *materia* to possess its characteristic properties. A late alchemist says: 'Forma autem rerum est virtus generativa, qua sibi simile quodque producere potest, ut hominis forma latet in homine, et non in alio, arboris in arbore nec non in metallo metalli' (*Gerardi Dornei Philosophia Chemica, ap.* Zetzner, *Theatrum Chem.*, I, 454). Gaston Dulco distinguishes *forma substantialis* from *forma accidentaria*, explaining: 'Cum igitur argentum vivum et reliqua metalla mutantur in argentum aut aurum, forma substantialis illorum non perit, sed sola accidentaria' (*De Triplici Praeparatione Auri et Argenti, ap.* Zetzner, IV, 422). The same conception of *forma* and *materia* was held by the orthodox scientists, such as Albertus Magnus, in discussing the generation of animals, plants, and metals.

[2] The letters of the alphabet are here used as special technical symbols. This use, suggested by Lull's *alphabetum artis*, is first developed for alchemy in the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*, where such meanings as the following occur: 'Pro prima distinctione, quae est A B C in prima operatione A significat Deum . . . B significat argentum vivum . . . C significat salis pe-

3ᵉ dicit quod E; 4ᵉ quod g; 5ᵉ quod d; 6ᵉ quod E; 7ᵉ quod f; 8ᵉ quando in [uase] reponitur, ut dicit quarta questio, arbor *spinosa* est *iuniperus*. 9ᵉ, ut dicit quinta questio, et non aliter conseruatur quando est ut dicit septima questio. 10ᵉ dicit quod *aqua* fit ex [aluminis] *gla*[c]*iei* cum [ferro] *distillato* per *allembicum*. 11ᵉ et 12ᵉ dicit quod infra 50 *dies* si bene rexerit; si male, proportionaliter. *Aqua sereniss*[*ima*], de qua prius locuti fuimus fit ex [alumine?] et [ferro], et uocatur [sol] ultimatus, in quo [ouum philosophicum] conseruatur et excitari debet per [ignem] *carbonum* cum *cineribus iuniperi* adeo coopertum quod neque frigidum neque calidum sed quasi mortuum conseruet dictum [ignem]. Explicit pro nunc. Deo gratias, Amen.

Comparison of this text with that printed by Professor Newbold (pages 151–162 and 167–173) reveals the following errors in transcribing the unenciphered Latin or expanding the contractions. For ease of reference, I will note in each case the page and letter-group numbering of Professor Newbold's transcription:

1. coniunctio (152, 165) *for* questio[1]
2. sunt (152, 181) *for* sint
3. sunt (153, 262) *for* sint
4. sit (157, 702) *for* sic
5. thesauro (*ibid.*) *for* tali[2]
6. conseruatur (157, 724) *for* conseruari
7. ponitur (158, 819) *for* ponit
8. caetera (158, 908) *for* tam[3]
9. quantum (159, 923) *for* quam[3]
10. ad clericos simul sequentes (162, 1268) *for* ad tale signum sequens[4]

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tram . . . D significat vitriolum azoqueum, quod corrumpit et confundit omne illud quod est de natura et esse communis argenti vivi,' etc. (*Practica*, cap. IV, *ap.* Zetzner, IV, 153 ff.). These meanings do not appear to suit our text, but many other sets of meanings were assigned to the letters by imitators of the *Testamentum;* cf. those given by Singer, *Cat. Alch. MSS* I, 225–27, and by Giovanni Carbonelli, *Sulle Fonte Storiche della Chemica e dell'Alchimia*, pp. 28–30. I have noted many others in manuscripts, but none which seemed entirely explanatory of this passage. How variable they are may be seen from a set quoted by Carbonelli, p. 30: 'A significa Chaos o principio; B fuoco deputato, ossia forma; C menstruo acuto; D quinta essentia; D sale armoniaco; E calcinazione; . . . H anima dei vegetali.'

[1] The context clearly demands *questio;* cf. *questiones* above.

[2] Clearly *tali;* compare the final long *i* with that in *oui*, four lines above it in the facsimile.

[3] There can be no doubt that the correlatives *tam quam* are intended; both the context and the form of *tam* make this certain.

[4] This common formula for referring the reader to the place where the continuation of a text is resumed is unmistakable. In Plate II the sign at the foot of f. 27r., col. 2, is partly cut away, but in the original photograph furnished me by Professor Newbold it is as clear and complete there as it is on f. 27ᵛ (see Pl. III).

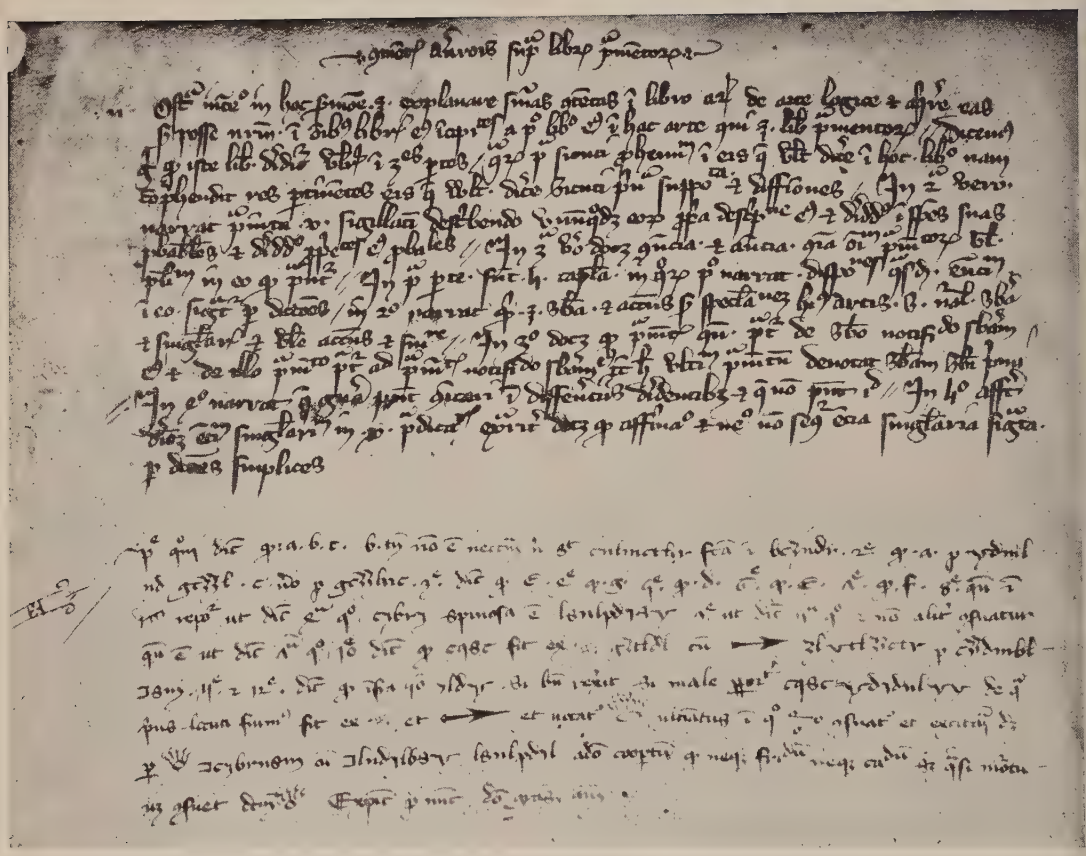

PLATE III

VAT. *Lat. 3102* fol. 27 v

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11. quod *omitted* (168, 138)
12. commune (169, 245) *for* none[1]
13. quinto (171, 395) *for* quinquaginta[2]
14. quinta (171, 446) *for* qua
15. decem (173, 645) *for* dictum

It will be noted that this class of errors alone affects more than 70 letters of the basic text. This may seem a small proportion of the total number, but even a slight difference in the basic text may necessitate considerable modification of the decipherment. For example, in two passages Professor Newbold worked out new decipherments on the basis of corrections I sent him in 1922. He wrote:

'I am deeply indebted to you for the corrections in the readings of the MS which you send me. Setting aside the *c*'s and *t*'s, which are virtually indistinguishable, I think you are right in most of them; there are only a few about which I am uncertain. The most important is "tale signum sequens," which is so obvious I ought to have seen it myself. If the correction needed confirmation the translation would supply it: "scribi a Randa sui monte." ' [instead of (insanus!) illustria perscribi].[3] 'P. S. After finishing this letter, I tried out your corrections in the passage 1. 774–800. As you will see, the resulting letters readily recompose into a much better text, in which the jejune *sancto* and the inaccurate *de Deo* disappear: "unica causa. In coelo anima, lux generata recipit cupam," etc. [instead of "unico sancto. Accipit animus de Deo cupam"].'[4]

But the total number of letters either certainly wrong or subject to grave suspicion is really very large — over 400 out of a total of 1955, or more than 20 per cent.

Most of Professor Newbold's errors or questionable assumptions in transcribing this text arose from his view that it was intended to be sheer nonsense, without even the sort of contextual consistency commonly found in occult alchemical documents. In this he was clearly

[1] But for the context the symbol might mean *commune;* it is, however, certainly *none,* marking the reply to the ninth question.

[2] The enciphered word *dies* immediately following this confirms the view that we must read 50, not qo.

[3] See p. 162, Nos. 1268–77.

[4] Here the only changes in the basic text were *y* for *p* (No. 775 in the cipher word), *lm* for *hn* (Nos. 797–8) and the recognition that a certain symbol (see p. 157, 784 ff.) was not *ymnus* but merely an *s* written above a *y* that had been written by mistake and cancelled.

wrong. Some of the symbols stand for alchemical processes or materials that I cannot determine with certainty, but the cipher groups are simple and easily solved and when this is done the text is not more mysterious than many another one dealing in figurative language with the processes of alchemy. The general meaning is obviously much the same as that expressed clearly and simply by Albertus Magnus in his generalized account of the preparation of the Elixir (*Mineral.*, III, x); details will doubtless be intelligible to experts in alchemy.

It is very strange that Professor Newbold would not admit that the 'meaningless groups of letters' in this MS are merely simple cipher groups. Anyone can test the matter for himself with the alphabet given on p.364. Strangely, also, he refused to recognize the equally simple cipher in the *Tractatus Trium Verborum*. In the facsimile from MS *Sloane 1754* (given in Newbold's Plate IX) the cipher is clear: 1) 'Explicit mzinsm et orhmsm mcnezdhsm Rlierh Azdsn ze hlgznnc*m* ozrhd' (='Explicit magnum et primum mendacium Rogeri Bacun ad Iohannem Paric.' The only error is *e* for *c* in *Rlierh*). 2) 'Explicit vcrdhsm mcnezdhsm Rlicrh Azdsn ad fratrem hlgznnc*m* de ozrht Alk' (='Explicit tercium mendacium Rogeri Bacun ad fratrem Iohannem de Paris Alkimista.') 3) 'Explicit mzhst mcnezdhsm (=maius mendacium) ei*usdem* ut supra.' Obviously No. 2 should follow No. 3. In the MS the part of the plate marked *2* is on f. 75^{r}. That marked 3 is on f. 65^{r}. As to the forms of these cipher groups in other MSS of the *Trium Verborum*, anyone who will compare the decipherment just given with the groups printed by Newbold (p. 68 and *ibid.*, n. 32) can easily see how the scribal errors and misprints have occurred. The alphabet is:

Cipher : z a d e c f i g h m n l o r t v s
Meaning: a b c d e f g h i m n o p r s t u

The cipher is simple and easy, and no two competent cryptographers would differ in the reading of it. Mr Robert Steele (see *Nature*, October 13, 1928, p. 564) and Dr Dorothea Singer (*Cat. . . . Alch. MSS*, I, 170) independently read it alike and as I do (and did in a letter to Professor Newbold in 1922).

In view of the fact that these groups of letters are not meaningless, as Professor Newbold supposed, but genuine cipher, and consequently just as determinate as plain text would be, Professor Newbold's theory (p. 68) that Bacon resorted to the device of 'meaningless letters' to facilitate the ending of his encipherment falls to the ground; and so does his suggestion (*ibid.*) that Bacon's second object was to send the 'unduly suspicious reader' off on a wild-goose chase.

Our study of the Vatican document has, I think, clearly proved that Professor Newbold's system of decipherment is so flexible and ambiguous that he obtains a decipherment even when operating upon a text 20 per cent of which certainly did not originate with Roger Bacon (even if any of it did). The demonstration that the cipher system is not Roger Bacon's but the product of the ingenuity of Professor Newbold's subconsciousness would, therefore, seem to be complete.

III. CRITICISM OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MESSAGES

Of course, the chief reason why Professor Newbold clung so unshakenly to his method was that he got messages containing statements which he supposed to be true and important and which he did not believe could have been supplied by his subconscious mental processes. Undoubtedly this is also the chief reason why those who feel incompetent to criticize his cipher system as a system accept it and its results. It therefore becomes necessary to examine these messages and see whether it is reasonable to suppose that they were enciphered by Roger Bacon.

1. *Messages from the Latin-text Cipher.* We will take up first the messages obtained from the supposed ciphers of the Latin-text. These are longer and more numerous than the shorthand ciphers; they are in the more primitive form of the cipher; and some of them make statements that can be tested by historical records.

a) *The Oxford Story.* This appears to have been the earliest message deciphered by Professor Newbold from a Latin text. His decipherment was made early in April, 1920. It is based upon Chapter x of the treatise *De Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate*

Magiae, a work commonly ascribed to Bacon, although the authenticity of Chapters IX, X, and XI is very questionable. The decipherment gives an account of riots said to have occurred at Oxford between the *milites*, or knights, and the ecclesiastics. The decipherment, of course, is in Latin, but we may take as fairly representing it the paraphrase made by Professor Kent (pp. 134 f.):

On March 4, 1273, King Edward directed all the ecclesiastics of his kingdom to seize the vicious and to arrest the wrongdoers and criminal, that the dishonest might be put to confusion. They were accordingly arrested, that the King might be satisfied. But they were straightway freed from custody, because the ecclesiastics feared the neighboring knights; for any one at all might know that the end of their power was come if the monks could arrest them, and could attract from their serfdom the serfs, by the joyous carols and solemn hymns of the Church, that they might free them from the savagery of the King and the power of the knights.

Now at Oxford there were knights studying; they take arms against the ecclesiastics. The knights at Oxford bring military supplies secretly. Then the monks take a similar step against their foe: they charged the knights with schism, declaring that they had procured arms because they felt that they were guilty. The knights, fearing the monks, made fine excuses to the King: they (the monks) would demand the arrest of those whom they charged with the crime, that they might build up a pretense of their hostility; they have been challenged by them, to frighten those;[1] that pretense will turn into a trap. At that the ecclesiastics shut their gates and blocked up the lower parts of the rear entrances, which they turned over to Roger Bacon of Ilchester to guard, who was likewise also an exile from among the Celts, from Knockane in Munster, a city of Ireland.

The knights in vain came out to the ford of the Thames where the House of the Friars Minor stood, on a level with the river.[2] But the shouts of the populace implored them to keep away from the bank. When the populace was through, the knights (not wishing to go against popular opinion) gave the military salute just as they gave it to the Chancellor when he was presiding in a military capacity.

This draws the clerics to an uprising, even if the Chancellor was satisfied that the same show of respect be given to the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty who . . .[3] and to the presiding officer of the whole body of scholars.

[1] [Those charged with the crime? — *RGK*]

[2] [If this be the meaning. — *RGK*]

[3] [The words here and in the similar place later on, are obvious, but they do not suggest to the Editor the meaning which Newbold had for them. — *RGK*] The omitted words are: 'qui vitam reddant ut pillent cleros.'

But saints do not like bloodshed. Bacon has himself sent into the city to buy willow charcoal mixed with a solution of saltpeter and with wine,[1] on the pretence of buying medicine. . . . On April second, the knights had gone off, that in this way — whether it be avoidance or non-performance — the excuse for their wrongdoing might be the old custom of taking beer and wine straight on April first. When things turn out successful, there will be no investigation into things gone by; even the greatest crimes, in case of success, men are wont to say nothing about.

The statements made in this narrative would suffice to condemn it and the system by which it is obtained, whether we consider the general assumptions made or the specific facts stated. No one at all familiar with the history of England will readily believe that Edward I, upon succeeding to the throne and before his coronation, would have jeopardized his succession by such a violation of English laws and customs as is implied in the first sentence of the story. Certain types of offences against morality had long been under the jurisdiction of the Church, but to have empowered the ecclesiastics 'to seize the vicious and to arrest the wrongdoers and criminal' would have produced a revolution on the part of the laity which would have changed the whole course of English history. Even if this power had been exercized only temporarily, as the 'story' tells us it was, the chronicles of the time would have been full of the excitement caused by such an act.

The latter part of the first paragraph of the story seems sheer nonsense. How could the monks, 'by the joyous carols and solemn hymns of the Church,' attract the serfs from their serfdom and free them from the savagery of the King and the power of the knights? It may be noted in passing that the author of this story regarded monks (*monachi*) as synonomous with ecclesiastics and certainly, as including the friars. It is unlikely that a friar of the thirteenth century would have applied the term *monachi* to himself and the members of his order; certainly Bacon never does so.

The statement at the beginning of paragraph 2 that there were knights studying at Oxford, will not be readily believed by anyone familiar with the universities of England in the thirteenth century.

[1] [Ingredients for gunpowder, with which to make fireworks and thereby frighten off the besiegers — *RGK*] The omitted words after 'medicinam' are: 'menti suili.'

The students of the universities were almost without exception persons in clerical orders preparing for an ecclesiastical career. The narrative of this paragraph and the reference later 'to the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty' 'qui vitam reddant ut pillent cleros' (cf. p. 140) implies such a number of knights among the students as is entirely incredible.

In the final sentence of paragraph 2, Roger Bacon is spoken of as 'an exile from among the Celts, from Knockane in Munster, a city of Ireland.' The idea that Bacon was an exile is based upon a misunderstanding of a passage in the *Opus Tertium:* 'recolens me iam a decem annis exulantem, quantum ad famam studii, quam retroactis temporibus obtinui.[1] Nor is there any evidence connecting him with Knockane or any other part of Ireland.

Comment on the ludicrousness of the actions ascribed to the knights in paragraph 3 is unnecessary,[2] but one would like to enquire when the chancellor of Oxford University ever acted, or was empowered to preside, in a military capacity.

I am entirely unable to understand either the Latin or the English of the first sentence in paragraph 4, though I am not surprised that Professor Kent omitted the phrase which describes the outstanding Hundred-and-Sixty as having given up their lives that they might pillage the ecclesiastics. Why a show of respect to them should have been expected to please the ecclesiastics is unintelligible, at least to me.

The third sentence is also astonishing both in latinity and in the statement it makes. Willow charcoal mixed with a solution of saltpeter and with wine might have made gunpowder, to be sure, but hardly with sufficient speed to have been of much benefit in this conflict; and what is the significance of the phrase 'with swinish mind, (*menti suili*), which Professor Kent omits from his paraphrase?

In a document which affords so many occasions for amusement

[1] *Opus Tertium*, ed. Brewer, p. 7.

[2] The 'ford of the Thames where the house of the Friars Minor stood' can mean only the ford of Trill Mill stream at Preachers' Bridge, which was nearer to the house of the Black Friars than to that of the Friars Minor; see the plan of Early Oxford in Wood's *City of Oxford* (ed. A. Clark), vol. I, which also shows the house of the Friars Minor as within the city wall; cf. on the walling in of the grounds after Feb. 10, 1245, Wood, *op. cit.* vol. II, pp. 360 and 396.

we reach a climax with the priceless reference to 'the old custom of taking beer and wine straight on April first.'

But Professor Newbold declared that although 'neither the King's inquisition into crimes nor the riot at Oxford is mentioned' in contemporary chronicles, 'the original documents give distinct indication of these occurrences.' He notes that Prince Edward, who was on his way home from the Holy Land when the news of his father's death reached him, was received by the Pope at Rome (Orvieto[1]) on St Valentine's Day, 1273, and connects with this interview the mission of two papal nuncios to England, 'apparently speaking on behalf of King Edward also, demanding payment of large sums of money to Edward for his expenses while away, and instituting an investigation into crimes and misdoings.' According to Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* 3rd ed., II, 108), the two tenths, voted by the English ecclesiastics to aid Edward and his brother Edmund in the Crusade from which they were returning, were voted on February 15. The nuncios must, therefore, have left the papal court some weeks before Edward arrived there. In any event, if Professor Newbold had read the lines immediately following the passage quoted from the contemporary chronicle in his footnote, he would have seen that the nuncios had no power to institute a general investigation into crimes and misdoings, but only to look after violations of ecclesiastical rights and liberties. There is not a single one of the forty-nine items referred to by Professor Newbold (p. 136) as if they were disorders among the laity which justifies that intimation. This cannot, therefore, be the investigation which the cipher document speaks of as ordered by the King. It was a purely ecclesiastical investigation ordered by the Pope, and, as I have said, the nuncios seem to have left the papal court before Edward arrived there.

The riots which Professor Newbold finds recorded both in the Chronicles and the Close and Patent Rolls are specifically said to have taken place between the Northerners and the Irish. The murderous outbreak occurred on January 26, 1274, and the list of per-

[1] According to Henry Gough's *Itinerary of Edward I*, I, p. 20, Edward was at Rome on February 5 and at Orvieto on February 14. He probably remained there till June; cf. also 'Chronicon of Th. Wykes' (*Ann. Monast.*, IV, 254).

sons charged with the trespasses committed contains no indication that knights or friars were involved. These statements may be verified from the references given by Professor Newbold himself,[1] a full summary of all the documents being given by Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, I, 30–33.

The chronicles and records, therefore, do not support the Oxford story as told by Professor Newbold but distinctly refer to an entirely different student riot, at a different time, and between different antagonists. The Oxford students of the thirteenth century were a turbulent lot, and it would have been difficult to fix upon any year in which trouble was not brewing between the Irish and the Northerners; see Salter, I, 25 ff., and note the language of the final concord of November 29, 1267, quoted by him: 'Cum frequens et assidua inter Boreales et Hybernienses esset contencio, cuius occasione multociens studii tranquillitas Oxonie fuerit perturbata' (*ibid.*, I, 29).

Professor Newbold, however, could hardly have chosen a worse date than March, 1273, for the riot and the exploitation of Bacon's firecrackers. The chronicles of Winchester and Waverley inform us that there were rains and floods throughout the month and at the end a storm of wind which blew down houses, walls, and trees[2].

b) *The Paris Medical Text.* To the assumption that the *Epistola de Accidentibus Senectutis* contained a cipher message addressed to Pope Clement IV shortly before his death in November, 1268, and decipherment of this message Chapters XVII and XVIII (pp. 176–185) are devoted. I have already shown (pp. 357f., above) that the *Epistola*, in the very form upon which Professor Newbold bases his decipherment, was addressed by Bacon to Pope Innocent IV before his

[1] The following errors in the references on page 136 may be noted: In note 11 the reference should read *Chron. H. Knighton* (instead of *Ann. Mon.*). The editor of the *Chronicon* was not H. Knighton but J. R. Lumby, and the word *Hybernici* is omitted at the end of the sentence quoted. In note 14, the reference to the Calendar of Close Rolls is correct. This is the document which gives the names of the persons charged with homicides and other trespasses; the references to pages 48 and 62 of the Calendar of Patent Rolls are, however, incorrect, as these pages contain nothing on the subject.

[2] *Ann. Monast.* II, 115: 'Item pluvia continua et inundationes multae per totum mensem Martii, et in fine mensis ventus validus per diem et noctem, qui domos, muros, et arbores per loca ad terram prostravit.' The same passage is repeated in the Waverley Annals, p. 381 of the same volume.

death in 1254 and that no cipher message could have been introduced into the text thirteen or fourteen years later. Examination of the message itself also suffices to disprove its authenticity.

The message as deciphered from the Paris Medical Text on pages 178–180 of Professor Newbold's book is a characteristic example of the incoherence and confusion of the cipher messages. As this incoherence is all pervasive, the reader will find it best illustrated by reference to the decipherment itself. After two paragraphs of vague and rather meaningless generalizations and a third paragraph referring to a letter from the Pope, come three paragraphs devoted to directions for treating stone in the bladder, an ailment from which, according to the message, the Pope was suffering. Why it should have been necessary to conceal these directions in an elaborate cipher it is difficult to understand. According to paragraph 4, the Pope had sent Bacon a letter describing his symptoms and asking him to prescribe a remedy for calculus. Such a letter does not exist, and it is altogether improbable that it was ever written. About two years earlier, the Pope wrote to a friend that he had shown his feet and legs to the famous physician Johannes de Procida but declined to take the medicine prescribed, preferring to commit his case to God (*Summo Medico*), 'Who treating me too mercifully, has not willed to afflict me as much as I have deserved.' Had he lost his nerve or his pious resignation to the chastisements of the Divine Mercy that he should now be appealing to Bacon for advice and help? But even if he had done so, there was nothing in the circumstances of the time which would make it dangerous for Bacon to reply in plain language. The surgical operation for calculus was well known and descriptions of the method of performing it, far clearer and more definite than these purporting to come from Bacon, may be found in medical MSS contemporary with Bacon and even a century earlier.[1] There was no lack in Italy of surgeons entirely competent to perform the operation. If Bacon had regarded an operation for calculus as necessary, all he needed to say was, 'Have your physician operate.'

[1] Interesting directions for performing lithotomy are reprinted by K. Sudhoff, *Beiträge Zur Geschichte d. Chirurgerie im Mittelalter;* see especially II, 139, 290, and 373 and III, 41. The first of these is from the *Cirurgia Magistri Rogerii Fugardi* (of Salerno), who flourished c. 1170. Most

After this medical prescription come two paragraphs of generalizations and then the famous formula for producing metallic copper, which has made so profound an impression upon Professor Newbold's disciples. It does not appear why Bacon should have thought that the Pope, suffering the tortures of a painful disease, would have been interested in learning that a small amount of copper could be obtained from bluestone, or why anyone should have been interested in the process except as a curious experiment. The scientists of the time had apparently no difficulty in obtaining copper, and bluestone seems to have been more valuable than the copper itself. Apparently the author himself did not present his process as having any practical value, but expounded it simply to illustrate the generalization about elements with which it is introduced: 'In all mixed things the elements exist mixed; but if the elements can be released from the solutions and decoctions they are accepted as elements.' That this supposition is correct is indicated by the third sentence of the next paragraph ('Inde dicatur elementum') and by the sentence following the formula ('Sic erunt detecta elementa finita,' etc.). In any event, the application of the term 'element' to copper proves positively and unmistakably that it cannot have been written by a thirteenth century scientist. Copper was not an element according to the views of that time; there were only four elements — earth, air, water, and fire.

Another indication that this passage was written, not in the thirteenth century, but in the twentieth, is the form in which the Latin word for vitriol is used. Throughout the passage it is made a noun of

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nearly contemporary with Bacon is that from the *Chirurgia Willehelmi de Congenis, Burgensis Montpellier* (mid XIII cent.): 'Lapis quando confirmatus est, tantum per incisionem curatur. Et sic ligentur pedes pacientis ad collum proprium et immisso digito dextre manus in anum pacientis ducatur sicut aptius potest ad collum uesice lapis et facta incisione super peritoneum et per collum uesice, quantum potest minori uulnere existente, lapis caute inde cum instrumento ydoneo extrahatur et sic dimittatur uulnus, nec imponantur stuppe sed superponantur, ne inpediant consolidationem, quia per se consolidabitur. Si autem ualde magnus sit lapis, retrudatur ad fundum uesice, quia periculosum esset tam largam facere incisionem, quod per eam extrahi posset tantus lapis. Si enim extenderetur incisio ad tenuitatem uesice, uulnus non consolidaretur.' — II, 373 f.

The contrast of this clear professional note with the crude amateurishness of the alleged Baconian directions speaks for itself.

the third declension, whereas it is uniformly and, so far as I can learn, without exception, a neuter noun of the second declension.[1]

The irregularity of the form of the word is, however, of less importance than the inaccurate information concerning its meaning and use. Quoting Professor Lukens, Professor Kent explains that the term *vitriol* 'is used in four meanings: (1) sulphuric acid; (2) copper sulphate, often specified as blue vitriol; (3) iron sulphate, called green vitriol; (4) zinc sulphate, called white vitriol.' This is true, but one would like to know the evidence for the next statement: 'The use of the term in the last two meanings had not yet developed in the time of Roger Bacon. . . . ' On the contrary, Albertus Magnus, perhaps the most authoritative writer of Bacon's time, used *vitriolum* only as meaning green vitriol, the sulphate of iron. Writing of the *atramenta*, he says: 'Viride etiam, quod a quibusdam *vitreolum* vocatur,'[2] Kopp, the great historian of chemistry, is not quite accurate in saying that Albertus is the first writer to mention vitriol by name,[3] for the term occurs, as Thorndike has pointed out,[4] in the eighth or ninth century *Compositiones ad Tingenda* and the twelfth

[1] Professor Kent says he finds only *vitreolus*, but he must refer to the adjective, for *vitriolum* is the common form for the noun, occurring hundreds of times. I have not the time or space to comment on the numerous instances in which these decipherments present forms and usages contrary to the practice of Bacon and his contemporaries. Until the new dictionaries of mediaeval Latin are available, proof of violation of usage is hard to bring, but anyone who has read Bacon's genuine writings will continually be astonished at the diction and syntax of the deciphered Latin. In the passage under discussion, for example, *sales viles* is used to mean 'common salt'; but the term used by mediaeval scientists was simply *sal* or *sal commune* (or *communis*). The classical usage of *sales* (masc. pl.) for the singular was apparently unknown to them; they used the plural *sales* or *salia* to include *sal armoniacum, sal petrae, sal alkali, sal vitrioli*, and many others; see, e.g., the quotation from the Cambridge MS. of Rhazis, *De salis et aluminibus, ap.* Singer, *Cat.* I, 108: 'Salium autem sunt genera multa. Sal armoniacus. Sal communis et marinus,' etc., or Albertus Magnus, *Mineral. lib.* V, *cap.* II. Steele prints a different version of the text of Rhazis in *Isis*, XII, 10–46: 'Practical Chemistry in the XIIth Century,' from *MS. 6514* of the Bibliothèque Nationale and B. M. *Arundel 164*. As Bacon quotes this treatise as authoritative he perhaps held salt in too high esteem to apply to it the term *viles:* 'Et Deus excelsus non laudavit creaturam in lege sicut est laus eius in sale. Cum ergo cogitaveris in ipso scies bonitatem eius' (Steele, *loc. cit.*, p. 16).

In the deciphered passage occurs also the form *vasum*, which the dictionaries record as anteclassical, but I do not remember to have met any such form in mediaeval alchemists; they use *vas*. But the variations from the usage of Bacon and his fellows are too numerous to mention.

[2] *Mineralium*, lib. V. cap. III (*Op. Omn.* ed. Borgnet, V, 99).

[3] H. Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, III, 63.

[4] *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, chap. XXXIII.

century MS. of the *Mappe Clavicula*, but it is clear that to Bacon's great contemporary *vitriol* meant the sulphate of iron rather than that of copper. Bacon himself, so far as I remember, never used the term. In Rhazis, *De Aluminibus et Salibus* (ed. Steele, *ut supra*) *vitrioli* appears in the heading of paragraph 2: 'modus vitrioli in operatione,' apparently as a synonym for any *atramentum*. It is clear from numerous passages that the vitriol commonly used by mediaeval alchemists was green, that is, either sulphate of iron or an impure sulphate of copper and iron. As their principal concern was with the sulphur it contained, they did not much care what metal formed the base. Certainly Bacon could not have assumed that the Pope would understand vitriol to mean sulphate of copper. A specific descriptive term was needed.[1]

But Professors Smith and Lukens, having procured metallic copper from blue vitriol by the Newbold formula, were convinced that the formula came from Roger Bacon and 'could not have been evolved by Professor Newbold's unconscious mind.' For my own part, I do not see how it is possible for anyone to make such an assertion. Professor Kent's account of Professor Newbold as boy and man suggests that he may have learned enough chemistry as an undergraduate to supply his subconscious mind with the materials for constructing the formula — 'As an undergraduate he stood easily first in every subject' (p. xi) — or that he may unconsciously have recalled some formula met in his wide reading of early science. All the chemists I have consulted about the formula recognized immediately that it was chemically possible.[2] It should be noted that salt and lees of wine figure in scores of mediaeval formulas. MS. *Sloane 4432*, in the British Museum, contains in folios 138–140 a report of a test which, though not identical with the formula, might easily have suggested it to Professor Newbold's ingenious subconsciousness.[3] It is dated

[1] The fullest discussion I have seen of the vitriols in ancient writings is that by Francis Adams in his edition of Paulus Aegineta (*Sydenham Soc.*, III, 401 ff.).

[2] So Professor Stieglitz of Chicago, who has kindly replied to several chemical queries, and Professor Tenney L. Davis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who writes: 'I have not seen this process described elsewhere, but all the same I do not find it very remarkable.'

[3] I wonder whether Professor Lukens actually used lees of wine or a tartar flux. Professor Stieglitz writes: 'I have compared Newbold's formula with the report to Sir Hans Sloane. They

November 4, 1731, and addressed to Dr Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the Royal Society. It reads in part:

> By ordre of Sir Hans Sloane j have Examined for the Royall society some China Indien Blew Stones, By the looks like Lapes Lazuli But by mij Essayes it was only a Rich copper oar . . . [Trials for "Ultramarine" and "Enamelings"].
>
> j made then an Essay For copper. For which j calcined some undre a muffle to Exale away its superfluous sulphure, then j Took 3 oz. of it, and mixt it with 3 parts of common Flux of Tarter & nitre, & a little common salt atop of it, propre to collect the granulations, & so brought it to a convenient thin Flux, and that settled to a Regulus, But that Regulus prooved no other undre the Hammer, than to be only Fine Swedish copper, rich enough as might containe about 30 pound per Cent of mettall. For which j Brought the Boddom of the crucible here along with me to show such as it came out of the Fire.

Of course, I do not assert that Professor Newbold ever saw this MS., but it is no part of my task to trace the journeyings of so wide-ranging a reader. It is enough for me that Roger Bacon could not have been the author of the messages deciphered from the *Epistola.*

c) *The Vatican Document.* The subject of the deciphered passage is stated in its opening words to be 'The Way from Earth to Heaven' ('De Via ex Terra ad Coelos'). In the genuine philosophical writings of Bacon, it is never difficult to tell what he is talking about or what he is saying about it. But it is doubtful whether any reader of this decipherment could guess its subject or could discover any appropriateness in the title assigned to it. So far as any meaning can be extracted from the obscure and incoherent Latin, the greater part of it is devoted to vague and inaccurate directions concerning the construction and use of the alphabetic table and the figures of Ramon Lull's system of symbolic logic. The quality of it is fairly represented, I believe, by the following translation of the first few pages:

CONCERNING THE WAY FROM EARTH TO HEAVEN

'The duplex light discerns mixed principles: one is of art, terrestrial; the second principle is immaterial. They detect feigned things and deduce sim-

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are, indeed, very similar and fundamentally follow the same chemical principles. The tartar flux of the Sloane MS. is equivalent to the lees of wine in the Newbold formula.

ple and appropriate things from principles as from elements. Transfer all the elements to the left side of the second. Now do this again to the others. Let there be receptacles conjoined with parallel lines, eighty-four vertical and twenty perpendicular to them. In turn inscribe the letters of the alphabet according to the principles of Lull, not from metathesis of each but according to the rules of Lull, the principles of whose truth, if you should grasp them, would be as the sun to health and as art to ignorance. The lunatic feigns that the sane of sense are victims of hallucination; he disdains sanity if his insanity succeeds.'[1]

The contrast between this vague jargon and the clear simplicity of Bacon's philosophical discussions should convince every reader that this did not emanate from Roger Bacon.

But as there may be some persons to whom its incoherence and its striking contrast with Bacon's habits of thought and expression will not seem adequate reasons for denying the Baconian authorship of the message, I will not insist upon this argument, but will invite attention to the fact that the decipherment contains a passage which for historical reasons cannot have been written by Roger Bacon. On p. 170 occurs the admonition: 'Remember to examine the *De Auditu Kabbalistico* of Lull.'[2] But the *De Auditu Kabbalistico* was not written by Lull; it is one of the many apocryphal books written by others and attributed to him by uncritical scribes and editors. The sole paragraph devoted to this work by the writers of the extensive article on Lull in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (XXIX, 1–386) reads as follows:

LXXVII. *Ars Cabbalistica ou Opusculum de auditu cabbalistico.* — Cet ouvrage est encore une introduction à l'étude de toutes les sciences. Il a été souvent imprimé. . . Mais il n'est pas de Raimond. D'abord l'auteur y

[1] The Latin of the translated passage is as follows:

'Dispicit mixta principia lumen duplex: unum est artis, terrestriale; secundum principium est immateriale. Detegunt commenticia et repetunt simplicia et decentia e principiis ut elementis. Transporta elementa cuncta ad faciem sinistram secundi. Nunc ita fac iterum ceteris. Fiant receptacula coniuncta lineis parallelis, octoginta quatuor recta et opposita ad perpendiculum viginti. In vicem inscribe apices alphabeti secundum Lulli principia, non ex metathesi cuiuscunque, sed secundum Lulli regulas, cuius veri principia, si ea arcessieris, essent ut sol ad sanitatem et ars ad ignorantiam. Delirus sensu sanos fingit ecstaticos, ille despicit sanitatem si eius insanitas succedit.'

[2] 'Memento videre scriptum *De Auditu Kabbalistico* Lulli.'

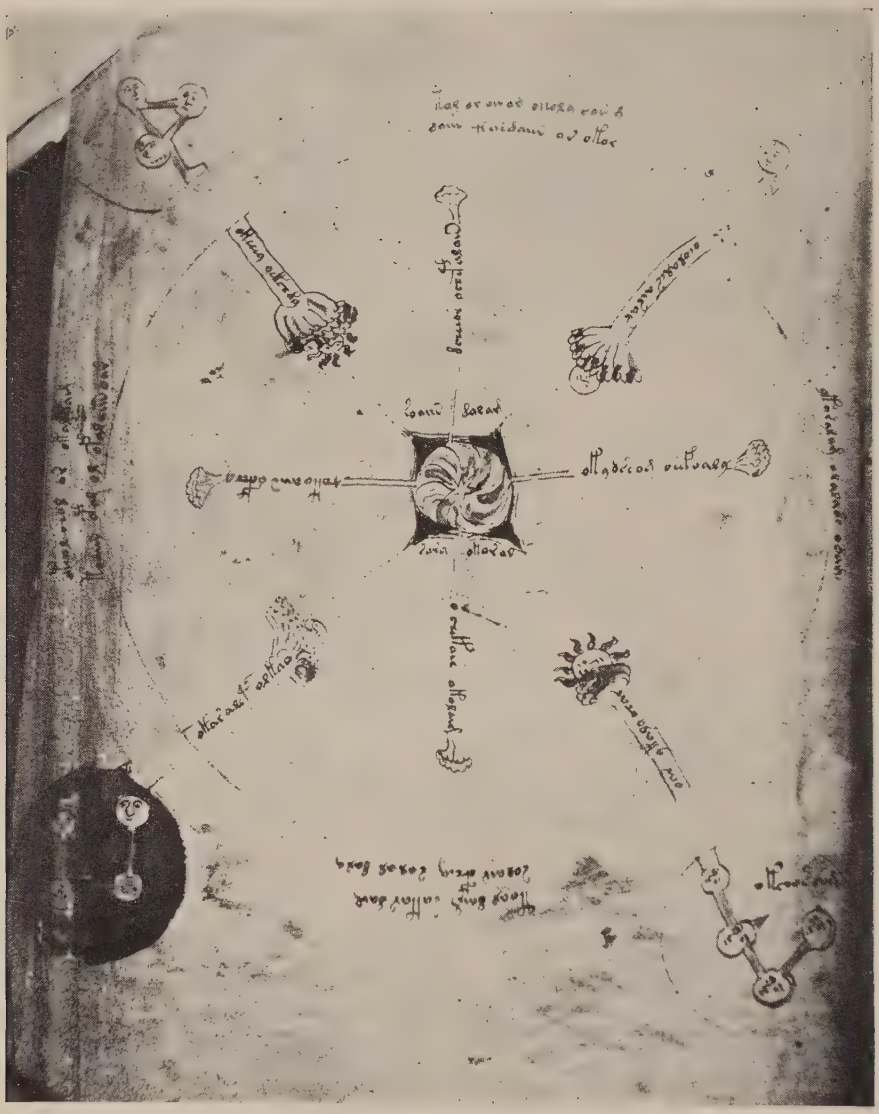

PLATE IV

THE ANNULAR ECLIPSE OF 1290: FOLIO 67r

Courtesy of Wilfrid M. Voynich and the University of Pennsylvania Press

cite comme étant son ouvrage un traité *De conditionibus figurarum et numerorum*, qu'on ne rencontre nulle part sous le nom de notre Majorcain; ensuite, comme le fait remarquer Pascal (*Vind. Lull.*, I, 275), le langage abstrait de cet *Ars cabbalistica* n'est pas celui que Raimond parle d'habitude. Enfin, l'ouvrage n'est cité dans aucun des anciens catalogues.[1] Voilà trois objections dont l'ensemble nous paraît avoir tout le poids d'un argument décisif (p. 255).

I may add that the latest and best biographer of Lull, Professor E. Allison Peers,[2] does not even mention the *De Auditu Kabbalistico*, though he discusses in great detail all the genuine works of Lull. If these reasons are not conclusive against the possibility that Bacon could have ascribed the work to Lull, I will adduce two more: (1) The *De Auditu* shows, as Professor Newbold pointed out (p. 164), the influence of the Jewish Kabbalah, but no such influence appears in the genuine works of Lull. (2) The *De Auditu* is clearly derived from the *Ars Brevis*, written, as the colophon informs us, at Pisa 'in monasterio Sancti Dominici in mense Ianuarii, in Anno Domini M.CCC. VII.'[3] If any doubt remains that the *De Auditu* was not written until after Bacon's death, which apparently occurred in 1292,[4] the *Ars Brevis* informs us that it is abbreviated from the *Ars Magna et Ultima*,[5] begun at Lyons in November, 1305, and finished at Pisa in 1308.

d) *The Verbum Abbreviatum.* As the message deciphered from this text contains no features that can be easily subjected to historical criticism, may be pardoned for declining to examine it, especially as the very passage upon which the decipherment is based was writ-

[1] 'Du vivant même de Raimond Lulle, un de ses amis . . . a écrit l'histoire de sa vie, peut-être sous sa dictée, et à cette histoire il a joint la liste des ouvrages que Lulle avait composés jusqu'au milieu de l'année 1311, . . . enfin quelque temps après, soit avant, soit après la mort de Raimond, il a fait à cette liste un certain nombre d'additions.' (The lists follow.) — *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 71–74.

[2] *Ramon Lull: A Biography*, London: 1929, pp. XVIII and 454.

[3] Cf. *Raymundi Lullii Opera*, etc. Argentorati. M.DC.LI, p. 42, and Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 335. The date is, of course, Jan., 1308.

[4] Cf. Newbold-Kent, p. 15.

[5] Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 334, gives the title as *Ars Generalis et Ultima*. In the edition of 1651 it is *Ars Magna et Ultima*, and the Incipit reads: 'Deus cum tua summa perfectione, incipit ars magna, generalis, et ultima.'

ten, not by Roger Bacon, but by Raymundus Gaufridus (see above, p. 13 or Newbold-Kent, p. 187).

2) *Decipherments from the Voynich MS.* Probably every reader of the Newbold-Kent volume has noted with surprise, not only how few and brief are the passages deciphered from the Voynich MS., but, also, and more significantly, how unimportant[1] they are, and how entirely they fail to fulfil the promise, said to be implied by the drawings, of revelations of Bacon's researches with a compound microscope in the fields of histology and embryology. Aside from the decipherment of the so-called Key (pp. 118–9), concerning which my remarks above on p. 11, n. 1, may perhaps suffice, there are only three passages of even moderate length — those on the Eclipse of 1290 (p. 121, transl. p. 122), the Nebula in Andromeda (p. 124), and the Comet of 1274 (p. 128, transl. p. 125).

a) *The Eclipse.* The decipherment reads:

Istam eclipsin observavi Oxoniae nonis Septembribus anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo noningentesimo. Axis maxima orbis lunae illic proxima axi solis erat.

Anularis eclipsis hinc amputat virtutes quae illic ab sole iactantur.

Hic stella basilica nunc proxima soli, praeceps obscuratur lumine solis.

As Professor Newbold himself admits (p. 122) that he did not read 'the caption,' that is, paragraph 1, until Professor Eric Doolittle had given him the date of an annular eclipse that might have been seen by Bacon, the reading does not carry its own authentication. On the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether Bacon would have used the term 'anularis[2] eclipsis'; and, since he and his contemporaries believed that the orb of the moon was circular, it is difficult to admit that he would have spoken of the 'axis maxima orbis.'

Furthermore, I invite the reader to examine carefully Plate IV and say whether it bears any resemblance whatever to an annular eclipse.

[1] Comets and eclipses are recorded by the chroniclers with no hint that it was dangerous to record them. MS *Digby 2*, a XIII century MS by a Franciscan, contains a 'Prognosticatio eclipsium ab anno 1281 usque ad annum 1300.'

[2] Ducange does not give any example of this use of *anularis* and I have not found it in any mediaeval writer.

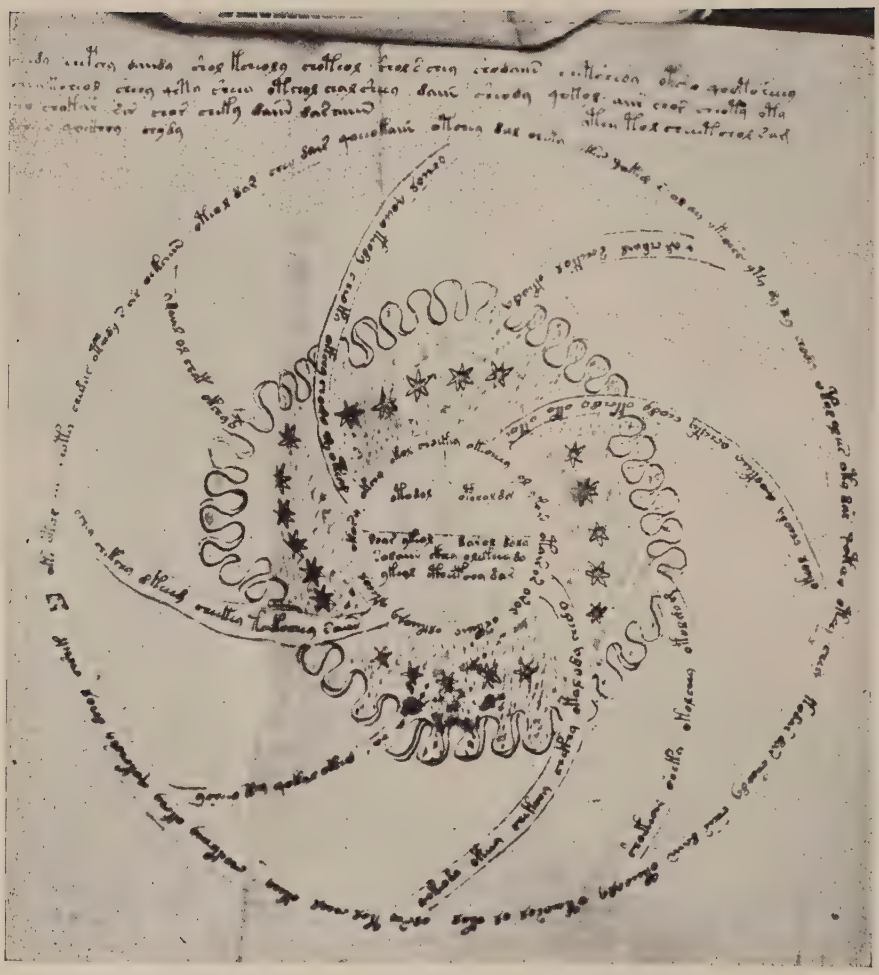

PLATE V

THE SPIRAL NEBULA: FOLIO 68r

Courtesy of Wilfrid M. Voynich and the University of Pennsylvania Press

b) *The Nebula in Andromeda.* The decipherment reads:

Vidi stellas in speculo concavo, in cochleae forma agglomeratas, luminantes lumine visibili inter stellas quae porrectae sunt inter umbilicum Pegasi, cincturam Andromedae, et caput Cassiopeae. Pegasus illis praecurrit proximus, effigies equi alati cuius alae penna tangit coluro [*sic*] qui secat hemispheram septentrionalem versus equinoctialem [*sic*] punctum. Spira involuta est stellarum quae lucent suo lumine in nebulis spissis stellarum qui iacent in spiris cochleae.

I am unable to decide whether the spiral here consists of the nebula or of bright stars involved in it; and I fail to see why Pegasus, who strides above the head of Andromeda, should be used to locate a nebula commonly described simply as in the girdle of Andromeda; but these things have perhaps no bearing on the Baconian authorship of the passage. Moreover, Bacon was possibly as capable as Professor Newbold of writing 'equinoctialem punctum' and of making a feather of the wing of Pegasus cut the equinoctial colure, but it is quite certain that Bacon could not have constructed a reflecting telescope which would have shown the spiral structure of the nebula. His mirrors, according to Professor Newbold 'cost him respectively about $1500, $250, $100, $75, or less,' but the spiral structure is not visible in even the most powerful modern telescopes, and there is no reason to believe that any sensible change in its form has occurred in 650 years.[1]

Moreover, I must again object to Professor Newbold's interpretation of the drawing (Plate v). It does not represent a spiral nebula. The central circle is, I incline to think, a conventional diagram of the earth, with its three great divisions — Europe, Africa, and Asia. Around it are the stars, and beyond them is perhaps Chaos, represented by the looped line. From far outside — perhaps the Empyrean — influences flow in upon the earth. In any event, the spirals represent incoming, not outgoing, influences, as is clear from the direction of the writing in each spiral. This alone seems to me fatal to the theory that the drawing represents the Nebula in Andromeda. But the central tripartite circle,[1] whatever be its meaning, is equally conclusive.

[1] See the quotations in Newbold's notes, pp. 123–24.

c) *The Comet of 1274.* The decipherment reads:

Transcendit summum esse extinctionem. Si principia materialia aggregantur in cometas, spiritualia aufugiunt. Nonis Decembribus millesimo ducentisimo septuagesimo tertio, stella cum crinibus spissis aioreitai. Aer torpet, stupet spiritus, meruli coeunt ipsi ex coelis sub tecta. Margareta, exul cognoscens quo incolarit in stellis, anxia poscit congregari in marmoreas domos Dei. Currit Aprilis suavissime, occurrit lues intestinalis, moriuntur circa CCC. Expirant plorantes.

Professor Newbold summed up his discussion of this decipherment by declaring: 'All the ideas of this passage are therefore completely verified.' He had, however, already admitted that the English chronicles give the year of the comet, not as 1273, but as 1274, and that he did not decipher the day of the month or the name of Margaret until he had read them in the chronicles. It is perhaps significant that this decipherment was begun in December, 1920, and that the facts about the comet and the deaths of Margaret and her sister Beatrice are given in the chronicles which Professor Newbold was searching in the spring and summer of that year for verification of his Oxford story. The volumes of the *Annales Monastici* contain a number of comparatively brief chronicles covering the early years of Edward I.[2] The deaths of Beatrice and Margaret, King Edward's sisters, are recorded in vol. III, p. 265 and vol. IV, p. 262. They are said to have taken place 'circa mediam Quadragesimam,' 1275. It does not seem to have occurred to the chroniclers that the comet caused or portended these deaths, although the Worcester annalist (*ibid.*, IV, 467) says: 'Erant enim dominae multum famosae et pulcherrimae iuventutis.'

There remain, then, of Professor Newbold's four claims only these: that comets 'loosen spirit from matter' and that they cause the air

[1] For diagrams of the tripartite division of the world see Konrad Miller, *Mappaemundi* (1895–98), pt. 3, pp. 110–14 and 116–22, or *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., XVII, 638. Carbonelli, *op. cit.*, gives the diagram both in this meaning (Fig. 61, p. 55) and as representing the *lapis* or *ouum philosophorum* (Fig. 53, p. 50 and Fig. 66, p. 58).

[2] Professor Newbold was slightly inaccurate in saying (p. 125) that the entry concerning the coronation of Edward I (*Ann. Mon.*, IV, 467) follows the entry about the comet with its accompanying earthquake, lightning, thunder, and fiery serpent — which, by the bye, seem not to have attracted Bacon's attention. The inaccuracy would not be worth noticing, but for the possibility that some reader might infer that the comet belonged to the preceding year.

to grow heavy. The first is an ancient and honorable superstition;[1] for the second, I know no evidence.

For the last two sentences of the decipherment (omitted in his translation) Professor Newbold apparently sought no historical verification, although the occurrence of a plague would hardly be left unnoted by the chroniclers. As a matter of fact, they do record a plague as breaking out in England this year (1275) and lasting 28 years, but, unfortunately for Professor Newbold's story, it attacked, not men, but sheep. Rishanger's account is typical: 'Eo anno infausta lues ovium surrepsit in Anglia.' This does not suit Professor Newbold's last sentence: 'Expirant plorantes.'

d) *Minor decipherments from the Voynich MS.* For completeness, seven brief passages remain to be noted. I will list them in the order in which they occur:

(1) Pericles occupat centrum Saturni planetae, cuius Jupiter officit currui quia velocior (p. 47).

(2) Ut sint in sacco rimantur pulpam de via extra. Iste currat in angulos ac in sulco, ecce, ova aspicit (p. 48).

(3) Asiam homines explorant qui in periculo viguerint (p. 97).

(4) Vires velut multiplicant res materiales (p. 101).

(5) Mundi, ecclesia, imperium tui (p. 101).

(6) Ista est stella occasa fixo ex situ astri. Fessa obstupescit hic (Pl. XIV).

(7) Censor Cato Fulvium nunc excellit (p. 131).

Obviously these contain little that can be subjected to historical criticism, but it is hard to see why Bacon should have felt it necessary to conceal them in a cipher. One is, however, surprised that Bacon or anyone else in the thirteenth century should be interested in the news about Pericles, Cato, and Fulvius; and one is puzzled to reconcile Jupiter's interference with the motion of Saturn with the astronomical views held by Bacon and his contemporaries.

Number 2, mysterious as it is, has the distinction of at least seem-

[1] The *Margarita Philosophica* of 1598 attempts to rationalize the belief: 'Mortem autem principum cometa fortasse ex eo significare dicitur quod principes ut magis delicati vel intemperati ab aere corrupto citius inficiuntur.' — *Lib.* IX, *Cap.* XXIII.

[2] W. Rishanger, *Cronica*, Rolls Series, p. 85.

ing to bear some relation to the biological drawings. It is to be regretted that Professor Newbold did not decipher the rest of this page or at least the other legends, for his interpretation of the drawings (shown in his Plate V) is very puzzling. One might accept 'the schematized ovaries,' and the Fallopian tubes, but why are there streams of ova descending into the uterus? Why are there two connected uteri? And why seven or eight 'souls (spermatozoa)' and eight ova in a uterus? As to the legend itself, I might be less sceptical of the reading but for the fact that in this, as in many similar cases, I cannot find the shorthand signs shown at the foot of page 48 in the legend shown in Plate V. In fact, this legend, like the rest of the groups of symbols in the manuscript, seems to me to have been written with freehand strokes, not built up with meticulous care by combining microscopic shorthand signs.

CONCLUSION

It appears, then, that Professor Newbold's cipher systems and his decipherments were not discoveries of secrets hidden by Roger Bacon but the products of his own intense enthusiasm and his learned and ingenious subconsciousness. The systems are incapable of transmitting information definitely and accurately. Texts were deciphered into which Roger Bacon could not possibly have introduced the messages procured from them. And finally, historical criticism shows clearly that some of the most pretentious of the messages could not have been written by Roger Bacon or any other Englishman of the thirteenth century. That such a judgment must be passed upon the work of so learned and brilliant a scholar and so sincere and attractive a personality as Professor Newbold is almost tragic. I say, 'almost,' for after all, this record of defeat is none the less a record of scholastic heroism. Confronted with a manuscript, which, though obviously interesting and important for the history of science, had baffled experts of the twentieth century as it had those of the sixteenth and seventeenth, he refused to admit that it could not be read. Eight months he labored before he obtained what he regarded as the first verification of his theories; and eight years — the whole remainder, indeed, of his all too brief life — he devoted with feverish

energy to the application of them. That he pursued a wrong path was due in part, no doubt, to his ignorance of cipher and in part, certainly, to his intense interest in the problem and his extraordinary ingenuity, but he was of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are made.

We can only hope that some one with equal courage and devotion but with a sounder method will be found to renew the attack upon the mysterious cipher of the Voynich manuscript. If at present the cipher seems insoluble, this is because the attack has proceeded on false assumptions. We do not, in fact, know when the MS. was written, or where, or what language lies at the basis of the encipherment. When the correct hypotheses are applied, the cipher will perhaps reveal itself as simple and easy, and the fortunate decipherer will add an interesting chapter to the history of science. It is greatly to be desired that the manuscript should be placed in some public institution[1] from which photostats could be furnished to persons properly equipped for attacking the problem of decipherment, and that scholars equipped with the necessary armament of knowledge and ingenuity and patience should renew the attack upon the mysterious manuscript.

[1] Recently a set of photostats of the MS. has been deposited in the British Museum.

The University of Chicago

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *MORALIUM DOGMA PHILOSOPHORUM*

By JOHN R. WILLIAMS

THE didactic literature of the later Middle Ages abounds in treatises dealing with the virtues and vices. One of the most popular of these was the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, or, as some modern writers cite it, the *De Honesto et Utili*.[1] Though not entirely lacking in originality, the work is essentially a compilation of ethical maxims drawn from the *De Officiis* of Cicero, the *De Beneficiis* of Seneca, and the writings of a considerable number of other Latin authors. Little to the taste of a twentieth-century reader as such a compendium may be, there is every indication that in its day it was a general favorite. Not only is the Latin original extant in at least sixty-seven MSS,[2] but, what is more significant, a translation into Old French survives in thirty-eight.[3] A few scattered MSS prove, moreover, that it was rendered wholly or in part into other vernacular tongues, Italian,[4] Franconian German,[5] and even Icelandic.[6] These MSS are widely dispersed through Western Europe.

[1] Older editions have been superseded by that of John Holmberg, *Das Moralium Dogma Philosophorum des Guillaume de Conches, Lateinisch, Altfranzösisch und Mittelniederfränkisch* (Arbeten Utgivna med Understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, XXXIII; Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1929).

[2] Altogether I have inspected thirty-three Latin MSS. Holmberg, pp. 12–15, gives a list of fifty. To this should be added the following: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS *lat. 6731* (XV century), *11120* (XV century), *14703* (XIV century), *15693* (XIII century); Cambrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, *MS. 977* (late XII or early XIII century); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, *MS. 2079* (XIV century); Vatican, *Regina lat. MS. 537* (XV century); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, *MS. 210* (late XII or early XIII century); Oxford, Bodleian, *MS. 212* (excerpts made in the XV century), and *Miscellaneous MS. 2044* (*ca.* 1300), Balliol College, *MS. 285* (?); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, *MS. 878* (XIV century), Trinity College, *MS. 1368* (XIII century), University Library, *MSS 1112* (XIV century), *1353* (XV century), and *1697* (XIV century); Utrecht, University Library, *MS. 318* (?). The first eight of these I have actually examined; for the others I have been obliged to depend upon catalogues. No doubt the list of MSS is still incomplete.

[3] Holmberg, *op. cit.*, pp. *39–40*. I have examined seventeen of these MSS.

[4] See R. Renier, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Brunetto Latini, Monografia di Thor Sundby, tradotta dall' originale Danese con Appendici di Isidoro del Lungo e Adolfo Mussafia* (Florence: 1884), pp. 282 ff. The Italian translation was edited and published by Roberto de Visiani, 'Trattato di Virtù Morali' (in *Scelta di Curiosità Litterarie Inedite*, LXI; Bologna: 1865).

[5] Holmberg, *op. cit.*, pp. *59–61;* 85 ff.

[6] Thor Sundby, *Brunetto Latinos levnet og skrifter* (Copenhagen: 1869), Appendix, p. cxxi.

Chronologically the demand for the work persisted from the late twelfth century to the eve of the Protestant Revolt. By 1514 at least five printed editions were in circulation.[1]

The esteem in which the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was held is further demonstrated by the alacrity with which mediaeval writers availed themselves of it. Not only did this treatise deal with a theme of which they never wearied, but it was peculiarly adapted to satisfy many and varied demands. The shallow and superficial welcomed it as a veritable treasure-house whence with slight expenditure of effort they might pilfer the rarest gems of Latin eloquence. At the same time, profound and respectable scholars did not disdain its services as a concise and convenient summary of the ethical teachings of the gentile philosophers. Unfortunately those who used it seldom acknowledged their indebtedness, but such plagiarism was not uncommon in mediaeval times. One recognizes with little difficulty passages from it in the *De Principis Instructione Liber* of Giraldus Cambrensis,[2] in the *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini,[3] and in the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia.[4] Its influence is also perceptible in the *Speculum Doctrinale* of the distinguished encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais, in the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa, and especially in the *Summa de Virtutibus et Vitiis* of Guilellmus Paraldus.[5] Poets, too, made extensive use of the treatise. Even before the end of the twelfth century Wernher von Elmendorf had rendered much of it into German verse,[6] and in the thirteenth century Alart of Cambrai drew heavily upon it in the composition of his *Moralités des Philosophes.*[7] Diligent search would, no doubt, reveal its use by many other writers.

In view of such popularity it is indeed surprising that in the Mid-

[1] Holmberg, pp. *15–16.*

[2] Edited by G. F. Warner, *Rolls Series,* 21, VIII (London: 1891).

[3] Sundby, *op. cit.,* p. 170; Holmberg, p. *32.*

[4] Albertano acknowledges his dependence on the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum.* See Thor Sundby, *Albertani Brixiensis Liber Consolationis et Consilii* (London: Chaucer Society, 1878), p. 94.

[5] Holmberg, p. *9*; p. *11,* note 4. See also his notes to the Latin text, pp. 184–193.

[6] See A. Schönbach, 'Die Quelle Wernhers von Elmendorf,' in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum und Deutsche Litteratur,* XXXIV (Neue Folge, XXII: 1890), 55 ff.

[7] Holmberg, pp. *33* ff.

dle Ages comparatively little curiosity existed as to the origin of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*. Apparently it had passed into general circulation devoid of the name of its author, but the scribes who copied it and the scholars who borrowed from it seem to have made little effort to establish his identity. Possibly the unoriginal character of the work led them to assume that the authorship was a matter of slight importance. However this may be, modern scholars have shown themselves less indifferent by attempting to rescue the treatise from anonymity. As the evidence at their disposal has been neither plentiful nor free from ambiguities, controversy has arisen and the question of authorship has, perhaps, received more attention than it intrinsically deserves. The last thorough examination of the problem was made some forty years ago by Bernard Hauréau. His conclusions have been accepted by a number of distinguished authorities, among them Clemens Baeumker,[1] Maurice de Wulf,[2] and Lynn Thorndike.[3] To reopen a controversy which such eminent opinion has conceded to be closed may seem presumptuous. I am convinced, however, that there are good reasons for so doing.

The first scholar of modern times to interest himself in the authorship of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was Dom Beaugendre. Noting the presence of the treatise in certain MSS containing works of Hildebert of Lavardin, the learned Benedictine concluded that it too was from the pen of that twelfth-century humanist. Accordingly he included it in his edition of Hildebert's works which was published in 1708.[4] Plausible though his authorship may appear,

[1] See his article on William of Conches in H. J. Wetzer and B. Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, XII (1901), 1601.

[2] *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* (Louvain: 1924), I, 145.

[3] *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), II, 51. Accepted also by H. Flatten, *Die Philosophie des Wilhelm von Conches* (diss., Bonn, 1929), pp. 13, 14; 184 ff. It is only fair to add that R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), does not include the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* among the writings of William of Conches and that Professor C. H. Haskins in his more recent works is inclined to consider William's authorship unproved.

[4] *Venerabilis Hildeberti primo Cenomanensis deinde Turonensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia tam Edita quam Inedita. Accesserunt Marbodi Redonensis Episcopi, ipsius Hildeberti Supparis Opuscula* (Paris: 1708), p. 959. Beaugendre's preface is also given in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXI, 1005 ff.

there is in reality little reason for accepting it. The instances in which the treatise is found together with writings of Hildebert are few indeed when compared with the total number of extant MSS. Nor do certain vague references in that author's letters have the positive value that Beaugendre attributed to them.

The critics of the nineteenth century were not slow in discerning the unsatisfactory character of his arguments. First, to reject the authorship of Hildebert was the Danish scholar, Thor Sundby, who, from evidence to be considered later, contended that the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was the work of Walter of Châtillon, a poet of the twelfth century whose principal claim to fame is a Latin epic known as the *Alexandreid*.[1] Then M. Hauréau took up the cudgels. Maintaining that there was little to support either the attribution made by Beaugendre or that made by Sundby, he proceeded to muster a formidable array of evidence, both internal and external, supporting the authorship of William of Conches, a grammarian and natural philosopher of the twelfth century.[2] His arguments appeared to leave no room for doubt, and it is little wonder that since 1890 the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* has rather generally passed as an opuscule of William of Conches. Let us see, however, if this assurance is justified.

Though it is impossible to determine exactly when the treatise was written, there is good reason for placing its composition within the limits of the twelfth century. The oldest of the sixty-seven surviving Latin MSS date from that period,[3] and the sources used by the author of the treatise are those which were readily available before the great acquisitions of new knowledge made by Western Europe in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There is, for example, no indication that the writer had at his disposal the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Very probably the work should be assigned to the first two thirds of the century. Wernher von Elmen-

[1] *Brunetto Latinos levnet og skrifter*, p. 167.

[2] *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: 1890), I, 99 ff.

[3] There are six MSS which may date from the twelfth century. They are: Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, *MSS 665, 666,* and *669*; Paris, B. N., *MS. lat. 5137;* Cambrai, *MS. 977;* Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, *MS. 210.*

dorf is said to have composed his metrical version of it as early as 1171, but an examination of the evidence on which this assertion is based shows that such precision is unwarranted.[1] Giraldus Cambrensis may have been familiar with it between 1177 and 1180, yet here again the evidence is by no means conclusive.[2] All that one may safely assume is that the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was already well circulated when the thirteenth century opened.

Nor is there any certainty as to the locality in which it originated, though probability points to Northern France. Here are found twenty-six of the Latin MSS and thirty of the French. In no other part of Europe are they so numerous. Yet too much importance is not to be attached to this fact which is largely accounted for by the vast collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The present location of a MS. can by no means be regarded as the place of its origin, and numerical preponderance may be indicative of the area in which the treatise was most popular rather than of the region in which it was written. What seems more significant is that four of the oldest surviving MSS were apparently copied in Northern France. Three of these are now at Rouen. From their presence there, Holmberg, who accepts Hauréau's attribution of authorship to William of Conches, concludes that the treatise must have been written in Normandy.[3] In itself, however, this circumstance suggests a general region rather than a definite political division, Northern France rather than Normandy.

In most of the MSS of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* no attempt was made to designate its author. This is particularly noticeable in the oldest. Thus of twenty-two Latin MSS coming from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as far as I have been able to determine, a single one, and that from the late thirteenth century, makes an attribution.[4] Of thirteen French MSS from the thirteenth

[1] In his poem Wernher expresses his gratitude to 'Diterich . . . der probist von Heligenstat,' who allowed him to use his library. Cf. H. V. Sauerland, 'Wernher von Elmendorf,' in *Zeits. f. D. Alterth. und D. Litt.*, xxx, (Neue Folge, xviii: 1886), 2. E. Schröder in *Anzeiger f. D. Alterth. und D. Litt.*, xvii (1891), 78–79, notes among the witnesses to a charter of 1171 'prepositus in Helegenstat Theodoricus.'

[2] Warner, Introduction, pp. xiii; xv-xvi.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. *8*.

century, not one gives the name of the author. The MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, on the other hand, not infrequently attempt to make good the defficiency. So *MS. 86* of Corpus Christi College (XIV century) ascribes the treatise to a Master Guido, B. N., *MS. lat. 13407* (XIV century) to a Master Odo, Bordeaux *MS. 1000* (XIV century) and British Museum, *Royal MS. 8 C. iv* (XIV century) to St. Augustine, while St. Gall *MS. 91* (XV century) attributes it to Cicero himself. Three vernacular MSS also venture to make ascriptions. One is the fragmentary Icelandic translation of the fourteenth century which specifies 'Valtirr af Sallibur.' The other two are French, B. N., *MS. fr. 190* (XV century), designating Jean de Courtecuisse, and British Museum, *Royal MS. 19 C. xi* (XV century), having Jean de Meun translator as well as author.

There survives, however, one statement of mediaeval opinion which is more precise and clear than any of those noted above. This occurs in a preface to the treatise which is found in B. N., *MS. lat. 17811* (XIV century) and in several MSS of the fifteenth century.[1] Admittedly the lateness of the MSS lays this testimony open to suspicion. The words of a fourteenth-century writer can hardly be accepted for events of the twelfth. Yet it is possible that the preface in question is actually much older than the earliest MS. in which it is extant. Accompanying it one finds a letter of dedication from the pen of a certain Bartholomew of Recanati, who revised the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* in behalf of Andrea, *Sancti Marci de Venetiis primicerio*.[2] Although nothing definite can be learned of this Bartholomew, it is probable that he wrote early in the thirteenth century,[3] and possibly the preface in question is also his. But whether

[4] Erlangen *MS. 272 (396)* which ascribes the treatise to William of Conches. Of the Latin MSS I have personally inspected sixteen; for five others I rely on Holmberg. For Cambridge, Trinity College, *MS. 1368*, I have only the catalogue to go by: M. R. James, *The Western MSS in the Library of Trinity College* (Cambridge: 1902), III, 378. Of the French MSS I have seen ten. The other three have been inspected by Holmberg.

[1] For the MSS see Holmberg, pp. 19 ff. To those should be added Vatican, *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (XV century) and probably B. N., *MS. lat. 11120* (XV century). The preface itself is given by Holmberg, pp. 77 ff.

[2] The letter of dedication is given by Holmberg, pp. 75–76.

[3] On the date, see J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice: 1869), II, 80, MS. 9.

it is or not, it remains an exceedingly valuable piece of testimony, because it devotes some attention to the question of the authorship of the treatise. The pertinent lines are these:

'Magister ergo Galterus, qui Alexandreidem fecit, vel secundum quosdam magister Guilhelmus, qui Henricum, filium comitis Andegavie de Campania Gallica, instruebat, videns quod illud opus Tullianum [the *De Officiis*] erat tamquam pelagus, nec id poterat quilibet de facili habere, istud tamquam manuale specialiter ad illius informationem et generaliter ad utilitatem singulorum legentium compilavit.'[1]

It is true that the writer does not know which of the two men he suggests actually composed the treatise. Fortunately, however, both Walter of Châtillon and William of Conches were prominent figures in the intellectual life of the twelfth century and their biographies provide material for testing the probabilities of authorship.

The fact that Walter of Châtillon is mentioned first in this preface together with the attribution to 'Valtirr af Sallibur' in the Icelandic translation led Thor Sundby to conclude that the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was indeed a work of the author of the *Alexandreid*.[2] There exists, however, no very definite external evidence to support his conclusion. Little positive value can be attached to the enigmatical 'Valtirr af Sallibur.' One finds, to be sure, in Montfaucon's list of the MSS in the library of Queen Christine of Sweden a *Moralium dogmat. Philosophorum auctore Magistro Galtero*.[3] Fortunately this MS. is still available as *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (XV century) of the Vatican. It does indeed contain the treatise under consideration, but as the preface just mentioned precedes it,[4] the attribution to 'Master Walter' loses any independent significance. No doubt it was also this preface which led the sixteenth-century theologian and controversialist, Van den Bundere (Bunderius) who discovered a MS. of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* at Ghent,[5] to attribute it to Walter of Châtillon.

[1] Holmberg, p. 77.

[2] *Brunetto Latinos levnet og skrifter*, p. 167.

[3] *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova* (Paris: 1739), I, 16, no. 130.

[4] Fol. 47^{v}–48^{r}.

[5] See Valery André, *Bibliotheca Belgica* (Antwerp: 1623), p. 66 and p. 462. The ascriptions of the treatise to Walter of Châtillon found in F. Swert, *Athenae Belgicae sive Nomenclator Inferioris Germaniae Scriptorum* (Antwerp: 1628), pp. 642 ff., in G. J. Voss, *De Veterum Poe-*

William of Conches, on the other hand, is designated author in a number of Latin MSS. One of them is the only MS. from the thirteenth century to make an attribution, Erlangen *MS. 272 (396)*,[1] with which M. Hauréau, it may be noted, was not acquainted. William's name is also found in Grenoble *MS. 706* (xv century)[2] and in Bodleian *MS. 212* (xv century).[3] Finally a catalogue of the library of the sixteenth-century jurist, Cujas, shows that he possessed a MS. of the treatise which also ascribed the authorship to William of Conches.[4]

Yet the value of the testimony afforded by these MSS is somewhat dubious. As the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* formerly in the library of Cujas is possibly the present Grenoble *MS. 706*,[5] we can argue with certainty from three MSS only. But two of these date from the fifteenth century, and the name of William of Conches may, therefore, have been suggested by the fourteenth-century preface. The attribution made by the Erlangen MS. is of greater value. Yet too much confidence is not to be reposed even in it, since it is of relatively late date and it stands completely alone. Against it must be placed the silence of twenty-one other Latin MSS of equal or better authority, to say nothing of that of the thirteen French MSS of the same period. Nor can one feel certain that even in this case William's name was put down independently of the oft-cited preface, though on the basis of existing evidence the Erlangen MS. seems to antedate it. Finally the location of the three MSS under consideration is to be noted. Not one of them appears to come

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tarum Temporibus Libri Duo (Amsterdam: 1662), p. 74, in J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica sive Virorum in Belgio Vita Scriptisque Illustrium Catalogus* (Brussels: 1739), II, 1034, in W. Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Litteraria* (Oxford: 1743), II, 247, and in L. Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (Paris: 1759), IX, 286, are all based on Van den Bundere.

[1] For a description of the MS., see H. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 1928), I.

[2] *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements*, VII (1889), 228.

[3] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Pars Tertia (Oxford: 1854), p. 202. This collection of excerpts is noted neither by Hauréau nor by Holmberg.

[4] H. Omont, 'Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Cujas,' in *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger*, 9e année (1885), p. 237, no. 85.

[5] See the editor's comment, *Cat. gén. des MSS*, VII, 228.

from Northern France, where the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, if it did not originate, at least enjoyed its greatest popularity.

On the whole, then, this external evidence is highly unsatisfactory. The oldest and best MSS are silent as to the authorship. The most conplete statement of mediaeval opinion available is found in the fourteenth-century preface which permits us to choose between Walter of Châtillon and William of Conches, two fairly well known writers of the twelfth century. The attribution to the former receives little or no support from other sources; that to the latter fares better, but the amount of the confirmatory evidence is surprisingly small in view of the wealth of MSS. Nor is it possible to determine the exact relation of this testimony to the preface itself, which may, perhaps, go back to the early thirteenth century.

So much for the information obtainable from external sources. It remains to examine the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* itself. But first let us ask just what purpose the author of that treatise had in mind. It is frequently assumed that he had instruction as his primary aim. Even the writer of the fourteenth-century preface is inclined to look upon the work as a manual drawn up by a teacher for his pupil. This is a natural enough assumption for one already convinced that the author was William of Conches acting in his capacity as tutor to young Henry Plantagenet. But the correctness of this assumption remains to be proved, and to be perfectly safe one must judge the intentions of the writer by the content of his treatise.

It may be admitted that the tone of the author frequently becomes magisterial and didactic. In many places he is prone to use an imperative 'beware.'[1] This may, however, be only the result of his close adherence to Cicero and Seneca. Not only does he appropriate their words, but he attempts to imitate the spirit in which they were originally written. At any rate the didactic character is not sufficiently pronounced to preclude a different interpretation of the writer's main intent. There are several reasons for thinking that he was rather concerned with the creation of a summary of certain specified works, than with the compilation of a text-book for a young pupil.

[1] See, for example, Holmberg, pp. 14–22.

In the first place, a letter of dedication which precedes the treatise makes it clear that the work was undertaken, not on the initiative of the author, but at the instigation of the person to whom the letter is addressed.[1] The result cannot, therefore, be regarded as a teacher's offering of essential wisdom to his disciple. As the patron suggested the treatise, he probably defined its scope as well. Several of its most striking peculiarities can thereby be accounted for, the somewhat narrow range of sources at the author's disposal, his strict adherence to classical terminology, and above all, his complete neglect of Christianity and the Church. It will be observed, moreover, that the precepts of the treatise apply to old as well as young,[2] to all classes of society, unfree as well as free.[3] Even the terminology is exceedingly general and non-specific. Thus the word the author prefers for a ruler is *prelatus*, which may designate a great lord or a petty one, a lay ruler, or, in the mediaeval period, at least, an ecclesiastic.[4] No doubt the term was borrowed from the sources he was following. But why, one is led to ask, should a book specifically prepared to give instruction to a pupil, like young Henry Plantagenet, let us say, persist in this vague and indefinite terminology? The answer appears to be that the author's primary purpose was not instruction but summary.

The most important internal evidence is found in the letter of dedication mentioned above. In the majority of the surviving Latin MSS this is addressed simply to *vir optime et liberalis* in imitation, no doubt, of the *vir optime liberalis* at the opening of Seneca's *De Beneficiis*. But in twelve, at least, this is lengthened to *vir optime et liberalis Henrice;* in five to *vir optime et liberalis R.*[5] The vernacular MSS omit the *vir optime et liberalis* as well as any name or initial.

That the treatise is specifically dedicated to *Henrice* in a number of MSS is a matter of considerable importance. Though it is possible

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff. 'Moralium dogma philosophorum per multa dispersum volumina *tuo quidem instinctu*, vir optime et liberalis, . . . contrahere meditabar.'

[2] Holmberg, pp. 45–47.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48; 57–59.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 36; 47; 65; 66.

[5] Holmberg, p. 7, note 3. To the MSS containing the dedication to *Henrice* should be added Vatican, *Reg. lat. MS. 537* (xv century).

that the name was added by a copyist, its appearance in two of the oldest MSS argues strongly for its genuineness. M. Hauréau, who was aware that the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was attributed to William of Conches by at least two MSS, made a great deal of this dedication to *Henrice*, for William is known to have acted as tutor to the young Henry Plantagenet. Not only does our fourteenth-century preface testify to this fact, but William's principal work, the *Dragmaticon Philosophiae*, which is dedicated to Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's father,[1] also implies this relationship. To be sure the *R* which takes the place of *Henrice* in a few MSS raises difficulties, but M. Hauréau found a way around them. The original dedication, he opined, was *vir optime et liberalis Rex Henrice*. Ingenious though such an explanation may be, there is little to recommend its acceptance. In no MS. does one find an *R. Henrice*. The discrepancy is more plausibly accounted for as scribal error. *Henrice* may well have been cut down to an *H*, which some scribe mistook for *R*.

Unfortunately the chronological limits of William's connection with the Angevin court cannot be determined. Dedicated to Geoffrey as Duke of Normandy, his *Dragmaticon* must have been written between 1144 and 1150.[2] This work, it should be noted, constitutes the last definite trace we have of William of Conches. We know neither when nor where he died. Writing in 1159 John of Salisbury implies that his former master is no longer living,[3] and it is possible that his death occurred in 1154[4] or earlier. When did he act as tutor to Henry? In all probability it was between the end of 1146 and the spring of 1149, that is to say, while Henry was from thirteen to sixteen years old.[5]

[1] See R. L. Poole, 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time,' in *English Historical Review*, XXXV (1920), 333–335.

[2] See C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 130. R. L. Poole believes, however, that Henry may have been made Duke of Normandy before April, 1149. Cf. 'Henry II, Duke of Normandy,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (1927), 569–572.

[3] *Metalogicon* (ed. C. C. J. Webb, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), I, 24.

[4] Cf. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations*, p. 111, note 25.

[5] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

But the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* was not necessarily written while William was still Henry's tutor. As has been noted, the work itself does not require such a relationship between writer and patron. Hauréau implies that the date of composition was *ca.* 1154. This conclusion is based on the reference to a *vehemens tumultus huius perniciosissime sedicionis* in the letter of dedication, which, he held, must have been the nine-months struggle between Henry and Stephen of Blois for the English throne. There is, however, little to recommend this date. *Sedicio* does not seem to be the appropriate term for such a conflict. More aptly might it be applied to other struggles in the young Plantagenet's career, to one of 1152, for example, when he had to face a coalition of foes, prominent among them his own brother, Geoffrey, or to the plot of Stephen's Flemish mercenaries to murder him in 1154. In short, there were altogether too many conflicts during Henry's troubled youth to allow any definite conclusion as to time to be attached to the vague *sedicio* of the letter of dedication. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the French translator failed to see a military conflict in this passage at all.[1]

The conclusion of the letter of dedication varies in the MSS. In a majority of them it breaks off abruptly with the words, 'Videmus enim, quod licet temporis necessitas ad flagitia te pertrahat, mens tua contradicit et reclamat.' In at least twelve, however, of which two date from the twelfth century, a sentence follows this: 'Presentis doctrine expressa mihi in te uno occurrit imago; quocirca vehementer compatior tibi, imo tue odisoa morbi pressura lacessite liberalitati.'[2] The sentence was substantially carried over into French by the translator.[3] Possibly it represents the work of a copyist, though

[1] Holmberg, p. 92. The translator's words are: 'Mais ie cuit que vous metez mout grant entente a mener honeste vie et tant i entendez que la tumulte ne l'angoisse de ceste terrienne vie ne vous puet tollir la volenté de vivre honestement . . . .'

[2] Holmberg, p. 6. The twelve MSS are: Rouen, *MS. 665* (XII century); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, *MS. 210* (late XII or early XIII century); Paris, B.N., *MSS. lat. 5137* (XII century), *15693* (XIII century), *15829* (XIII century), *16581* (XIII century), *17811* (XIV century); Brussels, B. R., *MS. 2900* (XIII century); British Museum, *Royal MS. 10 A. xii* (XIII century), *Royal MS. 8 C. iv* (XIV century), *Royal MS. 8 A. xiii* (XV century), *Additional MS. 16376* (XV century). Though there are variations in these MSS, the wording is substantially the same.

this is unlikely, since it is found in two of the oldest MSS, and it is difficult to see what purpose a scribe might have discovered for fabricating it. There is, moreover, exactly as good reason for considering it genuine as for accepting the dedication to *Henrice.*

M. Hauréau was apparently unacquainted with the MSS in which this final sentence occurs. Yet it is not without importance. From it one implies that 'Henry' is suffering from some sort of malady for which the author wishes to express his sympathy. The argument for the authorship of William of Conches would undoubtedly be strengthened if it could be demonstrated that Henry Plantagenet was the victim of poor health in the period from 1144 to 1154. To judge from the prince's tireless activity this can hardly have been the case, though it is possible that he had minor ailments. The illness of the letter of dedication would seem to be of somewhat serious character. A trivial disorder would scarcely be deserving of the author's attention.

On the whole M. Hauréau appears to have deduced more from the letter of dedication than is really there. He assures us, for example, that the patron was a man who had the care of numerous affairs, 'public, private, judicial, domestic.' Yet the only basis for such an assertion is a quotation from the *De Officiis* which emphasizes the importance of moral philosophy in every walk of life. As the words are not the author's they are to be taken in a general sense and are not to be understood as descriptive of the position of the patron.

The fact is that the evidence contained in this letter is exceedingly flexible and indecisive. A conflict is mentioned, but it is impossible to determine when it was or what it was about. Even the dedication to 'Henry,' unaccompanied as it is by titles, is vague to say the least. Henry was a not uncommon name in the twelfth century. Though Henry Plantagenet may have been one of the greatest patrons of letters that his age produced,[1] dedications to other Henrys

[3] Holmberg, p. 92: 'Et por ce me prent il grant pitié (de vous et) de vostre grant franchise qui est deboutee et correcie dedenz vous per l'angoisse de si grant enfermeté. Por ce vous voudrai ie donner profitable conseil au cuer et au cors.'

[1] On Henry's patronage of letters see C. H. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature,' in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 71–77.

are by no means out of the question. Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne (1152–1181), for example, was also devoted to learning and proved himself a munificent benefactor of scholars.[1] There is, to be sure, nothing to indicate that Henry the Liberal was the *liberalis Henrice* of the letter of dedication, but the greater preeminence of Henry Plantagenet should not preclude the consideration of such a possibility.

Yet the ambiguous character of the evidence given by the letter of dedication is most strikingly shown in the fact that it may be made to support equally well, if not better, a rival claimant to the authorship. Walter of Châtillon received scant attention from M. Hauréau, even though he is mentioned before William of Conches in the fourteenth-century preface. While it must be admitted that there is little external evidence to support his authorship, it is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that he satisfies with considerable precision the conditions imposed by the letter of dedication.

He too might have addressed a patron named Henry. Although his principal work, the *Alexandreid*, is dedicated to William of the White Hands, archbishop of Rheims from 1176 to 1202, Walter appears to have been in the service of William's predecessor, Henry of France, brother of King Louis VII. One of his shorter poems which celebrates William's translation from Sens to Rheims implies his connection with the latter city.[2] Moreover John of Salisbury writing from Rheims in 1166 mentions a 'Master Walter, clerk of the archbishop.'[3] M. Hauréau himself was thoroughly convinced that this clerk was none other than the poet, Walter of Châtillon.[4]

Little can be learned of the intellectual interests of Archbishop Henry of France. During his youth he had been a monk at Clairvaux and one may reasonably assume that his views of life conformed to the markedly austere standards of St Bernard. Leaving the

[1] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne* (Paris: 1861), III, 184 ff.

[2] K. Strecker, *Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), No. 30, pp. 55–56.

[3] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CIC, 159.

[4] See his article, 'Notice sur un Manuscrit de la Reine Christine à la Bibliothèque du Vatican,' in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXIX (1886), part 2, 298.

cloister in 1144 to become bishop of Beauvais, he had in 1162 been elevated to the metropolitan see of Rheims.[1] Certainly he was no great patron of letters. At the same time there is nothing to indicate that he was actually hostile to them. Among his friends and correspondents were Nicholas of Clairvaux[2] and Philip of Harvengt.[3] We know, too, that he gave several of the followers of the exiled Becket asylum at Rheims, where they were allowed to teach in the schools.[4]

Closer inspection of the affairs of this archbishop brings to light several significant facts. While John of Salisbury was at Rheims in 1167 Henry was confronted with a dangerous uprising of the restless citizens and canons of Rheims.[5] Might this not have been the *vehemens tumultus huius perniciosissime sedicionis* to which the author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* refers? At least there can be no doubt as to the terminology, since John of Salisbury expressly calls the revolt *seditio*. We learn from various sources, moreover, that the archbishop handled the rebels with a severity and ruthlessness which evoked universal protest,[6] a circumstance suggestive of the words, 'Videmus enim, quod licet temporis necessitas ad flagitia te pertrahat, mens tua contradicit et reclamat,' which may represent a polite attempt on the writer's part to gloss over the behavior of his patron.

Finally Henry's career furnishes a plausible explanation of the condolences which stand at the end of the letter of dedication. Though it is impossible to trace the state of the archbishop's health year by year, it is certain that it was at times precarious. While he

[1] A brief account of Henry is given in *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 88 ff.

[2] *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVI, 172, no. iv.

[3] *Ibid.*, 179, no. lii; 195, no. clxxvi; 196, no. clxxvii.

[4] Ralph de Serre, for example, mentioned by Herbert of Bosham as one of the 'eruditi' of Thomas became dean of Rheims. A thirteenth-century MS. of Peter Cantor's *Summa de Sacramentis* (B. N., *MS. lat. 14521*, fol. 78) speaks of Philip de Caune, also mentioned by Herbert, as teaching at Rheims.

[5] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CIC, 249, no. ccxxii (Ad Joannem Episcopum Pictaviensem): '. . . et in urbe Remensi orta seditio sic turbavit provinciam, ut vix tutum fuerit ingredi vel egredi civitatem.'

[6] See the letter of John of Salisbury just cited and also the letters of Alexander III in *Rec. des Hist.*, XV, 855–856, nos. ccviii and ccix.

was still a monk at Clairvaux, illness compelled him to change his residence to the monastery of Regny in the diocese of Auxerre.[1] Again, in 1164, he seems to have been on the point of death. One of his letters to Louis VII explains that he has been forced to take to his bed at Paris.[2] The same illness is the burden of a letter of Alexander III, who was then at Sens. The Pope expresses his sympathy for Henry and even offers to come to his bedside.[3] The character of this malady is not made clear. The archbishop may have recovered from it long before the rebellion of 1167. Yet the prominence of ill health in the scanty annals of his personal life is not devoid of significance when taken together with the condolences of the author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*. It may be added that Henry died in 1175, scarcely at the end of middle age.[4]

On the basis of probability there is little to choose between Henry of France and Henry Plantagenet. That the middle-aged prelate should have been curious as to the ethical teachings of the classical philosophers is certainly no more remarkable than that similar interest should have been displayed by the youthful prince with his days full of military and administrative problems. But however that may be, my main purpose is to demonstrate that the evidence contained in this letter of dedication lacks much of the positive value which M. Hauréau attributed to it. Ambiguous and vague, no single conclusion can safely be based upon it. It can be made to support the claims to authorship of more than one man. While it lends plausibility to those of William of Conches, it yields even stronger argument for those of Walter of Châtillon. Evidence of such flexibility can hardly serve as a foundation for definitive results.

It now remains to examine the body of the treatise itself. Covered with quotations from classical sources, its pages do not promise much information as to its author. Yet original material is not

[1] See the letter of Nicholas of Clairvaux cited above, p. 27, note 1.

[2] *Rec. des Hist.*, XVI, 105, no. cccxxix.

[3] *Ibid.*, XV, 826, no. clv.

[4] Henry was the third son of Louis VI, being born next after the one who became Louis VII. Hence the date of his birth was later than 1120–1121.

entirely absent from them. Many of the definitions of the virtues and vices described are apparently the writer's own. Nor did he refrain entirely from giving explanations and making comments. Moreover the very passages which he singled out to quote may, to a limited degree, be taken as significant of his personal views and prejudices.

It may be admitted that the classical background of the treatise is entirely consistent with the grammarian William of Conches. There are, however, certain features of the work which do not so well agree with what we know of him. One of the most prominent of William's peculiarities was a violent antipathy for the group of teachers known as the Cornificians. This dislike is frequently expressed in his own writings and it is also noted by his contemporaries.[1] William belonged to that old-fashioned school of pedagogy which followed the slow but exceedingly thorough methods of Bernard of Chartres. The Cornificians, on the other hand, ridiculed this laborious system of education and promised their followers quick and easy short cuts to learning. Instead of years, a student need spend only a few months in acquiring what was essential to worldly advancement.

Now while the classical sources on which the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* rests may suggest the old-fashioned methods of the School of Chartres, its aim and spirit are certainly more indicative of Cornificius than of Bernard. Not only is it a short cut to moral philosophy, but its author was proud of that fact. He congratulates his reader that in these few pages he may find nearly all that is best in the writings of the moral philosophers without the trouble of going through those writings themselves.[2] Surely an inconsistent attitude for William of Conches! And the author's point of view

[1] For examples of William's denunciation of the Cornificians, see Poole, *Illustrations*, Appendix VII, pp. 312–314. John of Salisbury dwells upon this hostility in *Metalogicon*, I, 24. My argument loses all point if John's words 'impetu multitudinis imperitae victi, cesserunt' are interpreted to mean that Richard l'Evêque and William of Conches yielded to the Cornificians, that is, adopted their methods. But Mr. Poole's arguments for interpreting the passage to mean that they 'withdrew from the field' seem convincing.

[2] Holmberg, p. 73: 'Fere enim omnia moralium doctorum elegantiora verba hec angusta particula comprehendit. Unde hic facilius intueri ea poteris, quam si per multorum volumina vagando dispersa colligeres.'

in general is utilitarian rather than scholarly. The *auctores* are mustered to advocate concentration on a few points rather than wide reading, little of which can be retained by the memory.[1] Seneca especially is adduced to urge familiarity with a few useful facts rather than the acquisition of a mass of useless knowledge — 'Non enim refert quam multa sciat, si scit quantum victorie satis est.'[2] It is difficult indeed to imagine old-fashioned William of Conches citing the very passages from the *auctores* that might lend support to the methods of his most bitter enemies. Could John of Salisbury have thought of him in 1159 as the vigorous champion of the old system, if he was in fact the author of the treatise under consideration?

Still another difficulty requires explanation. Although it is as a grammarian that John of Salisbury usually refers to him, William is best known as the author of the *De Philosophia Mundi* and the *Dragmaticon*, works which seek to elucidate the wonders of the natural world. It has been noted by Holmberg that in view of his devotion to natural philosophy, William must have exceeded the ordinary limits of his interests in composing such a treatise as the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*.[3] But there appears to be more than a general inconsistency here. Though it is difficult to determine exactly what the author of this compendium thought of the phenomena of the natural world, on one occasion, at least, he displays slight respect for those who investigate them. Following closely the *De Officiis*, he states, 'Est enim curiositas non magne utilitati nimiam operam impendere, sicuti si relicta morali philosophia astrologiam vel abacum vel geometriam studiose legas.' Then he proceeds to quote a passage from the *De Beneficiis* which is anything but complimentary to natural philosophy as it was understood by William of Conches: 'Licet nescias que ratio oceanum effundat, quid sit quod gemellorum conceptum separet, partum iungat, cur simul natis fata diversa sint: non multum tibi nocebit transire quod nec licet scire, nec prodest.'[4] A glance through the *De Philosophia*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5; pp. 73–74.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[3] Holmberg, p. 8.
[4] Holmberg, p. 11.

Mundi and the *Dragmaticon* will show that William of Conches devoted much time and space to just such topics. Consequently it is remarkable to find him complacently quoting Seneca to the effect that such matters are of little importance and that interest in them is idle curiosity.

Unfortunately the treatise affords slight opportunity for argument either for or against the authorship of Walter of Châtillon, whose preferences and prejudices seem to have been less pronounced than those of William of Conches. Although he was co-author, with a certain Baldwin of Valenciennes, of a prose diatribe against the Jews, Walter's true genius lay in the field of Latin poetry. Such an interest is entirely consistent with the author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* in which the Roman poets figure nearly as prominently as Cicero and Seneca. But beyond this we can scarcely go. There is no evidence to show whether Walter shared William's dislike for the Cornificians, or whether he was adverse to the creation of short cuts to learning. Nor are we able to determine his attitude towards natural philosophy. Arguments from silence are however always dangerous and we must not attach too great significance to what we cannot find out. The most that can be said is that the general and specific characteristics of the treatise are not strikingly inconsistent with what little is known of Walter of Châtillon.

The problem of authorship, then, is by no means as simple as it is made to appear in M. Hauréau's article of 1890. The difficulties arise not so much from the dearth of evidence as from the uncertain value of such evidence as exists. Though a number of mediaeval scribes took pains to give the treatise an author, the surviving attributions are without exception of late date, the earliest as far as can be definitely determined, going back only to the end of the thirteenth century. It is indeed a disconcerting fact that the farther back one goes the less external evidence bearing on the problem of authorship one finds, despite the comparatively large number of MSS from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nor is the internal evidence more satisfactory. The letter of dedication on which M. Hauréau based so much is particularly disappointing. The information that can be deduced from it is too limited in quantity and too

indefinite in quality to point to any single conclusion. While some inferences of a negative sort may be drawn from the treatise itself, its possibilities are greatly limited by its nature as a summary.

In view of the doubtful character of this evidence is it possible to accept without qualification either William of Conches or Walter of Châtillon as the author of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum?* The arguments in favor of the one seem to be nearly exactly balanced by those in favor of the other. While William's authorship is supported by a number of external sources, Walter's lacks such corroboration. On the other hand, the references contained in the letter of dedication, though applicable to William's relations with Henry Plantagenet, fit with greater precision the vicissitudes of the career of Walter's patron, Henry of France. Moreover certain features of the treatise itself seem flatly contradictory to the known prejudices and interests of William of Conches, while they do not appear to conflict with those of Walter of Châtillon. Yet it is not my purpose to champion one of these men against the other. Rather is it to emphasize the uncertain nature of the data from which authorship must be deduced. It may be that neither the grammarian nor the poet had anything to do with the treatise. We are obliged however to work from such material as is available and from this these two men seem to deserve particular consideration. Possibly the difficulties of establishing the identity of the author were not unknown to the majority of mediaeval scribes, who were willing to allow the treatise to circulate anonymously. Thus they wisely prevented false deductions from purely conjectural attributions of authorship. New evidence may of course come to light. For the time being, however, the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* should not be unreservedly ascribed to anyone.

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PLAN FOR THE PUBLICATION OF A *CORPUS COMMENTARIORUM AVERROIS IN ARISTOTELEM* SUBMITTED TO THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

By HARRY A. WOLFSON

Averroes as a Naturalized Hebrew and Latin Author

BIBLIOGRAPHERS, by the practice of their profession, will always list Averroes among Arabic authors. But if there is a process of naturalization in literature corresponding to that in citizenship, the writings of Averroes belong not so much to the language in which they were written as to the language into which they were translated and through which they exerted their influence upon the course of the world's philosophy. In the original Arabic the career of Averroism was brief. It came to an end with the abrupt disappearance of philosophic activity among the Arabic-speaking peoples, which synchronizes with the death of Averroes. Arabic philosophy, unlike Hebrew and Latin, did not enjoy a fruitful though declining old age. It was cut off in its prime through untoward political conditions. Among his own people Averroes left no disciples to continue his teachings nor an active opposition to keep them alive. His name, it has been pointed out by Renan, is not even mentioned in the standard Arabic works of biography.[1] Of his commentaries on Aristotle about one third is lost in the original language, and of those extant the number of manuscripts is very small and a considerable part of them are written in Hebrew characters and have been preserved by Jews. Most of the manuscripts in Arabic characters had been unknown until very recently, when they were dug up in oriental libraries. As to a literature dealing with the texts and the teachings of Averroes' commentaries, there is hardly a trace of it in Arabic.

The tremendous influence which Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle had upon the history of Western philosophy was achieved through the Hebrew and Latin translations.

The first Hebrew translation of an Averroian commentary on Aris-

[1] Cf. Renan, *Averroès et Averroïsme*, p. 36 ff.

totle appeared in 1232, the last in 1321. Within the intervening period of eighty-nine years, the translation of the entire set of the commentaries was completed, and four of the more important ones were translated twice. Eleven translators are connected with this task: Jacob Anatolio, Jacob ben Machir Ibn Tibbon, Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, Moses ben Samuel Ibn Tibbon, Moses ben Solomon of Beaucaire, Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles, Shem-Tob ben Isaac of Tortosa, Solomon Ibn Ayyub, Todros Todrosi, Zerahiah Gracian, and one whose name is not known. The bulk of the work, however, was done by Moses ben Samuel Ibn Tibbon (flourished between 1240 and 1283) and Kalonymus ben Kalonymus (1286– after 1328).

The popularity which these commentaries enjoyed among Jews is attested by the great number of manuscript copies that are extant to the present day — as, e.g., about twenty of the Epitome of the *Physics*, about eighteen of the Epitome of *De Caelo*, about thirty-six of the Middle Commentary on *De Caelo*, and about twenty-five of the Epitome of *Parva Naturalia*. The intensive study of these commentaries, which was pursued by individual scholars as well as by organized classes in schools, gave rise to critical and interpretative works which may be here referred to indiscriminately as supercommentaries. There are such supercommentaries on almost every commentary of Averroes, the only exceptions being the Epitomes of the *Metaphysics* and Plato's *Republic*, the Middle Commentary on *Meteorologica*, and all of the Long Commentaries. On some of the commentaries there is more than one supercommentary, as, e.g., about a dozen each on the Middle Commentaries of the *Organon* and *Physics*, five on the Middle Commentary of *De Anima*, and four on the Middle Commentary of the *Metaphysics*. The writing of these supercommentaries continued for about three centuries, from the beginning of the fourteenth to about the end of the sixteenth. Some of the greatest names in Jewish philosophy are represented among the supercommentators, such as Narboni, Gersonides, and various members of the Shem-Tob family.

Besides these direct supercommentaries on Averroes, literary ma-

terial relevant to the study of Averroes' teachings is to be found in almost every Hebrew philosophic text produced since the early part of the thirteenth century. Beginning with Samuel Ibn Tibbon's commentary on the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, to which a translation of some of Averroes' treatises on the Intellect is appended — and this before the appearance of the first translation of a commentary of Averroes in 1232 — there is not a book in Jewish philosophy in which the views of Averroes are not discussed or in which some passage of his writings is not quoted or paraphrased, analyzed, interpreted, and criticized. An example of the use made of the writings of Averroes by independent Hebrew authors and of its importance for the study of Averroes may be found in Crescas' *Or Adonai*.[1]

The Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries began at about the same time as the Hebrew, in 1230. Three names are connected with this activity, those of Michael Scot, Hermann the German, and William de Lunis. Among them they translated eleven (see below p. 419) out of the twenty-nine titles into which we shall divide all of Averroes' commentaries.

The incompleteness of the early Latin translations of Averroes, the loss of the original Arabic texts of his commentaries, the spurious views attributed to Averroes by the so-called Averroists, and the fact that Hebrew literature, through translations, had fallen heir to the entire tradition of Arabic philosophy — all this tended to make European scholars dependent upon Hebrew for a complete and accurate knowledge of Averroes. When, therefore, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, new translations of Averroes were undertaken, they were all made from the Hebrew. In this new effort, the task of translating Averroes into Latin was almost completed, some of his commentaries were translated two or three times, and in a few instances they were supplemented by translations of Gersonides' supercommentaries. The names of these new translators are Elijah Delmedigo (Haelia Cretensis), Jacob Mantino, Abraham de Balmes, Paul Israelita (Ricius or Riccius), Vital Nissus, and Giovanni Francisco Burana.

[1] Cf. the writer's *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, 'Index of Passages,' pp. 741–743.

Inventory of Averroes' Commentaries

There is no authoritative contemporary record as to the number of commentaries written by Averroes. Whatever we know about it has been gathered by modern scholars, particularly Steinschneider, from a study of the extant manuscripts and printed editions in the various languages, particularly Hebrew MSS. Averroes is known to have written his commentaries on all the works of Aristotle accessible to him, including also the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and the *Republic* of Plato, the latter of which took the place of Aristotle's *Politics*. In some instances his commentaries are found in three forms, the Epitome, the Middle, and the Long, the first of these not being really a commentary in the true sense of the term. In most instances, however, his commentaries are found in two forms, the Epitome and the Middle. In three instances there is only the Epitome, in one instance there is only the Middle, and in another instance only the Long.

The following is a complete list of Averroes' commentaries:

Organon

Epitome

1. *Isagoge*
2. *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*
3. *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistic Elenchi*
4. *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*

Middle

5. *Isagoge*
6. *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*
7. *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistic Elenchi*
8. *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*

Long

9. *Posterior Analytics*[1]

Physics

10. Epitome
11. Middle
12. Long

De Caelo

13. Epitome
14. Middle

De Generatione et Corruptione

15. Epitome
16. Middle

Meteorologica

17. Epitome
18. Middle

De Plantis

19. Long

De Animalibus (=*De Partibus Animalium* and *De Generatione Animalium*)

20. Epitome

De Anima

21. Epitome
22. Middle
23. Long

[1] In Averroes' commentaries items 1–9 form one book, the *Organon*. I have subdivided them into groups in order to get a common denominator for a comparison of the number of texts extant in Arabic, Hebrew and Latin.

Parva Naturalia (including only *De Sensu et Sensibili, Memoria et Reminiscentia, De Somno et Vigilia,* and *De Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae*)
24. Epitome

Metaphysics
25. Epitome
26. Middle
27. Long

Nicomachean Ethics
28. Middle

Plato's *Republic*
29. Epitome

This enumeration of the commentaries of Averroes is based upon Steinschneider's discussion in *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, pp. 49–227. No mention is made there of a Long Commentary on *De Caelo*. Munk, on the other hand, mentions such a commentary in his *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 433, without giving, however, any further information about it. Munk's statement seems to be responsible for similar statements by Renan, *Averroès et L'Averroïsme*, p. 62, Carra de Vaux, 'Averroes, Averroism,' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* II, p. 262, and 'Ibn Rushd' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, p. 411, Ueberweg-Baumgartner, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* II, p. 381, and in almost every general work of reference.

The basis of Munk's statement is evidently the Juntine edition of *Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera*, Venice 1552, which is referred to by him previously on the same page. The *De Caelo* in that edition contains two commentaries of Averroes, one of which is printed with the text and is described as follows: 'Averrois in Libros *de Caelo* cum eius textu Commentarii.' To any student of Averroes the commentary would seem to be the Long one, especially since the Middle Commentary is printed separately at the end of the book and is described as 'Paraphrasis eosdem, seorsum quidem posita, iuxta tamen ipsius commentarios divisa.' In the Comino de Tridino edition of *Aristotelis . . . omnia quae extant opera*, Venice 1560, these two commentaries are combined and printed together with the text, and are introduced by the description 'cum utraque Aver. Cordub. expositione, Paraphrasi videlicet, et commentario.' It will be noticed, however, that the commentary is not described in either edition as 'magna.' Elsewhere in the Juntine edition when the commentary is the Long one, as in the *Posterior Analytics* and the *Physics*, it is definitely described as 'magna.' In the case of the *Meta-*

physics and the *De Anima*, where the word 'magna' is not used, it may be doubted whether the commentaries in question are the 'magnae,' or, at least, whether they are the 'magnae' *only*. Furthermore, the same commentary on *De Caelo* is to be found also in the Andrea Torresanus edition of Aristotle, Venice 1483, where it is described in the colophon as 'nova translatio.' This would seem to mean that it is a new Latin translation, probably from the Hebrew, of the same commentary of which there had previously existed an old thirteenth century Latin translation made from the Arabic. Now, the old Latin translation of Averroes' commentary on *De Caelo* was the 'media.' This new translation may therefore be nothing but another version of the 'media' enlarged, perhaps, by the inclusion of the Epitome and maybe also of Avicenna's paraphrase of the *De Caelo*. The plural 'commentarii' by which it is described in the Juntine editon would seem to point to its composite nature.

But as against this supposition, we have in London a Hebrew MS., *Bet ha-Midrash 41*, which according to a superscription at the beginning of Book I is the Long Commentary on *De Caelo*. Such superscriptions, to be sure, are often wrong, and Steinschneider, who had not examined the MS. personally but is evidently following Neubauer, disregards it and includes the work among the Middle Commentaries (see *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 128, n. 143[b]). Still, it may actually be a long commentary and perhaps the text underlying our Latin translation. Should this prove to be really the Middle, it is still possible that a Long *De Caelo* may turn up in some of the uncatalogued collections of Hebrew MSS, just as the single known copy of the Long *De Anima* turned up in a private collection after Steinschneider had listed it as lost (see *ibid.*, pp. 150–151).

The matter deserves investigation along the lines indicated.

Steinschneider's work may also be used as a guide to the location of the MSS of the Hebrew translations of Averroes' commentaries as well as of the MSS of the original Arabic texts in Hebrew characters and of the MSS of the Hebrew supercommentaries. Steinschneider has made use of almost all the public and private collections of Hebrew MSS known in his time. The only two collections which he seems to have left out are those of Spain and the Cambridge Uni-

versity Library. Since his time, however, many Hebrew MSS of Averroes have been acquired by Professor Alexander Marx for the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary from sources unknown to Steinschneider. There are likewise several Hebrew MSS of Averroes in the Columbia University Library which are not recorded by Steinschneider.

Certain translations and supercommentaries are given by Steinschneider as anonymous. In some instances he tries to identify them. It is not unlikely that when all the MSS are brought together and carefully studied, the identification of a great many of these anonymous works will become possible and some of Steinschneider's identifications may have to be revised. A few illustrations of what can be done in that direction may be found in the writer's paper 'Isaac ben Shem-Tob's Unknown Commentaries on the *Physics* and His Other Unknown Works' in *Freidus Memorial Volume* (1929), pp. 279–290.

Of the twenty-nine titles of Averroes' commentaries which we have in Hebrew, twenty are extant in the original Arabic. Of these, ten are written in Arabic characters, five in Hebrew characters, and five both in Arabic and in Hebrew characters. The nine commentaries which are lost in the original Arabic are as follows:[1]

1. Middle *Isagoge*
2. Long *Posterior Analytics*
3. Middle *Physics* (only a fragment of 10 leaves is extant)
4. Long *Physics* (only a couple of doubtful passages are extant)
5. Epitome of *De Animalibus*
6. Long *De Anima*
7. Middle *Metaphysics*
8. Middle *Nicomachean Ethics*
9. Epitome of Plato's *Republic*

The Old Latin translations directly from the Arabic contain eleven out of the twenty-nine titles, namely:[2]

[1] Information about the Averroes' commentaries extant in the original Arabic is to be found in P. M. Bouyges' *Notes sur les Philosophes Arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age.* V. *Inventaire des textes arabes d'Averroes.* Beyrouth, 1922.

[2] See Steinschneider, "Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen," pp. 33, 56–7, and 80 in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 149 (1905). Steinschneider does not say that items 1, 2, and 7 are the Middle (see *op. cit.* p. 80). But this may be established by the incipits quoted by him. A Latin translation of Averroes' Proem to the *Physics* was made by Theodoric (see *op. cit.*, p. 78).

1. *Isagoge:* Middle
2. *Categories* and *De Interpretatione:* Middle
3. *Rhetoric and Poetics:* Middle
4. *De Caelo:* Middle
5. *De Generatione et Corruptione:* probably Middle
6. *Meteorologica:* Middle (only Book IV)
7. *De Anima:* Middle
8. *De Anima:* Long
9. *De Sensu et Sensato:* Epitome
10. *Metaphysics:* Long
11. *Nichomachean Ethics:* Middle

Of Elijah Delmedigo's translations we have the following:

1. *Meteorologica:* Epitome
2. *Meteorologica:* Middle (only a fragment)
3. *Metaphysics* I–VII: Middle
4. Proem to Long *Metaphysics*

The sixteenth century editions of Aristotle's works by the Juntas and Comino de Tridino contain the following Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries:

Organon
- Epitome
  - *Isagoge*
  - *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*
  - *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*
  - *Topics* and *Sophistic Elenchi*
  - *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*
- Middle
  - *Isagoge*
  - *Categories* and *De Interpretatione*
  - *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* (Books I–IV have two translations) and *Sophistic Elenchi*
  - *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*
- Long
  - *Posterior Analytics* (Part of Book I has three translations; part of Book I and the whole of Book II have two translations.)

Physics
- [No Epitome]
- Middle (only Books I–III. But there is another Latin translation completed in 1500 which exists in MS. form in Paris. See Renan, *Averroès. et Averroïsme*, p. 382.)
- Long (?)[1]

De Caelo
- [No Epitome]
- Middle
- Long (?)

De Generatione et Corruptione
- Epitome
- Middle

Meteorologica
- Epitome
- Middle

[No *De Plantis*, Long]

De Animalibus
- Epitome

De Anima
- Middle
- Long (?)

Parva Naturalia
- Epitome (The Comino de Tridino edition has the phrase 'cum Averrois Paraphrasi' also after *De Divinatione per Somnum*, *De Iuventute et Senectute*, *De Vita et Morte*, and *De Respiratione*. Averroes has no commentaries on these works of the *Parva Naturalia*.)

Metaphysics
- Epitome
- Middle Books I–VII
- Long (?)

Nicomachean Ethics
- Middle

Plato's *Republic*
- Epitome

[1] I have put question marks after every 'Long' for reasons explained in the next paragraph.

This list is based upon an examination of the contents of the Juntine edition of 1573–1576 (which is the same as that of 1552) and the Comino de Tridino edition of 1560. Several points still need to be cleared up. To begin with, in the case of the commentaries where the the names of the translators are not given, one is at a loss to know whether they are new translations or only reproductions of the Old Translations, or, perhaps, the Old Translations revised. Again, the superscriptions on these commentaries are inconsistent and often misleading. In the Juntine edition, for instance, seven of the commentaries are described as 'Paraphrasis,' three by Jacob Mantino (*Poetics*, *De Partibus Animalium*, Plato's *Republic*), one by Abraham de Balmes (*Rhetoric*), one by Paul Israelita (*De Caelo*), one by Vital Nissus (*De Generatione et Corruptione*) and one by an anonymous translator (*De Sensu et Sensato*) — probably belonging to the Old Latin translations. Upon a close examination and after a comparison with the Hebrew, I have found that in the case of Mantino, Nissus, and the anonymous translator the term 'Paraphrasis' stands for the Epitome, whereas in the case of Abraham de Balmes and Paul Israelita it stands for the Middle Commentary. A similar inconsistency is also to be found in the Comino de Tridino edition. Again, the commentary on the *Meteorologica* is described as 'Media Expositio.' From a comparison with the underlying Hebrew version, which I made some years ago in connection with Prof. F. H. Fobes' studies of the *Meteorologica*, it has been found that the commentary contains the entire Epitome intermingled with the Media and that the latter is complete only in Book IV whereas in Books I–III there are lacunae. This makes us wonder whether the other books of which the commentaries are described as *Paraphrasis*, *Media*, or simply *Expositio* or *Commentaria*, are not also of a composite nature. In the case of the *Metaphysics* in the Juntine edition, there is ground to believe that the commentary is of a composite nature for it is described by the plural 'commentaries,' as in 'Averrois . . . Commentarij' and 'cum Averrois Cordubensis commentariis.' In the Comino de Trigido edition the commentary on the *Metaphysics* is definitely stated in several places to be of a composite character, as, e.g., 'cum utraque Aver. Comm.' or 'cum dupl. Aver. Comm.,' and one of the two component parts is described at the beginning as Elijah Delmedigo's ('ab Haelia Cretensi') translation of the first seven books of the 'media.'

A complete description of these commentaries will be impossible until all the Latin texts are brought together and carefully compared with the Hebrew.

The result of this inventory is that out of the twenty-nine titles of Averroes' commentaries which are extant in Hebrew, the Arabic has twenty, and of these, five are to be found only in Hebrew characters. The Old Latin translations made directly from the Arabic have eleven. Combining the Old Latin translations from the Arabic and the New Latin translations from the Hebrew, we have in Latin twenty-five. Among those lost in the Arabic are some of the most important works, such as the Long *Posterior Analytics*, the Middle and Long *Physics*, the Long *De Anima*, and the Middle *Metaphysics*. Those lacking in the combined Latin translations are the Epitome of the *Physics*, Epitome of *De Caelo*, Long *De Plantis*, and Epitome of *De Anima*. Some of these, however, may perhaps be found embedded in the other commentaries. Finally, among the new Latin translations from the Hebrew, we have a commentary on *De Caelo* which may represent the Long Commentary on that book, of which, so far, no Arabic or Hebrew text is known.[1]

The Project

The facts brought out in the Inventory convince one beyond any doubt that the publication of a complete and properly edited corpus of Averroes' Commentaries in only one of the three languages is almost impossible. Both the Arabic and the Latin are dependent upon the Hebrew for the filling out of their respective lacunae. All of them — the Arabic, the Hebrew and the Latin — are dependent upon each other for the establishment of accurate texts — unless we think that the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin texts can be established independently of each other by merely counting the scribal errors in their respective manuscripts and adding to them some conjectural emendations. Furthermore, the Arabic, the Hebrew, and the Latin are in need of each other for the determination of the exact meaning of words and phrases and in general for the proper study of the text. Without such reciprocal help, the corpus would be only an additional

[1] After the pages of this article had been set up, a transcript of the incipit of the London MS. of Averroes' *Commentary on De Caelo* was received showing it to be the middle.

shelf of unintelligible volumes, for the knowledge of Averroes' commentaries expired among the Arabic-speaking peoples with the death of the author at the end of the twelfth century, and among readers of Hebrew and Latin it has lingered only among a few of the initiate since the seventeenth century. Finally, no proper study of the commentaries of Averroes is possible without the help of the Hebrew supercommentaries. Not only do these supercommentaries contain all the important critical, historical, and interpretative material necessary for the study of the subject matter of the commentaries, but owing to their inclusion of great portions of the commentaries in the form of quotations, they are also valuable for the establishment of the text.

The object of the plan, therefore, is to prepare an edition of the commentaries of Averroes simultaneously in the three languages — the language in which they were originally written, the language in which they have been most thoroughly expounded and most completely preserved, and in the language through which they became known to Western philosophy. The edition, furthermore, is to be equipped with all the necessary textual and philological information that may be helpful to anyone who may wish to study these commentaries in their manifold bearings upon the various phases of the history of philosophy.

The method to be followed in editing the work can best be described by showing what critical apparatus, glossaries, and other equipments the edited volumes are expected to have.

Critical Apparatus

Each of the texts in the three languages is expected to have three critical apparatuses, which may be designated as *A*, *B*, *C*.

Apparatus *A* is to contain the variant readings of the MSS of a given text in one of the three languages. This Apparatus will naturally differ in the three texts, though occasionally the variant readings in the text of one language may be found to have some bearing upon the variant readings of the text of another language, in which case they will be recorded in more than one text.

Apparatus *B* is to show the relation between the Arabic, Hebrew,

and Latin texts. It will contain such data as may be gathered by a close and detailed comparison of the texts in the three languages, as, e.g., substitution of terms, free rendering of passages, and inaccurate translations due either to corrupt texts of the original or to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the original. This Apparatus will be the same in the three texts, though somewhat differently arranged.

Apparatus *C* is to show the relation of Aristotelian passages contained in Averroes' commentaries to their corresponding Greek texts. Such an Apparatus will be necessary because of the occurrence of Aristotelian passages, in some form or other, in every one of the three series of commentaries. In the Long Commentary the Aristotelian text is given *in extenso* and is on the whole distinguishable from the commentary proper. In the Middle Commentary the Aristotelian texts are either reproduced verbally or given in paraphrase form. Though quotations and paraphrases of Aristotle are supposed to be introduced by the word 'dixit,' still it is not always possible to distinguish them from the rest of the commentary. In the Epitome, quotations and paraphrases of Aristotle occur only casually. In preparation of this Apparatus, it will be necessary to compare the commentaries with the original works of Aristotle, to mark off, first, all the passages that are supposed to be translations of Aristotle, and, second, all the passages that are supposed to be paraphrases of Aristotle, and then, to mark these two off from each other and both of them from the commentary. The passages which are either translations or paraphrases of Aristotle are to be compared with the original Greek, word for word and phrase for phrase, and the differences discovered are to be recorded in Apparatus *C*. This Apparatus will be the same in the three texts.

While these three Apparatuses are to be kept distinct from each other, certain elements may have to be transferred from one Apparatus to another.

Typographical Disposition of Text

In printing, the three strata of the text, viz., (1) translations of Aristotle, (2) paraphrases of Aristotle, and (3) Averroes' own com-

ments, are to be indicated by the use of different type or by a difference in spacing between letters or between lines.

References to Sources

Not many sources are mentioned by Averroes. But occasionally he refers to works of Aristotle, to some other place in his own commentaries, to Greek commentators of Aristotle, such as Alexander and Themistius, and to earlier Arabic authors, such as Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Avempace. In all such instances the sources are to be identified and whenever a printed edition or manuscript of the source in question exists, proper references are to be supplied.

Glossaries

Each commentary is to have at the end a glossary in four languages, arranged as follows: (1) For the Arabic — Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek. (2) For the Hebrew — Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Greek. (3) For the Latin — Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Greek. But in order to make the work also useful to the student of Aristotle, there should be a fourth glossary — Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, to be printed either together with each text of the commentary or separately. In each of these four glossaries, or at least in the fourth one, it may be also advisable to have certain terms explained in some modern language.

Organization of Staff

In order to carry out the work effectively it will be necessary to organize a staff along the following lines: [I] Editor-in-Chief, to be selected from among the [II] Board of Editors, which is to consist of the following three members: Editor of the Arabic Series, Editor of the Hebrew Series, Editor of the Latin Series; [III] Advisory Board; [IV] Editors of the individual works.

While in some cases it may be possible for one editor to edit the same work in the three languages, it will be on the whole advisable to have three men, an Arabist, a Hebraist, and a Latinist, associated in the edition of any commentary which exists in the three languages. Among the three editors, however, there is to be one who has a knowledge of the three languages, so that he may be able to coördi-

nate the work on all three texts. It is the belief of the writer that there will be no difficulty in getting properly qualified men in sufficient number to carry out the program as laid out.

Publication

The polyglot form, with the three texts printed one beside the other or one below the other, would perhaps be most ideal for the publication of this corpus. But practical considerations may make such a plan impossible. Besides, there is nothing tangible to be gained by it. The various apparatuses and glossaries will furnish to the student of any single one of the texts all the information that he may gather from the other two texts. Those few who are able to use themselves all the three texts will find it just as easy to handle three monoglot volumes as one polyglot one.

Consequently, while the editing of the texts must be done simultaneously in the three languages by editors working in association with each other, the publication of the texts may be treated, if necessary, as three independent undertakings. There will be three series of publications of the same corpus:

A. The Arabic Series
B. The Hebrew Series
C. The Latin Series.

Whenever the Hebrew or the Latin possesses several translations of the same text, all the translations are to be printed side by side on the same page.

A special subdivision of the Hebrew Series will be supercommentaries on Averroes. These will have to be considered as an integral part of the Corpus. Similarly, the Latin Series will have to include the Annotations of Zimara and others as well as the Latin translations of the Hebrew supercommentaries of Gersonides.

While the present plan contemplates an edition of only the commentaries of Averroes, excluding even his *Quaestiones* to the various books of Aristotle, it may be extended to apply also to any future plan for the publication of the other works of Averroes and of the works of other Arabic and Jewish philosophers, which happen to exist in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin. But whatever the scope of the

plan of a complete philosophic Corpus, the commentaries of Averroes are to be treated as a class by themselves and, though in point of time they come rather late, they are to be taken up first owing to their importance as the key to any attempt at a comparative study of mediaeval philosophy.

D. Series of Studies of Averroes

As the Corpus is to be something more than a mere collection of texts, it should also have room for annotated translations into modern languages of selected commentaries of Averroes and for monographs dealing with certain phases of Averroes' philosophy. The scholars who will be entrusted with the editing of the texts as well as other competent scholars are therefore to be encouraged to undertake translations or independent studies of the works included in the Corpus. Such works are to form a Fourth Series of the Corpus.

Relation of this Plan to Similar Other Plans

Within the last decade three suggestions have been made for the publication of mediaeval philosophic works in either Hebrew, Arabic, or Latin. The relation of the plan herein suggested to the other plans is therefore a topic which cannot be altogether left out of discussion.

1. A suggestion for the publication of a 'Corpus Scriptorum Philosophicorum Hebraeorum' was made by the present writer in 1921 (see 'The Needs of Jewish Scholarship in America,' *Menorah Journal*, February, 1921). The Hebrew Series of Averroes' Commentaries now suggested is to be part of the Corpus of the Hebrew philosophic authors.

2. An announcement of the preparation of a 'Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum' was made by Maurice Bouyges, S. J., in 1927 in his edition of Algazel's *Tahafot Al Falasifat*. So far the Bibliotheca has confined itself to some of the works of Algazali and to Averroes' *Tahafot al-Tahafot*. The one splendidly edited volume that has so far been published takes no cognizance of the Hebrew translations. It is an excellent edition of an Arabic text for Arabic students. Should the editor take up also Averroes' Commentaries on Aristotle, it is to be

hoped that a method of coöperation will be effected between his undertaking and ours.

3. A project for the publication of a 'Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi' was submitted by the Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres in 1928. This Corpus is to be divided into three series: 1. Mediaeval [Latin] translations of Aristotle; 2. Jewish and Arabic Philosophers [in Latin]; 3. Mediaeval Latin Philosophers. Of these three series, the second, in so far as it will have to include Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries, is identical with the Latin Series of our proposed plan, and it is to be hoped that a method of coöperation will be effected.

The first series of the 'Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi' has been taken up by the Union Académique Internationale. From the printed prospectus we gather that the Latin translations of Aristotle's works are to include both those which were translated directly from the Greek and those which were translated from the Arabic. The former do not concern us. But as for the latter, it is our belief that it cannot be done adequately independently of our plan, for since the commentaries of Averroes contain the texts of Aristotle's works either in whole or in part, they may prove to be of utmost importance in establishing the Arabic texts underlying the Latin translations especially in cases where the underlying Arabic texts are not extant. It is therefore to be hoped that some method of coöperation will be effected with regard to the Arabico-Latin translations of Aristotle between the plan of the Union Académique Internationale and our plan.

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NOTES

KOENIG ALFRED'S GEOGRAFIE

Kemp Malone, der uns in Deutschland durch eine grosse Reihe fruchtbarer, kombinationsreicher Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der altgermanischen Philologie bekannte Gelehrte, hat im *Speculum*, v (April, 1930) eine neue, sehr beachtenswerte Theorie über die Grundlagen der Geografie König Alfreds aufgestellt. Bekanntlich reiht der grosse Angelsachse in seiner Uebersetzung des geografischen Kapitels in der Weltgeschichte des Presbyters Orosius, das er durch ausgedehnte, eigene Interpolationen erweitert, Länder und Völker nach Himmelsrichtungen aneinander. Hierbei befolgt er das sehr einfache Prinzip, das sich auf die Formel bringen lässt: 'Dieses liegt nördlich von jenem, jenes liegt westlich von einem dritten usw.'

Wenn man bedenkt, wie ungenau die klassischen geografischen Begriffe waren, die Orosius repräsentiert und wie andrerseits der König, der aus eigener Erfahrung das kontinentale Europa nur von einer Romreise kannte, sich auf die Informationen, besonders für den Osten, von Kaufleuten und Wikingern stützen musste, wird man sich nicht über Ungenauigkeiten hier und dort in der Angabe der Himmelsrichtungen wundern. Kemp Malone glaubt nun aber in diesen Ungenauigkeiten ein gewisses System entdeckt zu haben. Er ist der Ansicht, dass Alfred einmal das klassische System der Orientierung benutzt und zum andern ein solches, in dem der Norden um 45° in der Richtung des Uhrzeigers (clockwise) nach dem Osten verschoben ist. Das 'shifted system' tritt in den Interpolationen mehr hervor, ist aber nicht auf diese beschränkt. Malone kann überhaupt für keine Gegend Europas oder für den Bericht der genannten Gewährsmänner (Ohthere und Wulfstan) die Beschränkung auf ein bestimmtes System nachweisen. Nur darin sieht er das Systematische, das wenn nach dem einen oder anderem System eine Unstimmigkeit vorkommt, diese in einer Abweichung von 45° besteht.

Der amerikanische Gelehrte eröffnet selbst von dieser Feststellung aus den Blick auf die Frage, wie sich Alfred zu seinen Zeitgenossen und Vorgängern auf geografischem Gebiet in Bezug auf diese Abweichung verhält und welchen Ursprung sie hatte. Ich möchte diesen Forschungen hier nicht in dem Sinne vorgreifen, dass ich die Möglichkeit grundsätzlich verneine, Alfred habe eine andre Nordorientierung, also vermutlich an einem andren Gestirn gehabt, als die klassische Tradition. Es ist meine Absicht, hier nur einige der vermeintlichen Unstimmigkeiten näher ins Auge zu fassen und zwar in der Beschreibung Germaniens, in der nach Ansicht Malones die Verschiebungen besonders hervortreten. Ich will sie soweit auflösen, dass jedenfalls sie nicht mehr als eindeutiges Argument für Malone's Theorie dienen können. Ich stütze mich dabei auf frühere Arbeiten, einen Aufsatz in den *Englischen*

Studien, Bd. LX., s. 49 und das diesbezügliche Kapitel über König Alfreds Geografie in meinem Buche *England und die Gesittungsgrundlage der europäischen Frühgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1930). Hier und da gehe ich aber über die dortigen Feststellungen hinaus.

Die Beschreibung Germaniens beginnt König Alfred mit folgender Aufzählung: 'Dann im Norden der Donauquelle und östlich des Rheines sind die Ostfranken; und südlich von ihnen (*bé súþan him*) sind die Schwaben, auf der anderen Seite des Donauflusses. Und südlich von ihnen (*bé súþan him*) und nach Osten sind die Bayern, der Teil, den man Regensburg nennt, usw.' In dieser Weise wird ein Beziehungssystem aufgestellt. Die Grundlage sind die Nachbarschaftsbezeichnungen. Es ist aber in der Interpretation eine entscheidende Unklarheit vorhanden, die Malone hervorzuheben nicht für nötig befunden hat. Das persönliche Pronomen *him* (=ihnen) kann als rückbezüglich auf die letzterwähnte Völkerschaft nach moderner Sprachlogik aufgefasst werden. So tut es Malone. Es ergeben sich dann *strikte* Nachbarbeziehungen. Wie ein Blick auf die Karte zeigt und wie Malone aufgefallen ist, sind diese jedoch sehr häufig völlig unsinnig. Bei einer solchen Auffassung wären nämlich z. B. die Friesen nordwestlich der Altsachsen anzusetzen und die Obotriten nördlich der Dänen. Diese Schwierigkeit kann aber gelöst werden, wenn wir, was nach angelsächsischer Syntax durchaus möglich ist, die Personalpronomina (*him*) nicht auf das letztgenannte Volk sondern auf jene Völkerschaften beziehen, die Alfred als Ausgangs- und Mittelpunkt für seine Aufzählung benutzt. Er bildet Nachbarschaftsgruppen um eine ihm besonders wichtige Völkerschaft. Eine solche ist die der Ostfranken, Altsachsen, Mährer, Süddänen, Norddänen, Esten, Bornholmer (Burgunden), und Schweden. Wenn wir diese Interpretation benutzen, brauchen wir nicht mit Malone eine Verschiebung der Nordrichtung anzunehmen. Die Lagebezeichnungen stimmen dann überall, auch nach dieser Rückbezüglichkeit bei den Ostfranken, bei denen der südostliche Ansatz der Bayern so sinnvoller ist, als wenn wir diese Richtung mit Malone für die Nachbarschaft zu den Schwaben als bestimmend ansehen. Es gibt jedoch eine Reihe von Ausnahme-Fällen nach unserer Deutung, und zwar innerhalb des Einzelsystems der Mährer, wo Alfred die Lage durch *strikte* Nachbarbeziehungen von der Erwähnung des Kärntner Landes bis Griechenland bestimmt, aber er greift dann (Ed. Sweet, S. 16, Zeile 16) auf den Ausgangspunkt, auf die Mährer zurück. Wie man an dem Ostfrankensystem sehen kann, könnte natürlich auch im Einzelfall das *him* ebensogut als rückbezüglich auf das Nachbarvolk wie auf das Mittelpunktvolk dienen.

Um diesen starken syntaktischen Akzent, der auf den Mittelpunktsvölkern liegt im Sinne der von uns gemeinten Konstruktion des *him*, verständlich zu machen, möchte ich das folgende hervorheben. *Für das Auswahlprin-*

zip des Königs bei seiner Länderbeschreibung im Ansetzen der Mittelpunktsvölker kann es sich natürlich nicht um irgend etwas handeln, dass mit modernen abstrakt-geografischen Gesichtspunkten vergleichbar sei! Nach dieser Richtung habe ich schon früher gegen die Ausführungen von Geidel (*Alfred der Grosse als Geograf*, München 1904) mich gewandt. Ich möchte diesen Gesichtspunkt auch gegen die Tendenz von Malone geltend machen, ein System in anscheinenden Unstimmigkeiten der Lagebezeichnung zu suchen. Wir sehen in der zweiten Interpolation, in den Reiseberichten Ohtheres und Wulfstans, welcher Art die Berichterstatter des Königs waren; ebenso wie bei ihnen wird es sich im allgemeinen um Kaufleute gehandelt haben, die dem Könige über den Kontinent berichteten. Andere als politisch-kommerzielle Gesichtspunkte werden hier für den Interessenkreis des Königs nicht massgebend gewesen sein. Von hier aus ist allein die Auswahl der Ostfranken und der Altsachsen als Mittelpunkte in dem eigentlichen Deutschland verständlich. Die politische Vorherrschaft des Frankenstammes auch in Deutschland in dem Jahrhundert des Königs ist bekannt. Mit Altsachsen verbanden den König die alten verwandtschaftlichen und neue kulturpolitische Beziehungen (Corvey). Während der Zeit Alfreds war in Mähren ein mächtiges Reich errichtet worden durch den Herzog Swatopluk (gestorben 894), dem die Böhmen und eine grosse Slawenverbindung huldigten, und der seit 873 selbständig einen Vorposten der fränkischen Politik im Osten darstellte. Die übrigen fünf Mittelpunkte des Systems liegen um die Ostsee. Sie repräsentieren die skandinavische Einflusssphäre. Allerdings ist anzunehmen, dass der König seine Nachrichten über diese Gegenden, die er wohl vor allem von Skandinaviern hatte, auch durch deutsche Gewährsmänner gelegentlich ergänzen liess. So erkläre ich in der Germania-Interpolation die halb deutsche Form '*Ōstsœ*.' Allerdings zeigt auch diese vereinzelte deutsche Form dänische Herkunft. Die Bezeichnung *Ostsee* ist nämlich, wie schon Forster feststellte, unrichtig vom geografischen Standpunkt der Deutschen aus. Sie erhält ihre Berechtigung, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die im 9. Jahrhundert durch die Wenden von diesem Meere völlig abgeschnittenen Deutschen sie von den Dänen entlehnten, für die sie allein geografisch sinnvoll ist, (cf. Geidel, S. 40) (An sich ist natürlich auch die Erklärung von Kemp Malone möglich (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. xx, Jan. 1925), der '*Ōstsœ*' aus isländisch '*austmarr*' mit Uebergang von skandinavischen *au* zu angelsächsisch *ō* ableitet.) Die skandinavische Welt ist aber immer für den grossen Gegner der Skandinavier in England in politischer, aber auch in friedlich kommerzieller Hinsicht (vgl. Ohthere usw,) bedeutsam. Die einzige Stadt, die der König auf deutschem Boden erwähnt, ist Regensburg. Diese Stadt ist damals nicht nur die Hauptstadt des wichtigen bayerischen Stammes, sondern des ganzen ostfränkischen Reiches, da Ludwig der Deutsche

zunächst Bayern besetzt, und seine Nachfolger Bayern als Hauptland ihres Teilreiches ansehen. So zeichnet die Stadt als Residenz, aber weit mehr noch als Transitplatz für die Donaugebiete und den Handel des Mittelmeeres die spätmittelalterliche Blüte der oberdeutschen Handelsstädte vor. In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch erwähnt, dass, wenn man die Reiseberichte mit in die sog. Beschreibung Germaniens einschliesst, wozu sie dem Sinne nach gehören, ausser Regensburg, Hedeby und Truso genannt werden, beides ebenfalls mächtige Handels und Verkehrsmittelpunkte. Ausserdem erwähnt Ohthere noch den Hafen Scíringesheal. Es ergibt sich also aus dieser Ueberlegung der praktische, kaufmännische und politische Charakter der Geografie des Königs, die als reine Theorie wesentlich zweckmässiger hätte eingerichtet werden können, um manche Sprünge in der Lagebezeichnung, wie z.B. den von den Altsachsen zu den Mährern, zu vermeiden.

Ich habe mit den letzten Ausführungen ein Stück meiner eigenen Forschung wiedergegeben (vgl. das zitierte Buch S. 182) da mir hierin ein Gesichtspunkt enthalten scheint, der in der *shift*-Theorie Malones nicht genügend beachtet sein dürfte.

Zu einigen Einzelinterpretationen, die nicht für die Haupttheorie Malones, aber an sich von einem gewissen sachlichen Interesse sind, möchte ich mir noch erlauben, das folgende hinzuzufügen. Für den Begriff Alfreds und Ohtheres von *Iraland* ist die Tatsache heranzuziehen, dass ein Name, der für die irischen Gälen, aber auch für die Lowlanders in Schottland gebraucht wird, *Erse* ist. Alle Schwierigkeiten in der Interpretation der Beschreibung Ohtheres von seiner Fahrt nach Scíringesheal lösen sich, wenn man *Iraland* als die Bezeichnung sowohl für Irland wie für Schottland setzt. Auf diesen Gebrauch weist auch die anscheinende Verwirrung Adams von Bremen von Irland mit Schottland. (Vgl. Malone S. 143, Anm. 2). Näheres über die Bezeichnung der grossbritanischen Kelten ist zu finden bei Rudolf Thurneysen, '*Die irische Helden- und Königssage bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*' (Halle 1921) S. 74 ff.

Zu der Ansicht von Malone, dass Alfreds *Mægðaland* wahrscheinlicher 'Land der Stämme' bedeutet als 'Land der Mädchen,' möchte ich hier nur anführen, dass ich auf S. 23 ff. meines zitierten Buches eine grössere Reihe von Zeugnissen aus der *Germania* des Tacitus, aus Paulus Diakonus, der *Hervararsaga*, aus Adam von Bremen und aus arabischen Schriftstellern angeführt habe, die alle darin übereinstimmen, dass die Stellung der Frau im Osten Europas, eine vom Germanentum verschiedene, stärker hervortretende gewesen sei. So ist *Mægðaland* ebensowenig wie das von Alfred dem Grossen erwähnte *Cwénland* als eine Beziehung auf die dem männerstaatlichen Germanen auffallende Macht der Frau im Osten an sich

unwahrscheinlich. Ich dachte selbst früher an die Möglichkeit *Mægðaland* mit den Magyaren in Zusammenhang zu bringen, die auf ihren Zügen omv Ural in das heutige Ungarn Russland durchquerten. (Vgl. *Engl. Stud:* Bd. LX, S. 49 ff.) Wenn ich heute alles Für und Wider berücksichtige, vor allem auch, dass Alfred *Mægðaland* eben in der Gegend des heutigen Litauen ansetzt, wo wie gesagt seit Tacitus auffiel, dass die Frauen mit den Männern oder allein auf die Jagd und in den Kampf zogen, so erscheint mir die Interpretation von *Mægðaland* als Mädchenland gesichert. Wer noch jetzt im letzten Kriege mit den Frauenbatallionen der Sowjets im Osten zu kämpfen hatte, wird die alte Namenscharakteristik der stärkeren geschlechtlichen Undifferenziertheit des primitiveren Ostens begreifen. Gegen die Gleichung *Mægðaland* gleich Magyaren spricht die für dieses Volk reichlich nördliche Ansetzung. Das sprachlich an sich zulässige, von Malone vorgeschlagene 'Land der Stämme' ist abgesehen von der grossen Tradition, die hinter dem Mädchenland steht, an sich sehr abstrakt.

Bezüglich der Ansicht Malones, die er mit Professor Sir William Craigie teilt, dass Wulfstan ein Engländer gewesen sei, möchte ich natürlich zugeben, dass dieses der Namensform nach möglich ist, aber es kann auch, wie bei Ohthere, eine Anglisierung des skandinavischen Namens 'Ulfsteinn' vorliegen. (Vgl. Björkmann, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, Halle 1910, S. 180.) Dazu möchte ich noch auf zwei schon früher von mir angeführte inhaltliche Gründe verweisen (vgl. zitiertes Buch, S. 171 f.). Wulfstan fährt, wie ausdrücklich gesagt wird, zu seiner Ostpreussenreise von *æt Hæþum* aus, einer dänischen Stadt, Hedeby bei Schleswig, die wohl neben Trûso, wie die archäologischen Ausgrabungen gezeigt haben, die bedeutendste Handelstadt des Ostseegebietes jener Zeit war, ausgestattet mit einer grossen eigenen Industrie, Glasbläsereien zur Herstellung von Glasperlen und anderen begehrten gläsernen Handelsartikeln, einer Kammindustrie usw. (vgl. *Engl. Stud.* Bd. LX, S. 44). Wäre Wulfstan ein Angelsachse gewesen, so hätte er wohl etwas über diesen ihm notwendigerweise auffallenden Hafenplatz berichtet, der dagegen dem Dänen Wulfstan eine Selbstverständlichkeit war! In der Geschichte vom weisen Njal (*Thule*, Bd. IV, S. 80) spielt Hedeby für den Isländer Gunnar eine in diesem Zusammenhang bemerkenswerte Rolle. Dieser Wikinger hatte mit zehn Schiffen in den baltischen Landen geheert. Er kehrte dann mit seiner reichen Beute zu dem genannten dänischen Hafen zurück. Das Anlaufen des Hafens ist also auch für diesen Baltikumfahrer das Gegebene. Schon hieraus geht hervor, dass die Reise des Wulfstan keine Entdeckungsfahrt war, wie die Gelehrten bis jetzt im allgemeinen annahmen. Es geht aber auch aus dem Bericht unmittelbar hervor, dass dem Reisenden die angeführten Landmarken (Langeland, Laaland, Falster usw.) bis Gotland bekannt waren.

Sie konnten nicht alle zu gleicher Zeit in sieben Tagen bis Gotland hinauf gesichtet und angelaufen werden, wenn er in dieser Zeit Truso erreichen wollte. Er gibt also nur aus dem für einen Dänen, nicht aber für einen Angelsachsen hier möglichen nautischen Wissen eines Handelskapitäns, dem Könige Auskunft.

Warum nach Malones Auffassung *Osti*, ein Wort, dass durch die Ansetzung am Südufer des baltischen Meeres gegenüber den Schweden und in der Nachbarschaft der Wenden usw. geographisch klar bestimmt ist, einmal einen Volksstamm bezeichnen soll und dann eben die Ostsee, ist nicht einsichtig. Ich halte *Osti* für eine volksetymologische Verdrehung des Eigennamens der Esten, auf die die Situation eindeutig hinweist.

Die Vermutungen Malones bezüglich des Weichseldeltas, dass ein westliches Gatt, ein 'Nehrungstief,' wie man in Ostpreussen sagt, gegenüber dem Ausflusse der Nogat und des Elbingflusses vorhanden gewesen sei, kann ich zur Gewissheit erheben.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts war nachweisbar ein Tief auf der Frischen Nehrung bei Vogelsang vorhanden. So hindert nichts die Annahme, dass ein solches auch bereits im letzten Viertel des 9. Jahrhunderts dort existierte. (Vgl. E. Dorr, *Schriften der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Danzig*, N.F. XIV, 1914–1918 und meinen Aufsatz in den *Englischen Studien*, Bd. LX, S. 51) Wieso die Himmelsrichtungen hier nicht stimmen sollen in der Erzählung Wulfstans, vermag ich nicht zu begreifen, da auch nach der Karte von Malone (S. 163) die Nogat von Süden sich in das Haff ergiesst und die ganze Beschreibung darauf hindeutet, dass der Elbingfluss nach dem Westen sich mit der Nogat vereinigte zu jenem Gewässer, das Wulfstan die Weichsel nennt. Dieser auf einer kurzen Strecke des stilleren und flacheren Haffs zusammenhängende *Flussschwall*, nicht nur im Nehrungstief als Fluss deutlich erkennbar, strömte dann durch dieses bei Vogelsang.

Auch hier sieht man, dass sich die Himmelsrichtung en bei eingehenderer Interpretation im Sinne einer eindeutigen Nordorientierung verstehen lassen.

Zum Schluss möchte ich auf die für den amerikanischen Leser wohl unbekannte Tatsache hinweisen, dass das Truso, die fabelhafte Stadt, zu der Wulfstan segelte, 1925 durch den inzwischen leider verstorbenen Professor Max Ebert in ihren Resten am Westabhange des Trunzer-Plateaus entdeckt und ausgegraben worden ist. Die Stadt zeigt die gleiche Anlage wie die bekannten grossen, skandinavischen Handelsplätze an der Ostsee aus jener Zeit. z.B. auch Wulfstans Hedeby, d.h. es ist an einer Wasserstrasse ziemlich weit im Innern des Landes gelegen, also durch die Lage geschützt vor Angriffen von der See, ferner durch einen Ringwall gegen das

Land zu verteidigt und durch eine Hügelburg als letztes Refugium gekrönt. Keramische Funde weisen auf skandinavische Besiedlung, andere auffallenderweise auf frühgermanische Einwohner bereits zur römischen Kaiserzeit. Wir haben hier bereits eine *Gotenstadt*. (Vgl. hierzu M. Ebert, *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, 3. Jahrgang, Heft 1, S. 38).

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Bonn

THE ARABIC *HISTORY OF DULCARNAIN* AND THE ETHIOPIAN *HISTORY OF ALEXANDER*

In the history and tradition of the Alexander Legend Spain occupies a unique position; for here converged and were juxtaposed two lines of development long distinct. Indeed they never really united or mixed. From the north came the line to be characterized as occidental, and derived for the most part from the *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni Regis* (called in its later and interpolated redactions *Historia de Preliis*), a Latin version made by the Archipresbyter Leo of Naples just after the middle of the tenth century from a Greek original secured at Constantinople, the latter itself derived from a lost Greek original designated by the sign δ. From the south came a line to be characterized as oriental, in Arabic, which in passing into Arabic had become moslemized. There were, it is true, many versions in Arabic but the most significant of them, generally dated as belonging to the ninth century, has been regarded as lost, and yet as having to a great extent served as the chief source of the Ethiopian version, dated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

This lost Arabic version was held to have been derived in the main from the extant Syrian *History of Alexander* of the seventh century but to have incorporated within itself portions of the Christian *Syrian Legend* of the sixth century as well as of the *Koran*, e.g. xviii, 82 ff. This Syrian *History of Alexander*, which like the other versions of the Alexander legend is generally spoken of as an Alexander Romance, was proved by Noeldeke to have been derived from the lost Persian (Pahlavi) version belonging to the sixth century, the latter being derived from a Greek original belonging to the δ-family from which (as stated above) our occidental versions also were derived. Owing to a freak of fortune — the fact that Mueller in editing the Princeps of the Greek Alexander Romance in 1846 made *B* his chief guide — the Alexander Romance has generally been referred to ever since by the misnomer Pseudo-Callisthenes. No name however was associated with it in antiquity, and the true title of the work was βίος [*or* ἱστορία?] Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, a fact of prime importance in the

study of the tradition. It has been reasonably conjectured that in passing from Syrian into Arabic the *History of Alexander* — for so it was regarded — lost its pagan character and became moslemized, and that the portions of the Christian *Syrian Legend* incorporated in the Arabic version had been dechristianized. Is it possible that the name had been changed from the *History of Alexander* to the *History of Dulcarnain?* It has also been reasonably conjectured that inasmuch as the Ethiopian version represented Alexander as Christian, and inasmuch as this was copied mainly from this supposedly lost Arabic version which represented him as Mohammedan, this must in turn have been demoslemized and rechristianized to fit its new surroundings and audience.

This most significant Arabic version has been spoken of as lost, but even as we speak there is published something which though not literally identical with it is nevertheless not far removed from it.[1] This Arabic text all but steps into our midst from the unseen, saying, 'Coram quem quaeritis adsum!' Its publication constitutes one of the outstanding contributions made to our texts of the Alexander Romance within the past generation. Professor Gómez is to be highly commended for having undertaken the work of translating and editing, the Instituto de Valencia de San Juan, Madrid, for having made possible its publication, and the Hispanic Society of America, New York, for its cooperation in publication.

To the Arabic text and Spanish translation (pp. 3–108) Gómez prefixes four chapters as an introductory study, *vis.:* Cap. I. *Bosquejo histórico de la evolucion de la leyenda de Aleyandro en el islam* (pp. xxi–lxxxii. Cap. II. *El manuscrito que se edita y su lenguaje* (pp. lxxxiii–xcviii. Cap. III. *Cotejo con la redaccion aljamiada* (pp. xcix–cxiii). Cap. IV. *Ensayo de investigacion de las fuentas* (pp. cxv–clxii).

The manuscript seems to be written in characters belonging to the fifth or the sixth century of the Hegira, perhaps about 1200 A.D. (cf. p. lxxxiv). The work bears the name *Historia de Dulcarnain*, and in the manuscript this occupied fol. 1–47^{v} inclusive. Unfortunately, however, leaves 1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 have been lost, and, as will later be brought out, the loss of 1 and 2 is the most to be regretted.

In his first chapter dealing with the legend of Alexander in Islam his contribution is valuable for the additions made to such works as Noeldeke,

[1] *Un Texto Arabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro segun el Manuscrito Ar. XXVII de la Biblioteca de la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, Edición, Traducción Española, y Estudio Preliminar* par Emilio García Gomez. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, 1929. pp. clxiv+108.

[2] In another place (p. cxxxviii) Gomez erroneously thinks that he has found in the text a reference to an event of A.H. 864, i.e. Oct. 28, 1459 to Oct. 17, 1460 A.D. *Vid. infra* p. 441 for discussion of this point.

'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans' (*Wiener Denkschriften*, XXXVIII [1890]), and Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und Alexanderroman* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1913). And yet his treatment leaves something to be desired. On p. 21, he speaks of the Alexander Romance as attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes, and in his footnote to the same page he should certainly have mentioned Wilhelm Kroll's edition of the *Historia Alexandri Magni* (*Pseudo-Callisthenes*) (vol. I, Recensio Vetusta, Berlin, Weidmann, 1926), the preface of which (p. xv) brings out the fact that the work was not attributed to any particular author in antiquity, and that the use of the name Callisthenes in this connection was limited to *B* and Suidas. If used at all therefore, the term *Pseudo-Callisthenes* should be used only with the explanation that it is a concession to traditional usage. In the same footnote his reference to B. Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgamos* (Leipzig, 1894), he seems to credit Meissner with arguing in favor of the Babylonian origin of the Alexander legend, whereas all that Meissner does is to prove that in the fusion of Babylonian and Hellenistic cultures legend by transfer credited to Alexander much that had previously been credited to Gilgamesh, and in fact made Alexander out to be a second Gilgamesh even as in other lands it made him out to be a second Heracles or a second Dionysus. The date ascribed to the composition of the original Alexander Romance, '*hacia la segunda centuria de Jesucristo*,' is either too early according to the view of Kroll, or too late according to that of Ausfeld. His bibliography of Gog and Magog on p. xxxv, footnote 1 is rather slim, and he would have profited much from a use of Bousset, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,' in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XX (1899), 113–131, not to mention other studies.[1]

Where does the *Historia de Dulcarnain* belong? Was it perhaps the lost Arabic Alexander Romance from which Ben Tibbon made his Hebrew version about 1200, which is classified as belonging to I_2? This possibility Gómez promptly dismisses; for the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is related to I_2 and to Leo only in remotest ancestry. What is the relation of *Historia de*

[1] The following misprints are to be noted: p. xxvi, ftn. 1 *Zeits. f. Assyriologie* VI, 1901 should be 1891. p. xxxi ftn. 1 *Kirchlain* should be *Kirchhain*. p. xlvii, ftn. 2 *Mittvoch* should be *Mittwoch*. p. lv middle *Namah* should be *Namah* (*bis*), so also on pp. lxxii, also ftn. 2 to p. lxxv and in subscription to frontispiece. p. lvii, ftn. *Sttutgart* for *Stuttgart*. p. lxii, ftn. 1 end, *Hiessemann* for *Hiersemann*. p. lxxv, ftn. 2, l. 12, the volume of *Syria* is omitted, IV. The list of articles on Alexander's Celestial Voyage could be much increased, cf. F. P. Magoun, *The Gests of Alexander*, p. 41, ftn. 3. p. cxxv, last par. θηλυμόρφοι should be θηλύμορφοι. βαρβάροι should be βάρβαροι. p. cxxx, l. 19, II, 17 should be III, 17. p. cxxxii, l. 3 Σεμιράμις should be Σεμίραμις. l. 6 Δορήφ θοάντα ὁ Φύρμον seem to be an error. p. cxxxix, ftn. 1, *aus* should be *ans*. p. cl, l. 3, *Der* should be *Die*. p. clx, near bottom *Pseuco*-Callisthenes should be *Pseudo*-Callisthenes.

Dulcarnain to the Aljamiado version, *Rrekontamiento del Rey Alixandre*?[1] In Cap. III are compared the Aljamiado redaction and the *Historia de Dulcarnain* herewith edited and translated by Gómez. After a careful comparison of the two in which the *Rrekontamiento* is made the basis, and in which Gómez sifts out those episodes in it which do not occur in the *Historia*, and in which furthermore he compares in a detailed study the episodes that are common to both, he comes to the following conclusion (p. cxii).

'Pero aun en esos mismos episodios comunes existen tales discrepancias de detalle (en nombres propios, orden de episodios, pormenores tîpicos, etc.), que puede afirmarse, desde luego, que no existe entre ambos textos relación immediata alguna (es decir, que la redacción arabe no es el original de la versión aljamiada), e incluso sostenerse que la relación mediata que entre ellos existe es bastante remota, a través de diversas recensiones perdidas, cuya filiación es imposible conjeturar.'

There are furthermore several episodes in the *Historia*, some of them of great significance, that do not occur at all in the *Recontamiento*.

The investigation of the sources of the *Historia de Dulcarnain* which Gómez undertook in the last of his introductory chapters is one which made the most exacting demands upon scholarship, indeed so exacting as fairly to cry aloud for a Noeldeke. It is therefore not astonishing that Gómez's treatment of this problem is in no sense definitive, in fact is often incorrect and unreliable, handicapped as he was in his bibliographical equipment. He states regretfully that Budge's *History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, 1889) was inaccessible to him (p. cxviii). Instead he used the summary of it by Noeldeke (manifestly incomplete and inadequate for so critical a piece of work) to be found in his *Beiträge*, saying (p. cxvii):

'Mi labor en este punto es, sin remedio, imperfecta, y se limita en muchos casos a *situar* el episodio dentro del mundo legendario a que pertenece. Con erudición superior a la mia, los especialistas podrán después apurar el análisis, estableciendo la filiación definitiva de las versiones y determinando con fijeza el punto de entronque de cada pasaje.'

It is therefore surprising that Gómez so often reaches not by arguments from facts at hand but by intuition a correct conclusion. His main conclusion with reference to the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is as follows (p. clxi):

'Segun he conjeturado, con las oportunas reservas — dadas las condiciones en que he realizado la investigacion — pueden representar quiza la primitiva versión arábiga del célebre texto, procedente del Sirîaco, que se consideraba perdida. Ningun

[2] F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José, Hijo de Jacob, y de Alejandro Magno* (Zaragoza, 1888); and more recently A. R. Nykl, ed., *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature, etc.* (New York, 1929).

episodio tiene, sin embargo, el interés que el evidentemente derivado de la leyenda cristianosiríaca. Causa cierta sorpresa encontrar una versión casi completa y bastante fiel de este texto venerabile, que influyó en el Alcorán, en un manuscrito aragonés del siglo xv, quando, según Nöldeke, apenas quedan rastros suyos en la literatura islámica.'

It may not indeed be the identical, original Arabic version made in the ninth century, but it seems in any case not to be far removed from it in general content; for it stands a number of severe tests which Gómez does not apply.

Gómez's study of the sources however is not one which merely needs supplementing, as he himself expected, but which on many points needs correction. He allocates the several episodes to what he regarded as its source under the following heads: Pseudo-Callisthenes in the Syrian version, *Syrian Legend*, *Koran*, '*Hadices*,' Expedition to the Fountain of Life, '*Enseñamientos*.' It is admitted that all these are important. But if the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is all that Gómez claims for it — the lost Arabic version which served as the principal source of the Ethiopian version — he should have placed it between the Syrian *History of Alexander*, *the Syrian Legend*, *the Koran* etc. on one hand and its chief derivative, the Ethiopian *History of Alexander* on the other, and subjected it to a rigid cross-criticism. One is tempted to think that even the Ethiopian version edited by Budge (*The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, London, 1896) was not accessible to him; for it is not discoverable that he made any use of it, even though he mentions it. It is not within the scope of the present limited study to give a full discussion of each episode, but a few will be taken up for purposes of illustration.

Dulcarnain's (Alexander's) Visit to the King of China.

Gómez under 5 c (p. cxlv) allocates the source of this to the '*Hadices*.' Not having the complete text of the Syrian *History of Alexander* (Noeldeke omitted this part from his summary), he did not observe that the episode occurred there III, 7 (pp. 109–113 ed. Budge), and to this source it should be allocated. Indeed, it is practically certain that the Syrian had it from the Pahlavi version, which antedated Islam. In the Ethiopian, the episode is found in the translation (II, 172–180). This is significant inasmuch as the Syrian gives the name assumed by Alexander in his disguise as *Pîthâôs*, (Pythias?), while the Ethiopian gives it as *Metyâôs*, cf. the name Febus used in the *Rrekontamiento* (p. 271). In the *Historia de Dulcarnain* no name is given, and this is one of the instances showing that the *Historia de Dulcarnain* is somewhat condensed, since it does not contain some of the details that the Ethiopian carried over from the Syrian.

The Letter of Arsatalis (Aristotle) to Dulcarnain.

This occurs twice in the *Historia de Dulcarnain* (pp. 73 and 84–85), and its source is the Syrian *History of Alexander* III, 17 (p. 131 in Budge's translation). It does not occur in any Greek version, but the Ethiopian version has it (p. 215).

The Poisoning of Dulcarnain by Chomano, Queen of the Women (Amazons).

Gómez allocates the episode of the poisoning of Dulcarnain to the Christian *Syrian Legend*, the poisoning being foreign to the versions properly called Islamic. The only evidence offered in favor of such allocation is the presence of King Tabrac, a name in which Gómez sees the name of King Tubarlac of the Syrian *History of Alexander*.

Dulcarnain's Letter to His Mother, *HD* pp. 106–107.

HD neither uses the name Olympias nor any equivalent therefor. A fuller version of this letter is found in the Ethiopian Alexander pp. 302–306, but here also no name is given. No equivalent letter is found in the *Syrian Legend*.

Comparison of the General Content of the Historia de Dulcarnain (*HD*) with the Ethiopian History of Alexander (*AE*).

(Note: The pages of *HD* are those of Gómez's Spanish translation; the pages of *AE* are those of Budge's English translation. Where no pages of *AE* are placed opposite to those of *HD*, it means that *AE* has no equivalent passage).

HD	*AE*
Lost leaves 1, 2 of MS.	
Pages 3–8	Pages 52–67
Lost leaf 5 of MS.	Substance prob. in AE pp. 67–82
Pages 9–16	Pages 82–102
Lost leaves 9, 10, 11, 12 of MS.	Substance prob. in AE pp. 102–142
Pages 18–21	142–151
25–30	173–179
34–49	230–272
51	276
58–61	281–286
64–66	151–154
72	165
73–80	215–241
84–86	215–217
87	223
87–103	187–213
106	302–303

It should be noted, (1) that there is no reason to believe that *AE* reproduced the substance of lost leaves 1, 2; but that it is probable that the substance of lost leaves 5, 9, 10, 11, 12 is contained in *AE* as noted; (2) that the following portions of *HD* are not in *AE:* p. 17 (insertion from Koran; pp. 22–24; 31–33; 50, 52–57; 62–63; 67–71; 81–83, 104–105; 107–108; (3) that Aristotle's letter to Alexander is repeated in *HD* (73 and 84), but occurs only once in *AE* (215); and (4) that the order of episodes in *HD* and *AE* is not in entire agreement.

I have previously referred to the significant fact that the work recounts a series of episodes that are usually grouped together under some such title as *History of Alexander*, but that here the title is *History of Dulcarnain*, a fact that gives full confirmation to a conjecture put forth by the present writer a few years ago in a study entitled, 'Alexander's Horns' (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LVIII (1927), 100–122), where the following is found (p. 106):

'In the extant versions of the Alexander Romance proper which are here considered the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' occurs for the first time in the Ethiopian version (*Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, Budge's translation, II, 46), and from this point to the end the term is applied to Alexander several hundred times. Here Alexander appears as a most Christian king, champion and propagandist, almost a saviour and messiah — rôles that he could scarcely have played in the lost Arabic and Mohammedan original. It can be proved however that the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' was not the invention of the Ethiopian redactor.'

I also maintained (*ibid.*, p. 116) that 'from now on (i.e. from Islamic times) Alexander became known as the "Two-horned" in the eastern versions of the Alexander Romance, beginning, as I now feel confident in affirming, in the lost Arabic version which is generally held to have been made in the ninth century, and it was from this that the term went into the Ethiopian version as told above.'

In the comparison of *HD* and *AE*, the most striking fact to be brought out is that *AE* uses the term 'Two-horned' both as a surname of Alexander (e.g. Alexander the Two-horned) and as a substitute for Alexander (e.g. the Two-horned without an accompanying Alexander). In *AE* the first occurrence of the term 'Two-horned' is on the bottom of p. 46 of Budge's translation, while the last is to be found on p. 286, and no occurrence of it is to be noted from this place to the end, pp. 287–353 inclusive. It is therefore for the intervening portion pp. 46–286 inclusive that *AE* shows dependence on an original similar to *HD*. During this portion we find Alexander combined with the term 'Two-horned' ten times, viz. pp. 46, 51, 55, 60, 61, 62, 67, 104, 117, 125. That is, it is only during the earlier portion of what was derived from an original similar to *HD* that *AE* felt it necessary to use the combination 'Alexander the Two-horned.' After the reader

had thus been trained to identify the 'Two-horned' with Alexander, the term 'Two-horned' was used alone as equivalent to Alexander. However even in this later portion the name Alexander was used separate from 'Two-horned.' From pp. 59 to 286 inclusive the term 'Two-horned' occurs by itself a total of 167 times. Could anything show more clearly the dependence of this part of *AE* on an original similar to *HD*? But even though many of the obviously moslem elements were removed in the transit from the Arabic, there remained still many telltale signs of its Arabic origin.

Not only did *AE* retain the symbolic epithet 'Two-horned' but also certain other traces of its Moslem origin, e.g. 'In the name of God the Merciful and Gracious' which occurs in *AE* on pp. 1 (introductory summary), 69 (Alexander's letter to Darius), 110 (Alexander's letter to Porus), 142 (Alexander's letter to Aristotle), 188 (Alexander's letter to Candace), 214 (response of the Amazons to Alexander), 215 (letter of Aristotle to Alexander), 291 (quotation from Alexander's letter to Olympias), 302 (last letter of Alexander to his mother), 306 (Aristotle's letter to Olympias).

Of the above cited passages from *AE*, that on p. 302 (the last letter of Alexander to his mother, who is not mentioned by name either here or in the corresponding passage in *HD* 106–7) is the only one which finds a corresponding expression in *HD:* 'En el nombre de Ala, clemente y misericordioso.' The passage in *AE* is much fuller, and this would seem to indicate that *HD* is an abridgment or condensation of that Arabic version that served as the original of the kernel portion of *AE*, i.e. roughly pp. 46–286.

Another recurring phrase is: 'There is no power save in God.' This occurs in *AE*, p. 54 (which is probably an echo of *HD* p. 5 top), and also in *AE*, p. 79 bottom. The refrain in *HD* is 'No hay poder ni fuerza sino en Ala altisimo y grande.'

That the Arabic is the source of these expressions seems to be established by the fact that neither of them occurs either in the Syrian *History of Alexander*, nor in the *Syrian Legend*, nor in the *Syrian Homily* of Jacob of Serug.

In *HD*, the Gog and Magog episode occurs four times at least: p. 17 (with special reference to *Koran* 18, 84 ff.); p. 34 (with special reference to the *Syrian Legend*, p. 150); pp. 45–46 (with special reference to *Koran* 18, 91 ff.); pp. 53–56 (with special reference to *Koran*, 18, 84–90). To these should be added the important passage pp. 76–80 which involves both *Koran*, 18, 98 (p. 79) and which reminds us also of the *Syrian Legend* pp. 148–156 and especially p. 154, with the significant difference that the bursting of the gate is forecast not for 826 nor yet for 940 years as in the *Syrian Legend*, but for 864 years, and with the substitution of Haraz (correctly interpreted by Gómez p. cxxxvii as referring to Khazars) for the

Huns. In *HD* this multiplication of episodes on the same general subject is to be explained through the use of several different sources dealing with the same general subject, e.g. of the *Syrian Legend* 148 ff. (which served as the general source of the *Koran* 18, 82 ff.), as well as the use of the *Koran* itself.

Gómez has gone far afield to explain the change from 826 or 940 to the year 864. He would interpret the figure 864 as referring to the year of the Hegira, i.e. October 29, 1459 to October 17, 1460, a time which he would regard as the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the MS. of *HD*. He has, however, overlooked the striking fact (brought out also in Noeldeke's *Beiträge*, see below) that this figure (864) occurs elsewhere, notably in *AE*, (cf. Budge, *op. cit.* II, 239). In this figure Budge suspected a corruption, but Bousset ('Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XX (1899), 115 [on which page however 846 is a misprint for 864]) with truer discrimination saw that this represented a separate tradition. Gómez's interpretation would date the construction of Dulcarnain's Gate in 622 A.D. Aside from the inherent improbability of dating the construction of Dulcarnain's Gate in the very year of the institution of the Hegira (and that too when some of the Moslems dated Dulcarnain so far back as to make him a contemporary of Abraham), he has here made a proposal which militates against the antiquity of the *Historia de Dulcarnain*. Elsewhere (p. lxxxiv) he seems to date the manuscript as belonging to the fifth or the sixth century of the Hegira, perhaps about 1200 A.D.[1]

The recovery of the supposedly lost Arabic Alexander Romance, *Historia*

[1] Cf. Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, 31, ftn. 1: 'S. Tillemont zu dem Jahre; Lebeau (hg. von Saint Martin) 7, 433 ff. Das Jahr ist durch Uebereinstimmung von Theophanes und Marcellinus Comes (Ind. VIII) gesichert. — Damit ergiebt sich die Zahl 864 (=552/3) beim Aethiopen [Budge CV, i.e. in the Introduction to the Syrian version] als entstellt, obwohl sie durch "860 des Letzten Tausends" in Muǧmil attawârîch (*Journ. asiatique* I, 360) unterstützt wird.' Elsewhere Noeldeke, *Beiträge*, 52, emphasizes the fact that Muǧmil attawârîch, a Persian writer who wrote in 1126 A.D., quoted the inscription in Arabic, i.e. from an Arabic source. Cf. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851), 53–54. Mohl's translation of the passage from Mugmil printed in the *Journ. asiatique* I (1841), 360 is as follows:

'Alexandre fit placer sur cette muraille lorsqu' elle fût achevée, l'inscription suivante: "Au nom de Dieu, le glorieux, le sublime! Cette muraille a été bâtie à l'aide de Dieu et elle durera ce que voudra Dieu. Mais lorsque huit cent et soixante ans du dernier millier seront passés, cette muraille se fendra dans le temps des grands péchés et crimes (du monde) et de la rupture des liens du sang et de l'endurcissement des coeurs, et il sortira de cette muraille une multitude d'hommes de ce peuple telle que Dieu seul en saura la nombre . . . ." '

The geographical basis of the legend of Alexander's gate has been studied by the present writer in his article, 'Alexander at the Caspian Gates,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), 130–163. The concluding instalment of the study, *The Legend of Alexander's Gate, of Gog and Magog, and of the Inclosed Nations* is approaching completion.

de Dulcarnain, and the recognition that this was a principal source of the Ethiopian Alexander Romance necessitates an examination of the transformations that the Alexander Romance underwent in its transit between the Syrian *History of Alexander* (seventh century) and the Ethiopian *History of Alexander* (fourteenth to sixteenth century) as proposed in the theory of Weymann (*Die äthiopische und arabische Uebersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes* [Kirchhain, 1901], pp. 81–83) where he postulates three successive stages that the romance successively went through in Arabic before it was translated into Ethiopian, viz.:

(1) 'Auf der ersten war er ein getreuer Reflex wohl des ganzen Syr. Fraglich ist lediglich der Eingang mit Alexanders übernatürlicher Geburt.

(2) Auf der zweiten Stufe wurde nur der Kern beibehalten. Der Eingang des Romans wurde beiseitigt, um das Buch den Muslimen aus verschiedenen Gründen lesbarer zu machen . . . . Der Schluss aus Pseudocallisthenes wurde beiseitigt . . . . Die Vergiftungsgeschichte . . . ersetzte er sie durch die Erzählung nach der Alexander an einer Krankheit stirbt. Die Legende war jedenfalls in den Roman schon aufgenommen und wahrscheinlich auch schon die Partie von Alexander's Zug in die Finsternis und was sich daran anschliesst AE 137/19–164/25 (pp. 242–286).

(3) In dieser Fassung ist der Roman in die Hände eines Arabers gekommen, wahrscheinlich in Aegypten, dem ein direct aus dem griechischen geflossener Pseudocallisthenes vorgelegen hat . . . . Den vorgefundenen Eingang hat er radikal beiseitigt und dafür den gesetzt, welchen wir jetzt in AE lesen. Da er ein lesbares Exemplar des Romans herstellen wollte, nahm er die im Kern infolge des neuen Eingangs notwendigen Aenderungen vor. . . . Am Schlusse verfuhr er mehr konservativ, weil z. B. Alexander's Trostbrief an seine Mutter auch seinen Geschmack hatte. So begnügte er sich denn, den neuen Schluss aus Pseudocallisthenes ohne weitere Verbindung mit den Vorangehenden anzufügen. Auf diese Weise wurde der Roman auf seine dritte Stufe gebracht auf der er uns in AE erhalten ist.'

While it is to be conceded that Weymann came astonishingly close to what seems to be the truth in most of his proposals, the following readjustments, corrections, and supplements are herewith proposed on the strength of the discovery of *HD* and the study of it in relation both to the Syrian *History of Alexander* and the Ethiopian *History of Alexander:*

1. While it is possible that an Arabic version similar to (1) may have existed *independently*, e.g., that of Mubaššir, it is very much to be doubted whether it ever existed as a preliminary version that was truncated to form (2).

2. The *Historia de Dulcarnain* corresponds in a general way to the specifications that Weymann lays down for (2). This version eliminated the Nectanebos episode, and substituted for it presumably the contents of the lost leaves 1 and 2 of the *Historia de Dulcarnain*, whatever that was. *HD* at the close has a different poisoning episode from that contained in the Syrian *History of Alexander.* This version (2) was made up out of the Syrian *History of Alexander*, the *Syrian Legend*, the *Koran* 18, 82 ff. and a number

of less important sources. An orthodox Moslem would observe that the hero of the Syrian *History of Alexander* and of the *Syrian Legend* wasAlexander, of Greek birth, and that *Koran* 18, 82 ff. dealt with *Dulcarnain*. The redactor had to decide the problem what name to give his hero — Alexander,[1] or Dulcarnain, or Alexander Dulcarnain — and he gave proof of his orthodoxy by using the name Dulcarnain throughout, substituting it for Alexander. In strict consistency, he should have changed the name of the cites founded by Dulcarnain from Alexandria to Dulcarnainia (cf. *HD* 24 and 84). The *Historia de Dulcarnain* may therefore be described as the *Koranic Recension of the Alexander Romance*. The fact that the episode of the building of the Gate against Gog and Magog occurs at least four times in *HD* is explained by the fact that the episode occurred in at least two of the principal sources of *HD* — the *Syrian Legend* and the *Koran* — and the the redactor by bifurcating each of these and copying each of these sources brought the total up to four, not reckoning the passage in which he treats the Khazars (Haraz) separately.

3. It may be gravely doubted whether even (3) ever existed in Arabic as a form from which the Ethiopian redactor translated it into Ethiopian. Rather is *AE* to be explained as a redaction made up out of *HD* of which both the beginning and the end were eliminated to make room for the restoration both of the episode of Nectanebos and of the episode of the poisoning of Alexander as related in the Greek versions of the legend. These restorations were probably but not necessarily made from the Greek; for it must be borne in mind that the Ethiopian redactor knew of versions of the Alexander Romance in other languages.[2]

The Ethiopian redactor also faced the problem of what to name his hero. Should he call him Dulcarnain, even as he was called in *HD* which served as his chief source from about pp. 46–286 inclusive, and should he carry through the use of this name for his hero even in the new additions made at the beginning (pp. 1–46) and at the end (pp. 287–353)? Or should he

[1] A similar state of things is found to exist in the more correct form in which the *Rrekontamiento* has just been published by A. R. Nykl, *op. cit.* An examination of this text shows that the original title was *Kitābu ḥadīṭi Dzī-l-quarneini, Libro de la historia de Dulcarnain, Book of the history of Dulcarnain.* Aleçkandar occurs as the name of the hero only in the title, which is probably a later addition, and in two places in the body of the text, in f. 2^{v} and in f. 9, where itsuse is to explain his Christian (!) ancestry, and why Alexandria is so named. Everywhere else it is Dulcarnain.

[2] Cf. *AE* vol. II, 291: 'Behold, now, the men of knowledge and understanding in the city of Alexandria are divided in their opinions about what was given to him, and they have studied carefully the writings which they had in their hands which spake of all his acts and deeds in the Greek, and Roman, and Coptic, and Berber, and Arabic Languages, and those who after them have learned to make investigations on the subject of him and his work, etc.'

use only the name Alexander as he found it in his new additions, changing the name Dulcarnain to Alexander in the part based on *HD* (roughly 46–286)? As a matter of fact he did neither, but adopted a compromise method. Up to p. 46, he used only the name Alexander. Throughout the ensuing portion based on *HD* (pp. 46–286) he used both Alexander alone, and 'Two-horned' (Dulcarnain) alone, but in the earlier portion of this he combines the term 'Two-horned' (Dulcarnain) with Alexander ten times ('Alexander the Two-horned,' see *supra* p. 440) to acquaint his readers with his new surname; then after establishing this, he frequently uses the term 'Two-horned' by itself alone to refer to Alexander. There is however no instance of the use of the term 'Two-horned' in the addition made at the end (pp. 287–353), where the only term used is Alexander.

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BLASPHEMY IN THE *LEX ROMANA CURIENSIS*

In 1889 Karl Zeumer published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Leges*, Tom. v), a critical edition of the *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* or *Epitome Sancti Galli*. 'This is a statement of legal custom, drawn up for the Romance population of Eastern Switzerland, and used in the Tyrol and Northern Italy as well.'[1] It was written between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth century,[2] and was probably compiled under ecclesiastical directions.[3] It is 'based on a very imperfect abstract of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, in which the *Institutes* of Gaius and the greater part of Paul's *Sententiae* are dropped, while the enactments of emperors are generally taken from the text of the "Interpretation."'[4] Written in Latin, the

[1] Paul Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* (2d ed. by F. de Zulueta, Oxford: University Press, 1929), pp. 21–22. The exact area over which this code was applied has been the subject of much controversy. See M. Conrat, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts im früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1891), I, 288–91 on place of origin. Also K. Zeumer, *Praefatio* to the *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Leges* v, fasc. 3 (Hanover, 1888), 296–302; and K. Zeumer, 'Über Heimat und Alter der Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (*Germanistische Abtheilung*), IX (1888), 1–52.

[2] H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1906), I, 518–25, says the *Epitome* originated in the later 8th century (perhaps before 766) and was certainly in popular use before 852 or 859. Cf. K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, pp. 302–03, who believes the law was begun before 751 and completed later. Besides, one cannot avoid the idea that the authority of the Bavarian Dukes may have become relatively weak and so created the need for a new formulation of the older Roman Law of the *Breviary* before the time of the Carolingian Capitularies, and that the *Epitome S. Galli* was prepared privately at the behest of the Church to remedy this need before the deposition of Tassilo III and the end of Bavarian independence in 788 (or 794).

[3] M. Conrat, *op. cit.*, I, 288, n. 5; H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 517.

grammar and mode of expression are most barbarous, while the sense of the Roman Law is often completely misunderstood or changed.[1] Christian and Germanic influences have combined to debase the clear and logical definitions of the Roman *ius* as well as the *constitutiones* of the emperors into Romanesque or Romance customary law.[2] Indeed, this *Epitome* carries us the very place where the solid highway of the Roman legal system either loses itself amid the pathless swamps and forests of Germanic custom or dwindles into the rough and rut-filled lanes and by-ways of the *Vulgärrecht*.[3] Vinogradoff cites several instances from the civil procedure that illustrate this point.[4]

There is, however, another passage which the great Oxford scholar did not touch upon that holds important implications for the fields of political theory and of public criminal law: another passage illuminating the dim area where statute law and popular custom intermingle and modify one another reciprocally. *Lex Romana Curiensis* 9, 3 may be translated as follows:

'Save for the crime of majesty a slave may not accuse his master nor may a freedman accuse his patron or other member of the household.

'If any slave shall wish to accuse his master or any freedman his patron, unless,

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[4] P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 22. K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 302, believes it was derived from a recension related to the *Epitome* of Aegidius. H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 518, says the compiler did not use the *Breviary* in its official version, but in some denatured modified form that coincides with none of the known epitomes.

[1] Cf. Introduction to G. Haenel's edition of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* (Leipzig, 1849), p. xxxi: 'Et quod ad sermonem attinet, non solum verba Breviarii, quae non poterat omittere, ad barbarorum modum et elocutionem mutavit, formavit interque se coniunxit, verum etiam alia aliis substituit et insolita in regionem suam a barbaris demum introducta immiscuit effecitque, ut liber non latina, sed alia quadam lingua scriptus videatur, quae everso romano imperio in Occidentis aliqua parte a barbarorum Romanorumque promiscua multitudine paulatim ficta est.'

[2] P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24: 'It is evident that we are in the presence of a rather debased and Germanized form of legal custom, engrafted on fragments of what had been once a system of Imperial law.' K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 289, notes that the law was not issued publicly but, instead, was prepared privately by some person who did not wish to set forth anything new but merely to transform and expound the ancient statutes of the Roman Law in accordance with the needs of his own time.

[3] K. Zeumer, *Praefatio, loc. cit.*: 'Pleraque tamen in hac lege Raetica ita mutata atque ad modum et rationem legum et morum Germanorum redacta esse, ut non modo non genuinum ius Romanorum, sed ne vulgare quidem continere videatur.' Also H. Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 517: 'Die Abweichungen von der *Lex Romana Visigothorum* beruhen zum Teil auf römischen Vulgarrecht, zum Teil führen sie auf deutsches, insbesondere auf fränkisches Recht zurück.' The compiler's misconceptions of Roman Law are often determined and controlled by his knowledge of local Germanic custom. Brunner adds (I, 518): 'Für römisches Vulgarrecht ist seine Arbeit die reichhaltigste Fundgrube.'

[4] P. Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23.

perchance, he can prove that the master himself or the patron himself has blasphemed against God or unless he can prove said master or patron to be pagans, let them be free of his accusation. If these charges are made truly, then the freedman or slave shall depart freely and unharmed; but if they shall lie about these matters, or if, perchance, the freedman shall accuse his patron or the slave his master for any other cause whatsoever before any judge, let that judge have them punished capitally at the very beginning of their accusation.'[1]

The disparity between the heading and the body of the law must be evident at once to the most casual observer since the 'crime of majesty' is scarcely to be confused with blasphemy and paganism.[2] It is one's first impression that the ecclesiastical compiler of this *Epitome* has either misunderstood the significance of *maiestas* as it is commonly employed in Roman Law or else has introduced into the passage new ideas conforming more closely to the needs and interests of his more Germanic age. Blasphemy and pagan practices were evils that beset clerics and missionaries carrying the Gospel into the rude frontier country of the Saxon, Avar, and Slavic marches.[3] We must remember that such scholars as Haenel, Conrat, and Tardif assign the *Epitome* to the later eighth century,[4] and St Boniface (d. 755) had been scouring over the Germanic lands in behalf of righteousness

[1] *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis* 9, 3 (*Lex Romana Visigothorum, Codex* 9, 3, 2 *Interpretatio*) according to Zeumer's text:

'*Ne preter crimen magistatis servus dominum vel patronum libertus seu familiares acuset.* Imp. Valentinus. Data Id. Mar. Interpretatio.

'Si quis servus dominum suum aut libertus patronum suum acusare voluerit, *nisi forsitan probare potuerit, quid ipse dominus aut ipse patronus contra Deum blasfemasset, aut paganus eos probare potuerit,* de tale acusatione licenciam habeant. Et si vero dixerint, ipse libertus aut servus sine omne iniuria liberi abscedant; nam si de hoc mentierint, aut si forsitan de alia qualecumque causa libertus patronum aut servus dominum suum ad qualecumque iudice accusaverint, de presentem in ipsa ora acusationis iudex eos capite punire faciat.'

Zeumer notes the correct accusative form, *paganos,* as appearing in MS. 3493 of the Library of the University of Leipzig. The same MS. also employs the spellings, *magestatis, blasphemasset.* Cf. Haenel's Introduction, p. xxxi, n. 103 for numerous examples of the barbarized vocabuary. Also see *ibid.,* p. 177 for Haenel's abbreviated text of this passage.

[2] Cf. my study, '*Crimen Laesae Maiestatis* in the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum,* SPECULUM, IV (1929), 79–80, and p. 80, n. 1, for text, translation and comment on *Codex Theodosianus,* 9, 6, 3, *Interpretatio* (*L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 2) *Ne Praeter Crimen Maiestatis Servus Dominum vel Patronum Libertus seu Familiaris Accuset,* the passage in the *Breviary* upon which this provision of the *Epitome* is based.

[3] J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 171, n. 1, points out that paganism continued among the Saxons until the 12th century in some localities. Cf. *ibid.,* Ch. XII for the conversion of the Slavs and the persistence of paganism among the Trans-Elbean Slavs. The Avars may have been converted toward the close of the eighth century. See C. A. Macartney, 'Avars,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., London and New York, 1929), II, 792.

[4] SPECULUM, IV (1929), 76, n. 3.

not so much earlier.[1] The strong hand of Charlemagne was only beginning to reach across the Rhaetian Alps toward the eastern marches.[2] For such men and for such a time the basic meaning of the *maiestas* of Rome and her emperors must have been lost in the distant past or existed vaguely in the legendary background of imperial tradition that formed such a splendid portion of the mediaeval inheritance from Rome.[3] Legal ideas and legal

[1] See H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., New York: Macmillan 1925) I, 197–200 on St Boniface-Winfried and his part in 'The Conversion of the North,' and *The Life of Saint Boniface* by Willibald, trans. by G. W. Robinson (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1916), with Introduction, pp. 11–20. Cf. J. W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–96 on missionary work in early mediaeval Germany; p. 583 on the organization of the church in Bavaria by Boniface; pp. 467 and 473; also J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages, 300–1500* (New York: Knopf, 1931), I, 236–37.

[2] K. Zeumer, *Praefatio*, p. 290, says that the *Lex* speaks of a king (*rex*) frequently, whereas an emperor (*imperator*) is never mentioned, and that, for this reason, such authorities as Haenel, Stobbe, Planta, and Pertile have concluded that the law was compiled toward the close of the 8th century. Cf. Brunner's contention in *op. cit.*, I, 520 that the *Lex* must have originated either before or after the period, 800–843: 'Da an verschiedenen Stellen vom König, nirgends vom Kaiser die Rede ist, dürfte die *Lex* zu einer Zeit abgefasset worden sein, als Rätien nicht unter einem Kaiser, sondern nur unter einem König stand.'

Also see J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, pp. 468–69: 'In 789 Charlemagne began the long and relentless war between the races (Teuton and Slav) which was to endure for centuries by attacking the Wilzi. In 806 he fixed the official frontier along the Elbe and Saale rivers, which was protected by a line of forts,' and p. 468, n. 4 for the *Limes Saxoniae* and *Limes Sorabicus*. This excellent work on German eastward expansion establishes the geographical frontiers on an exact chronological basis. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 531 on line of trading posts in 805 along the Slavonic frontier, and the map facing p. 532. Professor Thompson (pp. 585–86) mentions the organization of the Ostmark at the diet of Regensburg in 803, the extension of the chain of Marches southward along the eastern frontier to the head of the Adriatic, and the subjugation of the Avars (803 and 811). Since Rhaetia lay closer to the Avar and South Slavic frontiers than to the Saxons in the North, it seems probable that the references to paganism in the *Epitome S. Galli* may very well have arisen from conditions prevailing before the destruction of the Avar power. Also note Thompson (p. 619) on Charlemagne's contacts with Bohemia in 788 (erection of the Nordgau or Bohemian Mark), 791, 805 (invasion of Bohemia to 'convert' the heathen Czechs), and 807. Cf. G. Seelinger, 'Conquests and Imperial Coronation of Charles the Great,' *Camb. Med. Hist.* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1913), II, 606–609 on Bavaria and the Avars; also *ibid.*, maps 26a and 26b by F. Peisker, showing the Western Front of Slavdom in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Also see J. W. Thompson, *Middle Ages*, Ch. X.

[3] Law, as well as poetry, aided in creating the imperial tradition, and the conception of *majesty* in some hazy misty form was very possibly as potent as Vergil's songs celebrating 'the glories and greatness of eternal Rome.' In a general way, it conveyed the idea of the power and grandeur of the past. Cf. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 105–106 and quotation from D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (reprint New York: Stechert, 1929), p. 74. Note Comparetti's further remark that Vergil's fame 'as interpreter of that Roman sentiment which survived the downfall of the Empire' was preserved by Justinian 'in the most perfect monument of the practical wisdom of the Romans which has survived' (p. 74, n. 78 referring to the *Institutes* and *Digest*). He might have added that the entire *Corpus* of the Roman Law served in mani-

influences operate in various subtle ways to modify the cast of thought and to give it a new direction during the Middle Ages, the ideas themselves often being altered or changed in the process of transmission. Grant Showerman has said 'Rome is the epitome of occidental civilization';[1] and, it may be added, the memorial of the Roman Law is writ large therein.

If we turn back to the *Breviary* and the *Theodosian Code* for the *constitutio* of Arcadius and Honorius and especially for the subjoined *interpretatio* upon which this passage depends,[2] we discover that the important clause of 'exception' reads 'nisi forte dominum aut patronum de crimine maiestatis tractasse probaverit.'[3] Nothing here suggests the idea of blaspheming the God of the Christians, nor does any other legislation in the *Code*, as far as I am aware, indicate specifically that such blasphemy could be construed as *laesa maiestas*.[4] Nevertheless, this was the age that saw the concluding scenes of the dramatic struggle between paganism and Christianity for the official sanction and support of the State.[5] Mommsen points out that religious freedom was definitely ended by the famous decree of 379 which commanded that all heresies forbidden by divine laws and the imperial constitutions should cease and be laid at rest forever.[4] Henceforth Catholic Christianity should be orthodox and universal. In 384 and 385 sacrilege, perhaps in the sense of heresy, had been enumerated among the unpardon-

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fold ways as an interpreter of Roman sentiment and wisdom for later ages, perhaps a more pervasive symbol of pagan antiquity than the poet himself.

[1] Showerman, *Eternal Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), II, 586.

[2] *C.Th.*, 9,6,3 (*L.R.V.*,C.9,3,2) *Impp. Arcadius et Honorius AA. Eutychiano Praefecto Praetorio* (8 November, 397).

[3] In the criminal law of the Roman codes and of the Roman jurists, the 'great exception' relates primarily to accusations by slaves or freedmen and to the interrogation and torturing of slaves or freedmen in cases involving the infliction of capital punishment on their masters or patrons. See SPECULUM, IV (1929), 79–81.

[4] See T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 598 for *blasphemia;* also pp. 579–80 for the related pagan conception of *iniuria;* and p. 580, n. 1, citing the interesting passage from *Codex Iustinianus*, 4, 1, 2 *De Rebus Creditis et de Iureiurando* which reads: Iurisiurandi contempta religio satis deum ultorem habet. Observe that this phrase is taken from a *constitutio* of the pagan emperor, Severus Alexander, and was retained by Justinian's compilers. However, one can hardly determine whether Justinian meant to approve the pagan principle of *iniuria* and transfer it into the *Code* for Christian practice and application.

[5] For a detailed discussion of the laws against paganism and heresy in the *Theodosian Code*, see W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (New York, 1905) (Vol. XXIV, No. 2 in *Columbia Studies in History Economics and Public Law*), pp. 15–70. For the contest with paganism, see J. W. Thompson, *Middle Ages*, I, 42–46.

[6] *C.Th.*,16,5,5 *De Haereticis; C.Iust.*,1,5,2 *De Haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis:* 'omnes vetitae legibus et divinis et imperialibus constitutionibus haereses perpetuo conquiescant,' quoted in T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–96, and p. 596, n. 1. For the subsequent legislation on heresy, see W. K. Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–50.

able capital crimes.[1] Similarly the tables were turned against paganism, and the Christian emperors now forbade their pagan subjects all public exercise of their cult including sacrifices and meetings, and pronounced the penalty of death with confiscation of goods upon those who refused to forsake their pagan deities.[2] And in 392 all such offenders were declared guilty of *laesa maiestas*.[3] It should be noted that as time went on and as paganism fell farther into its decline, heresy acquires importance as the chief form of *laesa religio;* the heretic has become more dangerous than the pagan.[4] James Westfall Thompson points out that 'by 400 the Church had nearly extirpated paganism in the cities and begun the so-called "evangelization of the fields",' but owing to the conservative attachment of the peasantry for the ancient rites, paganism was not proscribed in the rural districts until 407.[5] Despite severe repression the old cults remained respectable still in certain quarters and were not destroyed suddenly or at once. 'For a long time (they) continued to claim the most distinguished families in the city of Rome and all the circles that represented literature and philosophy in such cities as Alexandria and Athens.'[6] The spirit of Julian lived on in pagan

[1] T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 600, n. 4, referring to *C.Th.*,9,38,7–8 *De Indulgentiis Criminum*. *C.Th.*,9,38,8=*L.R.V.* C.9,28,1 which is carried over into the *Epitome S. Galli*. However, the words *reus maiestatis* disappear in the *Epitome*. Mommsen argues from the expression *sacrilegus in maiestate* in *C.Th.*,9,38,3 that the term sacrilege can here relate only to heresy. But in *C.Th.*, 8,38,7 the context leads me to believe the word may be used technically, referring to violation of a church or sacred place. Cf. *C.Th.*16,2,25 *De Episcopis, Ecclesiis, et Clericis:* 'Qui divinae legis sanctitatem aut nesciendo confundunt aut neglegendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt' (A.D. 380), quoted by Boyd (p. 51).

[2] Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, article 'Maiestas' by G. Humbert and Ch. Lécrivain (Paris, 1904), III (2), 1559.

[3] *C.Th.*,16,10,12 *De Paganis, Sacrificiis, et Templis:* 'Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit et spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum maiestatis reus licita cunctis accusatione delatus excipiat sententiam conpetentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem principum aut de salute quaesierit.'

[4] T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 607; also note *ibid.*, p. 599, n. 1 showing that delicts against Christianity cease to be considered as treason, although *lèse-majesté* and heresy are united by ties of origin. Cf. W. K. Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 3.

[5] J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York: Century, 1928), p. 82. See *C.Th.*,16,10,19 *De Paganis, Sacrificiis et Templis:* 'Simulacra, si qua etiam nunc in templis fanisque consistunt et quae alicubi ritum vel acceperunt vel accipiunt paganorum, suis sedibus evellantur, cum hoc repetita sciamus saepius sanctione decretum. Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus adcommodos transferantur; domini destruere cogantur. Non liceat omnino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere convivia vel quicquam sollemnitatis agitare.' This decree was issued by Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius, and is dated 15 November, 408 (407), at Rome. Cf. original meaning of word *paganus*, as peasant or countryman in T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 605, n. 4.

[6] E. M. Hulme, *The Middle Ages* (New York: Holt, 1929), pp. 36–37.

hearts.[1] In any case, we find certain *constitutiones* of the *Theodosian Code* declare definitely that adherence to paganism was a violation of majesty; but the problem raised by blasphemy is even more involved.

How are we to account for the fact that the compiler wrote what he did under this particular caption of *L.R.V.* C.9,3,2 *Interpretatio*? In the first place, it may be best to note the relation of blasphemy (*blasphēmāre*) to malediction (*malēdicere*) in mediaeval Latin usage. DuCange following Casaubon says that the term 'malediction' was taken over by the Christians from the pagans,[2] while he points out that 'blasphemy' is used in the Scriptures and among ecclesiastical writers to designate impious speech and malediction against God.[3] At any rate, *maledicere* is found frequently in classical Latin writings and becomes technically a special offence in Roman Law involving the utterance of curses and reproaches, and the casting of foul or abusive words against the emperors,[4] whereas *blasphemare* is an ecclesiastical Latin word derived from the Greek βλασφημεῖν, to speak profanely, and thence transferred to Latin in the *Vulgate* and Church Fathers. The *New English Dictionary of Historical Principles* states that the word 'blaspheme' became popular in late Latin in the sense of 'revile, reproach'; and in its transitive form, it has evolved into the common modern sense, 'To speak irreverently of or utter impiety against God or anything sacred.'[5] Harper's *New Latin Dictionary* indicates that both words are synonymous, meaning 'to revile,' and cites examples of their usage in

[1] Cf. E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp. 137–38 for capital punishment inflicted on pagans a century later (*ca.* 525). Professor Rand's citation from *Edictum Theoderici Regis*, c. 108, is highly significant, for while it does not classify the offering of 'sacrifice according to the Pagan rite' (*pagano ritu sacrificare*) as *crimen laesae maiestatis*, nevertheless such acts are associated with sorcery, divination and magical practices (*arioli, umbrarii, malefici*) and bring the death penalty. Cf. SPECULUM, IV (1929), 82 with notes 3–4 on the relation of *lèse majesté* to *mathematici, harioli, haruspices, vaticinatores*. Also cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 584 with n. 4–5.

[2] DuCange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1840–50), IV, 202 quotes Papias: 'Imprecari mala, quod vulgo dicitur *Maledicere*,' and adds further: 'Hinc *maledictus* vox Christianorum, pro ἐπικατάρατος, gliscente Christianismo sensim usurpata a Paganis, ut observat Casaubonus ad Spartianum in Geta.'

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 700, comments on *Blasphemare:* 'Occurrit etiam passim in Scripturis sacris et apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos pro Maledicere Deo, impie loqui,' and 'Utraque etiam notione, pro vituperare scilicet et impie in Deum vel Sanctos loqui suum βλασφημεῖν sumunt Graeci.'

[4] Cf. Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5,29,1. The best text of the *Sentences* may be found in the first fascicule of the second volume of P. E. Huschke, *Iurisprudentia anteiustiniana* (6th ed. by E. Seckel and B. Kübler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1911). Also note that malediction involves legal principles similar to those applied in counterfeiting, and possibly sorcery and the consulting of *haruspices*.

[5] See *A New English Dictionary of Historical Principles*, edited by J. A. H. Murray (Oxford, 1888), I (2), 904 for *blaspheme; ibid.* (1908), VI (2), 81 for *malediction*.

ecclesiastical Latin.[1] It is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between the usage of each, though *blasphemare*, unlike *maledicere*, is not classical Latin. However, in my opinion, if any line of distinction is to be drawn, malediction refers most typically to execrations or curses cast upon the divine emperor, the pagan deities, or even individuals, while blasphemy relates more particularly to profanity directed against the Christian God or other features of worship held especially sacred and holy among Christians. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind their similar or synonymous usage in ecclesiastical Latin.

Next we must consider that the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* was an ecclesiastic or other person well educated for his time and locality, and so acquainted with the *Vulgate* and some Roman Law from the Breviary. Is it not reasonable to suppose that, given these two closely synonymous terms, he might employ the ecclesiastical Latin word, *blasphemare*, in his reconstruction of the law, although *maledicere* is the word employed in the older codes? The passage in question, *C. Th.*, 9,6,3 (*L.R.V. C.*9, 3, 2) with its *Interpretatio*, does not deal with malediction as a phase of *crimen laesae maiestatis*, but *C. Th.*, 9,4,1 *Si Quis Imperatori Maledixerit*, which is found near at hand in the same Ninth Book and would presumably be still in the mind of an excerptor when he reached *C. Th.*, 9,6,3, treats specifically of the matter of cursing the divine emperor. However, *C. Th.*, 9,4,1 is not found in the *Breviary*, and, as we have no reason for supposing the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* to have had the original *Theodosian Code* before him, we cannot assert that our passage was influenced by *C. Th.*, 9,4,1.

Let us now turn to Paulus, *Sententiae*, 5,29,1 (*L.R.V. Paulus* 5,31,1) *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*. In this oft-quoted passage of Roman Law, the crime of *laesa maiestas* is defined comprehensively, though concisely, and here Paulus mentions *verbis impiis ac maledictis*.[2] This passage is not found in the *Epitome Sancti Galli* since the Fifth Book of the *Sentences* ends at *L.R.V. P.*5,7,14 in our texts, but there is no necessary reason for supposing that the compiler of the *Epitome* was unaware of this provision in the *Breviary*.[3] Also *Lex Romana Curiensis* 27,8,1 uses *maledicere* in connection with cursing other people generally as follows: 'Qui alterum hominem sine causa maledicit, in contumilio deputetur aut fustigetur.'[4] The significance

[1] See Appendix A at the end of this article.

[2] See Speculum, iv (1929), 78, for translation of Paul. *Sent.*,5,29,1 (*L.R.V. P.*5,31,1); 77, n. 3 for text; 78, n. 9–10 on *verbis impiis*. Cf. J. F. H. Abegg, 'Zur Geschichte des römischen *crimen maiestatis*, im Verhältnis zu dem *crimen impietatis* und dem s.g. *crimen laesae venerationis*,' *Archiv des Criminalrechts* (*Neue Folge*), Jahrgang 1853 (Zweites Stück), pp. 230–31.

[3] Vinogradoff's conclusion that the *Epitome S. Galli* is derived from a very imperfect abstract of the *Breviary* does not necessarily invalidate our assumption in this connection. Cf. p. 2, n. 1 *supra*.

of this quotation resides in the fact that the word meaning malediction does actually appear in this compilation. This leads to the conclusion that, while malediction appears nowhere in the *Epitome* in the accepted usage of the Roman Law, as cursing or reviling a deified emperor, still there is no reason for disbelieving that the compiler knew that malediction was associated with the *crimen laesae maiestatis*. Always bearing in mind that such negative inferences as this fall far short of positive proof, we are now in the position to ask: What could be more natural for a Christian writer of this frontier region in the later eighth century than to substitute the offence of blaspheming the Christian God for the *crimen laesae maiestatis* in which malediction against the divine emperors played an essential part, and to employ the ecclesiastical Latin word *blasphemare* which was found in the *Vulgate* and Church Fathers for *maledicere*, the expression common to the Roman Law in classical times?[1] The Christian God seemed very close and very real; the pagan emperors were receding into the mists of the past and assuming the dim outlines that tradition wove for them. God sat mightily on his throne in those days above holy men who labored where the heathen were always close at hand. Cursing the mortal rulers of this world, long since passed away, could not be mentioned in the same breath with blaspheming that ruler in Eternity whom Sacred Writ made sovereign of the Kingdom of Heaven and whom Augustine made master of his City of God.[2]

In the matter of adherence to paganism (*aut paganus eos probare potuerit*), one must conclude that the *Epitome* relates to local conditions and does not represent a transfer of Roman Law.[3] It is true that in 392 Arcadius declared persons guilty of *laesa maiestas* who refused to forsake their pagan deities (*C. Th.*, 16,10,12), but no part of the *Theodosian Code* (particularly the Sixteenth Book), supporting this position, passed on into the *Breviary*. Hence one cannot assume that any such provisions were accessible to the compiler of the *Lex Romana Curiensis*.

Finally if the problem be approached from the broader angle of political

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[4] This is based on Paul. *Sent.*,5,4,19: 'Maledictum itemque convicium publice factum ad iniuriae vindictam revocatur; quo facto condemnatus infamis efficitur.'

[1] The verb *blasphemare* and kindred forms do not appear in the *Theodosian Code* within the limits of my observation. Robert Mayr, *Vocabularium Codicis Iustiniani, Pars prior* (*Pars Latina*), (Prague: Ceská Grafická Unie, 1923) cites forms of this word in *C. Iust.*, 3,43,1 and 3,43,2,2 *De Alcae Lusu et Aleatoribus*, but they are employed in unrelated contexts and belong to a later date (*ca.* 529).

[2] The Church Fathers display a tendency to associate the idea of *majesty*, at least in its highest sense, with God rather than with any earthly state or prince.

[3] This opinion receives further support from the clause 'nisi si illus incredulus et paganus probare potuerit,' found in *Lex Rom. Cur.*, 23,14,1 which is a revision of Paul. *Sent.*,1,12,4 *De Iudiciis Omnibus*. This clause does not appear in the *Breviary* and must have been added to the *Epitome* because of local considerations.

theory, any scholar, familiar with the researches of Mommsen,[1] will recognize the close relation of *laesa maiestas* to the *laesae religiones*.[2] Indeed, it is an ancient subject, for one may find Ulpian quoted in the Digest to the effect that 'the crime which is related most closely to sacrilege is that called the crime of majesty.'[3] Not only the Roman lawyers but the Church Fathers perceived the intimate association between majesty and religion. Patristic, as well as juristic, literature supports this point of view. Thus, Tertullian in his *Apologeticus* defines vigorously the distinctions and connections between these two types of offences.[4] We have a broad highway running from sedition (*seditio*) and treason against land and folk (*perduellio* or *Landesverrat*) through high treason (*Hochverrat*) and related crimes of majesty including counterfeiting, malediction, sorcery, and various injuries and insults to the imperial person, to sacrilege, impiety, blasphemy and heresy.[5] This entire nexus of crimes forms one organically correlated whole which holds as true for the ninth century as it had for the third century.[6]

[1] Cf. T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 567–80; 595–611. Also see Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, III (2), 1559 and notes. A concise substantial survey with splendid bibliography has recently appeared in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, art. '*Maiestas*' by B. Kübler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1928), XXVII, 542–559.

[2] See T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 569–70 on *crimen laesae romanae religionis*. Also Humbert observes in Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, III (2), 1558, that 'the sacred character of the emperors contributed to transform every injury into the crime of *lèse-majesté*, making it an *impiety*.' Cf. *ibid.*, III (2), 1559 and n. 18–19, pointing out that Christians were considered ἄθεοι declared guilty of *perduellio*, and treated as public enemies (*hostes publici*).

[3] *Digest* 48,4,1 *Ad Legem Iuliam Maiestatis*: 'Proximum sacrilegio crimen est, quod maiestatis dicitur.' Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1898), II, 505, n. 4: 'The Roman idea of *maiestas* includes a religious element; falsifying Caesar's image is a kind of sacrilege'; also note the reference to *C. Iust.*,9,24,2 *De Falsa Moneta*, which speaks of a *crimen obnoxii maiestatis*.

[4] Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 10, 24, 27, 28, 35. These references are cited by T. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 569, n. 2, who remarks that 'divinity and the imperial dignity always go hand in hand.'

[5] See Appendix B for bibliographical suggestions.

[6] In the third century *laesa maiestas* involved both religious and political factors since the ruler of the Roman world was god as well as emperor. By the close of the fifth century the Christian structure of human society made possible a differentiation between the spiritual (ecclesiastical) and temporal (imperial) spheres of government which could not occur in connection with pagan conceptions of 'god-kingship.' This tendency would have set a boundary between treason proper and the religious offences of sacrilege, impiety and heresy. Cf. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (Vol. I. The Second Century to the Ninth), (2d ed., Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1927), pp. 190–92 on the Gelasian theory of the two spheres, *sacerdotium* and *regnum;* also p. 190 for Satan's device of the religious powers of the pagan emperors confounding the two spheres, Christ Himself being the only 'true and perfect king and priest'; p. 256. See *ibid.*, Ch. XXI (The Relation of the Authorities of Church and State) for the invasion of the two 'Vicars of God,' kings and bishops, upon each other's proper sphere in the ninth century. The logical con-

Hence, it was easy for the compiler of the *Epitome Sancti Galli* to substitute blasphemy against God which is properly numbered among the *laesae religiones* for malediction or other *laesa maiestas* against a human emperor in the light of current political and religious conceptions. The legal theory supports the linguistic usage. But again our inference falls short of documented historical proof. Special local influences or individual circumstances of which we have no record may hold the true key to the solution of this problem.[1] History is always filled with pitfalls when approached subjunctively.

The results of this study may be summarized as follows: 1) This provision of the *Lex Romana Curiensis* provides evidence of the paganism that lingered long beyond the eastern marches and of the struggles of Christianity to advance among the heathen during the great German expansion at the expense of Slavdom. The reference to paganism cannot relate to the paganism of antiquity, but must apply to the heathen of the Avar and Slavic marches or possibly to unconverted Teutons. 2) It shows local customs and habits of thought, under Christian and Germanic influences, in the process

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sequence of this encroachment was a more organic correlation of *laesa religio* with *laesa maiestas*, a condition that flourished long and matured its choicest fruit under the 'Godly Princes' of the 16th century in the identification of treason and heresy. Thus, when Henry VIII became head of the English Church, he did away with all competing authority and absorbed all obedience to himself, and it may be noted that still later the Presbyterians opposed the 'Godly Prince' on the Gelasian principle of the spheres, spiritual and temporal. And the subsequent development of the idea of the spheres has led finally to the modern attitude of government toward religion with the separation of Church and State. This would account for the vast gulf separating mediaeval from modern thought in the matter of the relation of treason to the religious offences. The typical mediaeval conception represents a tendency toward integration of these offences; the modern a strict differentiation. Cf. J. N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius (1414–1625)*, (2d ed., Cambridge University Press, 1923), p. 55, who supports the same general point of view when he describes the Presbyterian theory of the *two distinct kingdoms* (Church and State), although he does not specifically associate this with the Gelasian principle of the spheres. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 64, 163. For a definitive analysis of this position, see the Introduction to *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. xvii–xxiv, by Professor Charles H. McIlwain of Harvard University whose generous aid and interest have been a constant encouragement to me in my study of legal history.

[1] Zeumer's description of the manuscript sources in *Praefatio*, pp. 291–96 suggests no clue to an answer that might be traced through external criticism of the codices, unless such examination might indicate why the Fifth Book of Paul's *Sentences* ends so abruptly at *L.R.V. P.5,7,14* in the *Epitome*. His definitive text is based on three separate MSS: A1) *Codex bibliothecae monasterii S. Galli, No. 722* (formerly *D.184*) which dates from the 9th century and is, in large part, palimpsest, rewritten over *S. Hilarii expositio psalmorum* (*ca.* 6th cent.); A2) *Codex bibliothecae universitatis Lipsiensis, No. 3493* (9th-10th cent.); B) *Codex archivi monasterii S. Galli xxx* (9th cent.). A1 and A2 derive from a common source and usually provide the sounder text.

of modifying an earlier system of universal statutes. 3) It reveals a conspicuous omission of the idea of *maiestas* in the usual sense of the Roman Law that is characteristic of many Germanic codes, but which, in this instance, can only be interpreted as a deliberately intended alteration, possessing genuine significance for the compiler. 4) It makes a curious and conscious substitution of *laesa religio* for *laesa maiestas;* injury to a human ruler is supplanted by insult to a divine ruler. Since these two types of offense are organically related in legal and political theory, this passage affords an interesting example of the interchange and transfer of ideas. Furthermore, in this respect, the passage is quite unique throughout the entire range of Germanic customary law.

Of course, one must recognize that the conclusions to which our special argument regarding the specific manner of interchange points would be still more convincing if we could assume that the compiler of the *Epitome* had access to the entire *Theodosian Code* rather than a garbled text of the *Breviary*, for the original *Code* did declare adherence to paganism a form of *laesa maiestas*, and the relation of malediction to the crimes against majesty is more intimate and apparent there.[1] However, without regard to the exact process of the compiler's thought or to the precise way in which the transfer occurred, the fact of the modified passage remains and attests a significant change in attitude toward the antique Roman conception of majesty. Finally, I would add that this study is largely suggestive to the end that legal materials be not neglected in reconstructing the intellectual activity of the Middle Ages.

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APPENDIX

A. Blasphemy in the *Vulgate*

An examination of the dictionary evidence, based on the *Vulgate*, especially *Lev.* xxiv (*poena blasphemorum et talionis*) and Matt. xxvi, reveals a number of correspondences and similarities in usage. Several of the ensuing references are given in Harper's *New Latin Dictionary* (ed. Lewis and Short) without quotation.

Lev. xxiv, 11: Cumque *blasphemasset* nomen, et *maledixisset* ei, adductus est ad Moysen; xxiv, 14: Educ *blasphemum* extra castra; xxiv, 15–16: Homo, qui *maledixerit* Deo suo, portabit peccatum suum: et qui *blasphemaverit* nomen Domini, morte moriatur; xxiv, 23: qui *blasphemaverat; Num.* v, 23: Scribetque sacerdos in libello ista *maledicta*, et delebit ea aquis amarissimis, in quas *maledicta* congessit, et dabit ei bibere; xxii, 6: Veni igitur, et *maledic* populo huic, quia fortior me est: si quo modo possim percutere et eiicere eum de terra mea. novi enim quod benedictus sit cui benedixeris, et *maledictus* in quem *maledicta* congesseris; *I Par.* xx, 7: Hic *blasphemavit* Israel; *Matt.* ix, 3: Et ecce quidam de Scribis dixerunt intra se: Hic *blasphemat;* xii, 31: Ideo dico vobis: Omne peccatum et *blasphemia* remittetur

[1] See Appendix C regarding the possible influence of Germanic customary law.

hominibus, spiritus autem *blasphemia* non remittetur; xxvi, 65: Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua, dicens: *Blasphemavit:* quid adhuc egemus testibus? ecce nunc audistis *blasphemiam:* quid vobis videtur? Acta apost. xxiii, 4: Summum sacerdotum Dei *maledicis*? *Acta apost.* xxiii, 5: Principem populi tui non *maledices.* Also cf. *Exod.* xxii, 28: *Diis non detrahes,* et principi populi tui non *maledices; Matt.* xxvi, 74: Tunc coepit *detestari* et *iurare* quia non novisset hominem; *Marc.* xiv, 71: Ille autem coepit *anathematizare,* et *iurare.*

The italicized words are rendered as follows in the Oxford revision of the King James version (Oxford University Press, 1885): *Lev.* xxiv, 11: blasphemed, cursed; xxiv, 14: him that hath cursed; xxiv, 15–16: curseth, blasphemeth; xxiv, 23: him that had cursed; *Num.* v, 23: curses, water of bitterness that causeth the curse; xxii, 6: curse me this people, he whom thou cursest is cursed (cf. the antonyms, *benedictus* and *maledictus:* he whom thou blessest is blessed); I Chr. xx, 7: defied(or reproached); *Matt.* ix, 3: blasphemeth; xii, 31: blasphemy, blasphemy; xxvi, 65: he hath spoken blasphemy, the blasphemy (cf. Mark xiv, 64: the blasphemy); *Acts* xxiii, 4: Revilest thou; *Acts* xxiii, 5: thou shalt not speak evil of. Cf. *Exod.* xxii, 28: revile, curse; *Matt.* xxvi, 74: to curse, to swear; *Mark* xiv, 71: to curse, to swear.

These citations tend to prove clearly that any original distinctions in meaning between these two words have been quite lost in the Latin of the *Vulgate.*

Also it is my impression, based on limited observation, that these parallels in usage hold true in the writings of the more important Latin Fathers.

B. Bibliographical Note

The various ramifications of the political theory of treason are highly complex and cannot be pursued in any detail within the limits of a study of this character. However, it has appeared desirable to me that a short bibliographical note be appended that might indicate certain avenues of approach which have been followed hitherto.

In addition to Mommsen, Humbert, and Kübler *supra,* further information may be derived from J. Weiske, *Hochverrath und Majestätsverbrechen, das crimen maiestatis der Römer* (Leipzig, 1836); E. Pollack, *Der Majestätsgedanke im römischen Recht* (Leipzig, 1908); W. E. Knitschky, *Das Verbrechen der Hochverraths* (Jena, 1874), pp. 4–17 on 'Das altdeutsche Verbrechen der Untreue,' and pp. 17–41 on 'Das römische crimen maiestatis'; P. Bisoukides, *Der Hochverrat* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 6–33 on the Roman Law, and pp. 33–46 on Germanic Law; and also scattering references in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law,* especially I, 50–52 and II, 500 *et seq.*

The correlations between the various types of treasonable offences have been analyzed in detail in the case of the *Breviary* in Speculum, IV (1929), 73–87. The various Germanic codes are similarly surveyed, with the view of indicating the relation of *laesa maiestas* to *infidelitas,* by the writer in a thesis deposited in the Widener Library of Harvard University, H. U. 90. 1665 (1925). Also see M. Haidlen, *Der Hochverrat und Landesverrat nach altdeutschen Recht,* Tübingen diss., (Stuttgart, 1896); O. Kellner, *Das Majestätsverbrechen im deutschen Reich bis zur Mitte des 14 Jahrhunderts,* Halle-Wittenberg diss., (Halle a S., 1911); W. E. Wilda, *Geschichte des deutschen Strafrechts,* I (Das Strafrecht der Germanen) (Halle, 1842), pp. 984–92; and Brunner-von Schwerin, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1928), II, 881–886.

J. F. H. Abegg has made an historical survey of the development and an analysis of the organic interrelations of these offences in the Roman Law of the classical

period in his previously cited study in *Archiv des Criminalrechts* (*Neue Folge*), Jahrgang 1853 (Zweites Stück), pp. 205–38. He refers either to the common elements or to the distinctions between *crimen perduellionis, crimen imminutae maiestatis, crimen laesae maiestatis,* parricide against *pater patriae, crimen laesae pietatis* or *crimen impietatis,* sacrilege and *crimen laesae venerationis.*

The views of the great commentators on the Roman Law in the 16th and 17th centuries need to be studied in this connection as well. Cf. Iacobus Gothofredus (Jacques Godefroi), *Opuscula varia; iuridica, politica, historica, critica* (Genevae, 1654) who divides the crime of majesty into three categories in the *Discursus historicus,* ad Legem *Quisquis Cod. ad L. Iuliam Maiestatis,* cap. vii. The second division of his classification is described briefly thus: Secundum Maiestatis crimen voco, *laesae Venerationis:* 'quotiens videlicet, non hostili quidem in Rempubl. aut Imperium ipsum animo, salus aut securitas eius appetitur, verum debita tantum Principibus veneratio facto dictove aliquo atroci violatur, puta maledictis in eos iactatis, vel statuis eorum violatis.' (Owing to an error in pagination in the Geneva edition of 1654, whereby page numbers 31 and 32 are repeated, this reference may be located on the second p. 32.) Also contained in *Iacobi Gothofredi Opera Iuridica minora* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1733) in Discursus hist., ad Leg. *Quisquis,* cap. vii, p. 26. In addition, see *Benedicti Carpzovii I C Practica nova imperialis Saxonica rerum criminalium* (Wittebergae, 1677), (Pars i), pp. 245–325, who discusses *lèse-majesté,* heresy, blasphemy, sorcery, and witchcraft, and comments on each in its proper order. Cf. P. Bisoukides, *op. cit.,* pp. 63–64 on the position of Carpzov. One must conclude that the *crimen laesae venerationis* against the pagan emperors links up indubitably with the Christian conception of a *crimen laesae maiestatis divinae.*

For the treatises of such writers as Bocerus, Bossius, Gentilis, and Gigas, consult M. Lipenius, *Bibliotheca realis iuridica post* F. G. Struvii (Lipsiae, 1746), i, 354–55 under the topic '*Maiestatis Laesae Crimen*'; also the *Supplement* of G. A. Jenichen, ii, 268–69, for Balduinus.

C. Blasphemy in Germanic customary law

During the preparation of a review for this journal of the Reverend Father A. K. Ziegler's *Church and State in Visigothic Spain* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1930) after I had concluded the present study, my attention was redirected to the close relation of the Alamannic and Bavarian Laws with the Code of Euric, a problem that had particularly interested Zeumer (cf. Ziegler, p. 57, n. 2). Since the two former compilations applied to regions adjoining Rhaetia and since Euric's Code had a widely diffused influence, the idea was suggested that the entire closely correlated group of *Leges Barbarorum* be examined with a view to determining whether any possible explanation of the reference to blasphemy in *Lex Rom. Cur.,* 9, 3 might be derived from some source in Germanic customary law.

Lex Wisigothorum, 12, 3, 2: *De blasphematoribus sancti Trinitatis* appears to be the only specific reference to blasphemy in any sense, in Visigothic legislation, and here the context has no bearing on the current problem. Neither is any light added by *L. Vis.,* 2, 1, 9: *De non criminando principe nec maledicendo illi,* nor by *Leges Alamannorum,* c. 36, 2: *De conventu* (*nec maledicant duce*). There are no pertinent passages whatsoever in the *Lex Baiuwariorum* that mention either blasphemy or malediction. The only expressions concerning blasphemy that I have found in the Frankish and Lombard legislation are used in entirely unrelated contexts and also conflict with the chronological limits set by H. Brunner, *Rechtsgeschichte,* i, 520 (cf. p. 5, n. 4 *supra*). Note the following instances: *Capitulare duplex in Theodonis villa*

Illauadens. nuntiauit his qui cum eo fuerant
lugentib: et flentib:; Et illi audientes quia uiue-
ret et uisus esset a bea non crediderunt.

R M CCXXXIIII VIII L CCCXL

Post haec autem duob: ex eis ambulantib: osten-
sus. ē. in alia effigiae. euntib: in uillā. et illi
euntes nuntiauerunt ceteris. nec illis crediderun

R M CCXXXV X

Nouissime recumbentib: illis undecim apparui
et exprobrauit incredulitatē illorū et duritiā
cordis. quia his qui uiderunt eum resurrexis
se non crediderant. Et dixit eis iūs. Euntes
in mundū uniuersū praedicate euangeliū omni
creaturae; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.
saluus erit; qui uero non crediderit condemnabit
signa autē eos qui crediderint. haec sequentur.
In nomine meo daemonia eicient. linguis loquentu
nouis. serpentes tollent. et si mortiferū quid bibe-
rint. non eis nocebit. Super aegros manus inponen
et bene habebunt. Et dn̄s quidem iūs post quā locutu
ē. eis assumptus ē. in caelū. et sedit a dextris dī.
Illi autem profecti praedicauerunt ubiq: dn̄o co
operante et sermonē confirmante sequentib: signis

EXPL. EVANGL. SECD. MARCV; V. I. DCC;

PLATE I

Berlin, *Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 248.*

Fol. 108v.

(*a.* 805), c. 8: 'qui nec iuditium scabinorum adquiescere nec blasfemare volunt'; *Ansegisi Capitularium* (*a.* 827), 1, 61: *De nimium blasphemis latronibus; Hlotharii I Constitutiones Papienses* (*a.* 832), c. 5, repeating *Cap. in Theod. villa, supra.* Certain features of the *Capitulare Paderbrunnense* or *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* (*a.* 785) are suggestive, though it makes no specific use of the term, *blasphemia.* Furthermore, in these codes any direct reference to the Roman Law of *laesa maiestas* is most exceptional, as in the *Capitulare Ticinense* (*a.* 801), c. 3: *De desertoribus.* Therefore, in my judgment no evidence of the Germanic codes invalidates the conclusions reached previously in this study. The references to paganism, which are especially numerous in the Frankish Capitularies, serve to confirm my impression on p. 15 and note 3, *supra.*

Also, among the *leges romanae*, note the interesting passage in *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, 7, 5–6, repeating the 'great exception,' and compare with *L.R.V. C.* 9, 3, 1–2, *L.R.V. P.* 9, 31, 1, and *Digest*, 48, 4, 11. This citation from Ulpian in the *Digest* applies the principle of the 'great exception' so as to involve attainder in accusations of majesty (*maiestatis reus*), made in cases of *perduellio* and high treason. Here the liberal general principle of the Roman Law that *extinguitur enim crimen mortalitate* is abandoned *hoc crimine nisi a successoribus purgetur.*

ANOTHER INSTANCE OF FRANCO-SAXON ORNAMENTATION AT TOURS

In his recent book, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*,[1] E. K. Rand has noted the existence of a period of Franco-Saxon influence on the script of the center he is investigating. This influence extends roughly from the mid-century period (834–860) to the end of the ninth century, but is sporadic rather than continuous in its occurrence. It is characterized particularly by the use of skilful adaptations of Insular ornaments in a manner at once simple, regular, and symmetrical. Of the manuscripts cited by Rand as belonging to the Franco-Saxon period three (Nos. 141, 143A, and 144) are pretty certainly, four (Nos. 139, 140, 142, and 143) are probably, and five (Nos. 145–149) are possibly products of Tours. The determination of the exact provenience of these manuscripts or the discovery of other manuscripts of Tours which show the same style of ornamentation would obviously strengthen the case for the existence of this period.

In 1929, while studying in Europe certain books which Rand[2] included in his list but which he himself was unable to examine completely,[3] I found in one additional evidence of Franco-Saxon influence on Tours. The book (No. 124 in Rand's list) is now in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin (*Hamilton 248*), a volume of 236 leaves[4] (263×206 mm.), each written in

[1] No. 1 of *Studies in the Script of Tours*, The Mediaeval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); pp. 66–68. See also his note, 'Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours,' Speculum, iv, 2 (April, 1929), 213–215 (four plates).

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] I am now preparing a full account of these books for the next volume in Rand's series, *Studies in the Script of Tours.*

[4] Not 235, for fol. 184 *bis* has been skipped in the numbering.

one column of script (175×107 mm.) of 22 lines. It contains the four *Gospels*, together with the *Prologues of St Jerome*, the *Canon of Eusebius*, and *Capitula Evangeliarum Anni Circuli*. The leaves are ruled separately on the hair-side, as one would expect in a sumptuous Evangelary. The minuscule script is of the variety known as the Regular Style[1] of Tours; were it not for an occasional ligature, one would be tempted to call it the Perfected Style.[2] A glance at the plate attached to this note (Plates I, fol. 108^{v}) will be enough to establish its identity.

Further ear-marks of Tours are found in the square capitals (Plate II, fol. 170^{v}, and Plate III, fol. 17^{r}), the simple uncials (Plate II and III), the elegant semiuncials (Plate II) and the excellent rustic capitals (Plate I). There is sometimes a hierarchy of different *genres* of script: gold square capitals, gold uncials (or, rarely, rustic capitals), and brown semiuncials (or, rarely, minuscules). Semiuncials are employed not only in a hierarchy, but in whole sections of the text (e.g., in the prologues to the various books and elsewhere). Titles are regularly written in gold uncials; *incipits* in gold square capitals or gold uncials;[3] *explicits* in brown rustic capitals.

The punctuation and abbreviations are exactly what one would expect. A low dot is used for the half-stop, a high dot for the full-stop. This is the well-known 'down-up method,' popular at Tours from the latter part of the abbacy of Fridugisus (died 834) to the end of the ninth century.[4] The abbreviations, again, are for the most part of the 'Regular' variety.[5] Except for a number of capricious and technical compendia[6] I have noted only the following outside of the 'Regular' list: discipł (*discipulis*) · eet · (*esset*)[7] ingress' (*ingressus*) scd secd scdm *and* secdm (all four for *secundum*). The appearance of iHu (*Iesu;* but cf. xpi for *Christi*), of ṫ (*tur*), and of ṫ (*tus*)[8] comport with a date close to the Mid-Century. Two further facts are additional evidence of provenience from Tours: (1) that the figure-2 of the abbreviation for *tur* sweeps upward in a graceful curve at the bottom,[9] (see Plate I, line 13), and (2) that a horizontal stroke with a dot underneath is

[1] Rand, *op. cit.*, 40–41; 8, 9, 49.

[2] Rand, *op. cit.*, 60–62.

[3] Once, fol. 234^{r}, in red rustic capitals.

[4] Rand, *op. cit.*, 30–31.

[5] Rand, *op. cit.*, 27–28.

[6] E.g., matth matth (*Matthaeus*) Marc̄ (*Marcus*) Luc (*Lucas*) Ioh (*Iohannes*) cap̄ (*capitula*) m, mens, *etc.* (*mensis*, etc.) ianr (*Ianuarius*) iul (*Iulius*) Octb (*October*). Novb (*November*) domc (*dominica*) Ebd (*hebdomada*), *etc.*

[7] Really a 'Regular' abbreviation, but inadvertently omitted from Rand's list, *op. cit.*, 27–28.

[8] The regular use of ṫ for *tus* is rare at the beginning of the century and commoner at the Mid-Century, Rand, *op. cit.*, 26.

[9] Rand, *op. cit.*, 61.

INCIPIT ARGVMENTVM IN EVGELIO IOHANNIS

HIC EST IOHANNES EVANGELISTA VNUS EX DISCIPULIS DI. QUI VIRGO ELECTUS A DO ET QUEM DE NUPTIIS VOLENTE NUBERE VOCAVIT DS. CUIUS VIRGINITATIS IN HOC DUPLEX TESTIMONIUM IN EVANGELIO DATUR. QUOD ET PCETERIS DILECTUS A DO DICITUR. ET HUIC MATREM SUAM PENDENS IN CRUCE COMMENDAVIT DS. UTUIR GINEUIR GO SERUARET. DENIQ: MANIFESTANS IN EVANGELIO QUOD ERAT IPSE INCORRUPTIBILIS VERBI OPUS INCHOANS SOLUS VERBUM CARO FACTUM. EE. NEC LUMEN A TENEBRIS COMPREHENSUM FUISSE TESTATUR. PRIMU SIGNUPONENS QUOD IN NUPTIIS FECIT DS. OSTENDENS

PLATE II

Berlin, *Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 248.*

Fol. 170v

occasionally used as the abbreviation stroke (usually for *m*) in titles (see Plate II, lines 8 and 9).[1]

The illumination belongs to the Mid-Century, the period of highest achievement in both ornamentation and script at Tours. It is decidedly elaborate. Large initials which nearly fill a page are adorned with red, gold, light brown, dark brown, dark blue, slate blue, blue-green, orange, and outlined in red. Smaller initials are of gold outlined in red or of red outlined in gold or simply of gold. Incidental capitals (usually square capitals, occasionally uncials), titles and *incipits* (the latter two have already been noted above) are also of gold. There are, finally, Canon Tables in greenish blue, light blue, red, gray, black, white, and gold — all outlined in red. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a book of Tours of the Mid-Century period.

Equally certain is the fact that the illumination of our book shows Franco-Saxon influence. Practically all of the large ornamental initials employ simple and conventional plaited patterns. All are regular and symmetrical to a high degree. Two depict animal heads (the *I* on fol. 173^{r} and the ligature *LI* on fol. 17^{r}). In one case (the ligature *LI* on fol. 17^{r}; see Plate III) two animal heads are arranged in complementary fashion at the right and left side of the top of one of the letters of the ligature. This double capital bears close comparison with the *LI* (on fol. 30^{v}) of a manuscript at Rome, *Vaticanus Lat. 43* (Rand, *op. cit.*, II, Plate CLV. 1), and also with the *B* (on fol. 82^{v}) of a manuscript at Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13388* (Rand, 'Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours,' SPECULUM, IV, 2, April, 1929, Plate IV). Both are indubitably Franco-Saxon in style; both were surely written at Tours. Here then we have another instance of the impress of the new northern style on the work of Tours. Other instances will doubtless appear as the investigation of the script goes on.

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[1] For this usage, cf. No. 104, listed but not treated in Rand, *op. cit.*, 150. I shall describe this manuscript fully in the next volume of Rand's series, as I have stated above.

'ALL THE WORLD'S A CHESS-BOARD'[1]

BELOW is reproduced the Latin text of a mediaeval comparison of the game of chess to human society from an English manuscript which was not consulted or mentioned by H. J. R. Murray when he printed the passage in his erudite history of chess,[2] although he used eleven other English manu-

[1] From the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum* of Iohannes Vallensis (John of Wales) in Balliol College MS. *274*, fol. 55^{v}, col. 1 — col. 2.

[2] H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. The Latin text is edited at pp. 559–561; the work is discussed at pp. 530–534.

scripts. Ours, however, would seem of equal authority with any of them, although not so old as the early fourteenth century Harleian manuscript of the British Museum which he chiefly followed. Murray rather capricious-
of the British Museum which he chiefly followed. Murray rather capriciously dubbed the comparison in question 'The Innocent Morality' because it was sometimes ascribed to Pope Innocent III and in some manuscripts is entitled *Quaedam moralitas de scaccario.* In the Balliol College manuscript it has no separate title, but forms an integral part of the *Communiloquium* or *Summa collationum* of John of Wales (*Gallensis* or *Vallensis*), a Franciscan of the later thirteenth century. I have therefore preferred to to identify it by a free translation of its opening words, suggestive of a familiar comparison in Shakespeare. A marginal note in our manuscript, however, describes it as 'A Comparison of the World to the Game of Chess' and states that it is not contained 'in our copy.'[1] The work of John of Wales was frequently printed: in 1472, 1475, 1481, 1493, 1489, 1946, 1511, 1516, 1550, and 1556.[2] Murray states that the passage on chess is to be found 'in several of the early printed editions,' but it seems lacking in the earlier editions of the fifteenth century at the Bodleian library. It occurs in the Paris edition of 1516, where, except for minor variations, the passage much resembles the text of our manuscript, more so than that printed by Murray.

Balliol College *MS. 274*, or rather the first portion of it which interests us here, may be described a little more fully and precisely than in Coxe's catalogue of manuscripts in Oxford college libraries.[3] At fols. $1^{r}-4^{v}$ is a table of contents. Then, at fol. 4^{v}, col. 2, occurs the rubric: 'Expliciunt Capitula in communiloquim. Incipit Prologus in Communiloquium a fratre Iohanne Vallensi ordinis minorum editum.' This is followed by the Incipit of the prologue, 'Cum doctor sive predicator evangelicus sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sit salvatore demandante. . . . .' At fol. 130^{r}, col. 1, the work ends, '. . . salvatoris gratia illuminante studeat advenire, et sic est finis huius collationis. Explicit summa collationum sive communiloquium Iohannis Vallensis ordinis fratrum Minorum, Scriptum per me Paulum de Mertzenich etc. Anno domini M^{mo} $CCCC^{mo}$ nono in crastino sancti Thome Apostoli. Deo gratias.' After this the rest of the column is blank. At fols. 130^{r}, col. 2–145^{r}, col. 2, occurs another treatise by the same author: 'Incipiunt Rubrice in Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum eiusdem Iohannis Vallensis.' Fol. 130^{v}, col. 1,

[1] 'Comparatio mundi ad ludum schakarum et hoc deficit in libro nostro.'

[2] For details concerning these editions consult *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxv (1869), 180–181, in the article, 'Jean de Galles, théologien.'

[3] Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, Oxford, 1852, I, 90.

Plate III

Berlin, *Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 248.*

Fol. 17r

'Quoniam misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem. . . .' This second work is a collection of Exempla and closes, '. . . ubi vis permanere ego vita. Amen. Explicit Breviloquium Iohannis Vallensis etc.'

The passage about chess occurs in the tenth distinction of the first part which deals with the laboring class. The seventh chapter of this distinction is concerned with theatrical entertainments[1] and is not unfavorable thereto, holding that workers need recreation, though it condemns dice and gambling and asserts that the clergy should shun vain games. It is in this context that the game of chess is described, and I cannot understand why Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 532, after correctly giving the reference for the passage in the *Communiloguium*, Pars I, dist. X, cap. 7, should then say that it occurs in a chapter which is devoted to the virtues of bishops, and the taxes and dues from which they are exempt by reason of their position, and so is out of place in the work of John of Wales and probably not by him. It is, however, a little uncertain whether this 'Comparison of the World to the Game of Chess' is by John of Wales or interpolated later, the date of writing our manuscript being 1409, and the passage, as we have seen, not always occurring in manuscripts and editions of his work. I also do not know whether the comparison is original or taken from some earlier writer. It does not seem to come from the work of Jacobus de Cessolis; at least there is nothing like it in Caxton's paraphrase of that book. Murray's argument against attributing it to Innocent III that it criticizes the morals of bishops seems unconvincing, and possibly it may have been taken over from a sermon by Innocent into the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales.

Comparatio Mundi ad Ludum Schakarum

Mundus iste totus quoddam schacharium est, cuius unus punctus albus est et alter niger propter duplicem statum vite et mortis, gratie et culpe. Familia huius schakarii sunt homines huius mundi qui omnes de uno sacculo materno extrahuntur et collocantur in diversis locis huius mundi et singuli habent diversa nomina. Unus dicitur rex, alter regina, tertius rochus, quartus miles, quintus alfinus, sextus pedinus. Unde versus Rex Rochus Alfinus Miles Regina pedinus.

Istius autem ludi conditio talis est ut unus alium capiat et cum ludum compleverint, sicut de uno loco et sacculo exierunt, sic in unum locum reponuntur, nec est differentia inter regem et peditem pauperem quia simul in unum dives et pauper et sapientie vii unde dicitur unus introitus ad vitam et similis exitus.[2] Et sepe contingit quod quando schakarii repo-

[1] 'Prima Pars. Distinctio decimus de informatione populi laborantis. Cap. 7, De informatione ludentium in theatro.' This runs from fol. 54^{v}, col. 2, to fol. 56^{v}, col. 2. A colored initial marks the opening of the passage on chess.

[2] The biblical quotation is omitted in Murray's text.

nuntur in sacculum rex inferius collocatus est. Sic quando transeunt a vita huius mundi maiores, sepe in inferno sepeliuntur, et pauperes in sinum Abrahe deportantur exemplo Divitis et Lazari.[1]

In isto siquidem ludo rex vadit circumquaque directe et capit undique semper directe in signum quod rex omnia iuste capiat et in nullo omissa iustitia omnibus exhibenda obliquare debet, sed modo quidquid agit iustitia reputatur quia quidquid principi placet iuris[2] habet vigorem.

Regina sive domina que dicitur fertze capit et vadit oblique,[3] quia cum avarissimum sit genus mulieris, quidquid capit nisi mere detur ex gratia rapina est et iniustitia.

Rochus est iusticiarius perambulans totam terram directa tamen linea ita quod nichil capiat oblique muneribus corruptus sed omnia iuste corrigat nulli parcens. Sed econtra de illis iam verificatur illud Amos iii°, Convertisti in amaritudinem iudicium (col. 2) et fructum iustitie in absinthium.

Miles vero in capiendo duo puncta vadit directa et tertium obliquat in signum quod milites et domini terreni poterunt iuste capere redditus debitos et iustas emendas a delinquentibus secundum exigentiam deliciti, sed tertium punctum obliquant cum tallias et iniustas quascumque exactiones a subditis extorquent.

Alfini vero sunt cornuti exemplo[4] episcopi, non ut Moyses ex colloquio divino sed potius regio imperio vel prece vel pretio sublimati.[5] Isti Alfini oblique currunt et capiunt tria puncta pertranseundo,[6] quia fere omnes prelatos perverterunt odium amor et munerum favor,[7] ne delinquentes reprehendant,[8] ne contra vitia latrent, sed potius promannuo censu peccata ad infernum trahunt seu tradunt ut sic diabolum ditent, unde qui debuerant vitiorum exstirpatores esse iam per cupiditatem facti sunt vitiorum promotores et dyaboli procuratores.

Pedinus vero pauperculus est qui incedendo semper vadit directe in sua simplicitate, sed si capere vult oportet ut oblique faciat. Sic semper quando in sua consistit paupertate, directe vivit, sed cum querit aliquid temporale

[1] This sentence is worded quite differently in Murray's text: 'sic fere quique maiores in transitu huius seculi inferius collocantur, scilicet in inferno, sepeliuntur, pauperes in sinum Habrahe deportantur.'

[2] *Legis* in Murray's text.

[3] This reading seems more direct and natural than Murray's 'vadit oblique, et capit undique indirecte.'

[4] This word is not included by Murray.

[5] Murray's text here adds, 'et sic promoti.'

[6] Instead of 'et capiunt tria puncta pertranseundo,' Murray's text reads, 'et tres punctos currendo pertranseunt indirecte.'

[7] The whole construction of the clause is thrown into the passive in Murray's text, with *omnes prelati* in the nominative as subject.

[8] *Corrigunt et* in Murray's text.

vel honoris consequi, statim mendaciis periuriis adulationibus et favoribus obliquat quousque ad gradum superiorem schakarii perveniat, et tunc duo puncta transit tertium obliquando. Sic pauper cum elevatur statim perverse incedit, quia asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum.[1]

In isto schachario dicit dyabolus, Eschec, insultando aliquando percutiendo peccati iaculo. Qui sic percussus, nisi citius dicat, Liveret, ad penitentiam recurrendo, dicet ei diabolus, Mact, animam secum ad tartaram deducendo a quo nec liberabitur prece vel pretio, quia in inferno nulla est redemptio. . . .[2]

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[1] The whole paragraph is worded differently in Murray's text.

[2] In the foregoing notes I have not attempted to indicate all the variations between *Balliol 274* and Murray's text, but only to give some salient examples. In general *Balliol 274* tends to agree with Murray's variant readings rather than with the text of Harleian *MS. 2253*, which he primarily follows.

TWO NOTES ON WYCLIF

I. Two hitherto unknown Italian Manuscripts

DURING a recent visit to Rome Monsignor A. Pelzer of the Vatican Library kindly drew my attention to two manuscripts which have long been attributed to anonymous authors but which are in fact manuscripts of Wyclif.

Bibl. Vat. *Lat. 4313*. Saec. XV. Membr. 385 mm.×252 mm. fol. 70.

1. Contents. (a) *De Universalibus.* fol. 1–31 b. (J. Loserth, *Shirley's Catalogue of the Extant Latin Works of John Wyclif*, p. 2, No. 9, I, 5.)

(b) *De Eucharistia*, fol. 31 b–70 d (edited by Loserth for the Wyclif Society, 1892).

2. Provenance. The handwriting is current Gothic of the fifteenth century and probably early in that century. Folio 31 (the initial of the tractate *De Eucharistia*) is exactly similar in design and colors to the illuminations of the well-known Jentzenstein codex (*Vat. Lat. 1122*) and of *Vat. Ross. 289* which though belonging to a little earlier time, shows the same characteristics. The writing of *Vat. Lat. 4313* is different though from the Jentzenstein codex. Many marginalia were written by the scribe ('nota bene, attende, contra Scotum, quod prelati debent esse instructi in fide eucharistie,' etc.). Inter alia there is on fol. 47′ the note '*contra Bonaventure.*' It may be that *Bonaventure* is a genitive and *sententiam* has been omitted but nowhere else does the scribe put his note in this form. It would therefore seem more probable that he has used the English form *Bonaventure* instead of the Latin *Bonaventuram*, and that therefore the scribe has

copied from an English original. The beautiful execution of the codex, both in handwriting and illumination, suggests that it may have been written to be laid before the Council of Constance.

3. Text. Generally speaking the text agrees with that of the MS. used by Loserth. In one place certainly it is more intelligible. Loserth prints in chapter VI (*ed. cit.*, p. 91. l. 21):

'hec valet dicere quod quintus ordo est necessarius post publicacionem usus ecclesie Romane et non ante, quia sic liceret pape contra evangelium dispensare, eius errores corrigere et per consequens novum evangelium de toto condere; quod suppono hic a iuribus fidelium esse horribile.'

The same sentence occurs in the Vatican MS. but with the following more intelligible conclusion '. . . quod suppono auribus fidelium.'

Pavia Univ. *311* (*139* G. *46*). *Tractatus Metaphysici.* Saec. XIV *ex.* Membr. 213 mm.×315 mm. Fol. I. 130 I.

1. Contents. The folios are not in correct order, a fact already noted by L. de Marchi and G. Bertolani, *Inventario della R. Biblioteca Universitatia di Pavia* (Milan, 1894), I, 170). With considerable difficulty, accentuated by an inaccurate pencilled pagination of the codex, the following points have been established.

(a) Fol. 12 is not numbered (in pencil) in the codex, consequently Nos. 12–73 are inaccurate. After fol. 73 follows No. 75 and after fol. 91 there is no numeration.

(b) Following a correct numeration the following works of Wyclif are contained in this codex

De Universalibus (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 2, No. 9. I. 5), fol. 1–35c.

De Materia & Forma (ed. by H. Dziewicki, *Miscellanea philosophica*, for the Wyclif Society, 1902, vol. I), fol. 35d–37d, 98a–107d, 48a–b.

De Ydeis (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 3 No. 9. II. 5), fol. 42b–47d, 72a–76b.

De Tempore (Loserth, *Catalogue*, p. 3, No. 9. I. 6), fol. 48b–49d, 51a–d, 50a–d, 52a–57d, 59a–d, 58a–d, 60a–61d, 38a–42a.

De Compositione Hominis (ed. R. Beer for Wyclif Society, 1884), fol. 76b–88d, 90a–d, 89a–d, 92a–d, 91a–b.

De Benedicta Incarnatione (ed. E. Harris for Wyclif Society, 1886), fol. 91c–d, 93a–97d, 62a–71d, 108a–130b.

2. Provenance. The writing is current Gothic of the early fifteenth century. There is nothing to indicate its country of origin, but on the flyleaf there is written in an elegant sixteenth century hand the name of Don Hieronymus de Bulgarinis Sacrista Valentia to whom the codex appearently has belonged.

3. Text. There are numerous marginalia by two different writers, one of whom uses red, the other black ink. Both belong to the end of the 15th

or the beginning of the 16th century. The notes in black are rarer and draw attention merely to the context of the text. Only on one occasion does the writer express an opinion ('nota, non videtur Wicleff,' fol. 123), where the question of transsubstantiation is discussed. On the other hand the scribe who used red ink, though often indicating the contents of the text, often also expresses his opinion of the author's doctrine, and is clearly an orthodox and well informed Catholic. Thus we have: fol. 1 'Iste hereticus tenet quod esse creatum est sua essencia'; fol. 3, 'pulchra sententia de laude incarnationis'; fol. 6 'conclusio fantastica istius'; fol. 7 'opinio Viclef quod omne universale est singulare licet non formaliter'; fol. 13 'ridiculus es cumputas istas raciones cogere contra sencientes'; fol. 16^{v} 'de similitudine quam ponit iste hereticus in numero creato et increato'; fol. 17 'nota istamc ontradiccionem.'

It is perhaps also worthy of note that five of these tractates are to be found in nearly the same order in two other codices, namely *MSS 773* and *1555* of Prague University Library, in which only the *De Benedicta Incarnacione* is lacking.

II. On the *De Potestate Pape*

In 1907 Professor Loserth published the tractate *De Potestate Pape* for the Wyclif Society. In his introduction he states:

(*a*) that manuscripts of the work are to be found only in Bohemian Libraries;

(*b*) that in Bohemia there are three manuscripts, 1) *Cap. Metrop. Pragens. C. 73*, 2) *Univ. Pragens. 3. F. 11*, both of which contain the complete tractate, and 3) *Univ. Pragens. 3. G. 16*, which contains a fragment.

In the *Revised Catalogue of Wyclif's Extant Latin Works* which Loserth published six years ago he added a fourth MS. to this list, namely *Univ. Pragens. 2. E. 3*, which contains on fol. 58r a quite short extract from the last chapter of the tractate, corresponding to Loserth's printed text p. 396, l. 16—p. 397, l. 16.

Both of these statements (even as amended by the *Revised Catalogue*) must be corrected. As regards *b*, Professor Loserth had overlooked a MS. in Prague, *Metrop. Cap. Pragens. 0.29*,which gives on fol.166–177v excerpts from various chapters of the *De Potestate Pape*. The MS. is described in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Chapter-Library in Prague, compiled by A. Podlaha and published in Prague.

With regard to *a*, *Codex A 53* of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, cointains on fol. 176–179 an extract from this same tractate. This codex is a miscellany of treatises on theology and philosophy, together with a few letters. At the end of three of the tractates the scribe has put his name

After a *Comment. in Ovidii methamorphoses* (fol. 75–160), and Robert Lincoln, *De oculo morali* (fol. 301–361), one reads the following subscription 'scriptus a fratre Adam de Stocton lectore in conuentu Cantabrigie anno domini M CCC septuagesimo septimo,' and at the end of the Breviloquium Philosophorum (fol. 392–415): 'Explicit Breviloquium Philosophorum de virtutibus antiquorum quod uenerabilis pater & magister Joh. Walensis compilauit ad honorem dei & utilitatem ecclesie sancte ad instanciam domini episcopi Magolensis. Amen. quod Stocton scripsit Cantebrigie anno domini MCCCLXXV'.

This Adam de Stocton, however, was not the scribe of the fragment *De Potestate Pape* which is in a different hand though of the same period. The fragment is a single excerpt and corresponds to Loserth, p. 118, l. 6—p. 126, l. 20. At the end the scribe has written 'Hec venerabilis doctor magister Johannes Wiclif in quadam sua determinacione anno domini 1379,' while another hand has added: '*execrabilis seductor.*' The date given confirms the conclusion of Loserth in his introduction to the printed edition and, if we may date the fragment by the Adam de Stocton MSS, we have here one of the earliest known manuscripts of Wyclif's writings.

Further, the scribe of the Wyclif fragment is the writer of two letters which immediately follow (fol. 179–186). They are addressed by William Fleete of the order of Augustinian Hermits to his brethren in England and are full of ideas for reform. The second has the following subscription by the scribe: 'Dirigat vos altissimus in reformacione ordinis ac istis observandis sitis fervidus et assiduus. Per fratrem Willelmum de Anglia peccatorem misse fuerunt iste litere ad Angliam a fratre Willelmo Fleeth anno domini MCCCLXXX'. It would, of course, be a mere guess to suppose that 'frater Willelmus de Anglia' was the scribe of these letters and therefore of the Wyclif fragment. But it is certain that the scribe had some connection with the Augustinian order and was somewhat in agreement with Wyclif's impassioned polemic against the Pope and clergy. Otherwise he could not have described its author as '*venerabilis doctor*'. Equally certain it is that the manuscript passed later into the hands of an orthodox scribe who added '*execrabilis doctor*'!

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BISHOP GUNDULPH OF ROCHESTER AND THE VULGATE

In the life of Lanfranc of Canterbury by Milo Crispin, mention is made of his labors of correction of the text of the Vulgate and of patristic and liturgical texts. It is affirmed also, that he did this work 'non tantum per se, sed etiam per discipulos suos.' Among these disciples and continuators, Bishop

Gundulph of Rochester is mentioned as one of the most prominent and successful in eliminating corrupt readings from Scriptural texts. (F. Kaulen, *Geschichte d. Vulgata*, Mainz: 1868, p. 235). The source of this information is the *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Tom. VIII [Paris, 1746], 117–118) in which it is said:

'Gondulph, étant devenu successivement Abbé de S. Alban, puis Evêque de Rochester, continua de s'occuper au même travail. Les corrections qu'il fit aux livres de l'ancien et de nouveau testament, corrompus par l'inadvertance des Copistes, eurent de si heureuses suites, que l'Eglise d'Angleterre et celle de France en tirèrent beaucoup de fruit. La travail des moines de Cîteaux . . . etc.'

The authority cited for this statement is the *Chronica Maiora* commonly ascribed to Matthew Paris. The passage of the Chronica referred to, reads as follows:

'Eodem anno obiit Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ix kal. Aprilis. Qui inter caetera quae fecit pietatis opera, maiorem ecclesiam Christi Cantuariensem renovavit . . . Ecclesiam Rofensem restauravit, et in ea monachum Becci, Hernostum, episcopum ordinavit. In cuius consecratione versus iste inventus est super altare: "Cito proferte stolam primam," etc. Quod cum vidisset archiepiscopus, praedixit eum cito moriturum. Nam ei in episcopatu anno nondum completo decedenti successit Gundulfus Beccensis monachus, qui perseveravit usque in tempora Henrici regis. Abbatiam beati Albani, Anglorum prothomartyris, ad statum reduxit. Angliam rege absente custodivit; lectioni assidue vacavit; libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti scriptorum vitio corruptos, corrigere studuit, cuius emendationis luce tam Anglorum ecclesia quam Gallorum se gaudet illustrari. Defuncto itaque venerabili patre Lanfranco, rex Willelmus . . .'

At first sight it would seem that all these activities from the words 'Abbatiam Sancti Albani' to 'illustrari' refer to Gundulph, who is the subject of the preceding sentence. But a more careful analysis of the text shows that such is not the case. The whole passage directly concerns Lanfranc, whose obituary is given in these lines. Gundulph is mentioned only incidentally as the successor of Hernost of Rochester whose death Lanfranc foretold. It seems to me, that the subject of all these verbs: *reduxit, custodivit, vacavit, studuit*, is not Gundulph but Lanfranc; as a matter of fact, after all these clauses the narrative continues, telling what happened after Lanfranc's death: 'Defuncto itaque Lanfranco.' Furthermore, the series of statements made in those lines could be true only of Lanfranc. The close connection of Lanfranc with the Abbey of St Albans through his intimate friend Abbot Paul (of Caen) is well known. Of Lanfranc it could be said that he 'Abbatiam beati Albani . . . ad statum reduxit;' but we know of no such close relationship of Gundulf and St Albans. The next statement; 'Angliam rege absenta custodivit' could likewise be applied to Lanfranc on several occasions after his victory over the Archbishop of York at Windsor, 1072, but

certainly at no time could it have been true of Gundulph. And finally, we know of Lanfranc's labors for a correct text of the Bible from other sources, while there is no mention anywhere in any extant sources of Gundulph as interested in that sort of work. The *Vita Gundulphi*, by a contemporary monk of Rochester, contains no reference to textual labor of any sort. The large two-volume Bible, formerly in the Sir Thomas Phillips collection, now Huntington Library *MS. 62*, which has been attributed to him, and, according to the thirteenth century title on the first leaf of each volume, 'Prima (secunda) pars Biblie per bone memorie Gundulfum Roffensem Episcopum,' may well have been in his possession, but we have no evidence for supposing that he was at all responsible for its revision.

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REVIEWS

Charles Henry Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic.* The Mediaeval Academy of America. Publication No. 4. Cambridge, Mass. 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+51; 109 folia in facsimile. $12.00.

Lupus Servatus, Abbot of Ferrières, has long been justly celebrated as the foremost humanist of the early Middle Ages. A passion for antiquity and a free searching for truth — *sapientiam propter se ipsam appetendam esse,* he declared — were not less conspicuously displayed by him than by the lovers of the ancients in the later Renaissance. His tireless quest of manuscripts of the classics has long been known to readers of his letters, and ever since Traube, as long ago as 1891, led the way, as he led the way in so many epoch making researches in the history of mediaeval culture, scholars have been increasingly aware of the painstaking, not to say philological, scrutiny that Lupus bestowed upon the texts that he could borrow or acquire. Traube had divined that the revision of *Codex Bernensis 366* is by the very hand of Lupus — a brilliant intuition confirmed by the studies of Traube's pupil Schnetz in 1900, who found that one whole column is Lupus's script. Lindsay wrote an important article on this manuscript in 1909.[1] The clue was thus provided for further investigation of the manuscripts of the ninth century with the prospect that still further evidence of Lupus's editorial activities might come to light.

This clue has been most successfully followed by Beeson. Beginning in 1910, he took advantage of various hints that appeared — as they generally appear to one who knows what he wants to find and where to find it — so that now he can point to no less than five manuscripts that contain the corrections or collations of Lupus and one that is entirely written by that scholar himself. The five are: Paris, *B. N. lat. 7774 A,* Cicero's *De Inventione; B. N. lat. 7526,* Livy; *B. N. lat. 8623,* Symmachus, *Letters;* Rome, *Vat. Reg. lat. 597,* Aulus Gellius (identified for Beeson by Lowe); *Vat. Reg. lat. 1484,* Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Commentary on Virgil* (discovered by Lindsay). The autograph manuscript, London, *B. M., Harley, 2736,* Cicero, *De Oratore,* is reproduced in the present volume with a full description and an account of Lupus as a scribe and a textual critic.

Beeson's description of the Harley Codex is, as one would expect, clear and complete. One matter might have been more plainly set forth — the extraordinary confusion in the gathering containing folio 17–24 (p. 8). I have tried without success to picture the exact condition of affairs at that point — a diagram would have greatly helped. And one detail I miss — a statement as to the number of leaves ruled at a time. I explained the differ-

[1] *Classical Philology* iv, 113–117.

ence between what I called Old Style and New Style ruling in an article for Lindsay's *Palaeographia Latina*, v (1927), 52–78, and more clearly, I hope, in *A Survey of the Script of Tours* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929), pp. 11–18. I should be grateful if palaeographers would take the hint I dropped and report on the methods followed in other scriptoria than Tours. What was Lupus's practice? It would be interesting to know. He was acquainted with various books of Tours. Did he note the New Style in any of them and adopt it? Or did he abide by the habit in vogue at the beginning of the ninth century?

Lupus's handwriting, as Beeson points out, has been somewhat influenced by the script of Tours. I should not call it 'beautiful' (p. 9). It is clear and competent, and he has mastered the Tours *g*, but instead of declaring it 'several decades in advance of the current style,' I should rate it more than one decade behind the 'Regular Script' of St Martin's, the principles of which, I have endeavored to show, were set forth in the time of Alcuin. That Lupus was familiar with books in this style would appear from his avoidance of the ligature for *st*, except when he is pressed for space (p. 10). As I have suggested before,[1] the famous *Memmianus* of Suetonius may have been one of the books known to Lupus. Perhaps in the present copy he might have written more elegantly with a finer pen and more time at his disposal, but his workmanship here is distinctly inferior to that in the *Memmianus*, to say nothing of the unapproachable beauty of mid-century books of Tours, like the First Bible of Charles the Bald or the *Gospels* of Lothair.

One or two scribal habits of Lupus are not without interest. In treating of the script of Tours, I called attention to the use of the *K*-form of *H* and suggested that the history of this usage needs investigation.[2] It is an ancient form, being found for example in the rustic capital script of the *Bembinus* of Terence; Umpfenbach, in the *apparatus criticus* of this edition, indicates it religiously, and gratuitously, by a *K*. In manuscripts of the ninth century, the presence of the *K*-form in the title of a work may sometimes indicate that the manuscript was copied directly from an ancient book in rustic capitals or one in uncials with rustic capital titles.[3] In other cases, however, as in some of the Tours manuscripts of the time of Fridugisus, the *K*-form is a mere mannerism of the period when the book was written. Now it appears that Lupus was addicted to this practice (p. 10). His script, then, is an important moment in this little history.

Another of Lupus's habits was a rigid adherence to the rules of the Roman grammarians for the division of syllables, whereby any pronounceable group

[1] *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), 38 f.

[2] *Survey*, p. 53, N. 5.

[3] So, perhaps, the Holkham Cicero, See *Survey*, p. 104.

of consonants is placed with the following vowel. Lupus not only followed this rule in his own practice, but made the texts that he collated conform to it. This may seem a minor matter, but the information on this point given by Seeck in his edition of Symmachus led Beeson to the discovery that the Paris manuscript of the *Letters* was one of Lupus's books.

In his punctuation, Lupus follows what I called the 'downup' method[1] whereby a dot towards the bottom of the letter indicates a half-pause and one towards the top a full-pause (p. 15). Possibly Lupus imitated this system from books of Tours that he knew — it first appears in the latter half of the régime of Fridugisus — or possibly he derived this practice, like his system of word-division, from the Roman grammarians.

Lupus's symbols of abbreviations are not confined to those that I designated as 'Regular' in the manuscripts of Tours.[2] The frequent presence of aū = *autem*, Hⁿ = *enim* and tm̄ = *tamen*, and the avoidance of qnm̄ = *quoniam* are enough to attest that fact (pp. 17–21). Either he was not aware of the system in vogue at St Martin's or he did not care to follow it.

Most interesting is the light that Beeson sheds on Lupus's methods as an emender of texts (pp. 34–49). In the case of the *De Oratore*, it is evident that he did not have another manuscript available from which to collect variants. In some cases, he has obviously improved the text; in others, he has ventured an obviously erroneous change. In both cases, he has not infrequently substituted his own reading for that of the text, which is relegated to the margin. If some later scribe copied the present text of *De Oratore*, he might well have paid no attention to the marginal variants, and thus have presented the world with a text that with its deviations, both good and bad, from Lupus's archetype, would sadly puzzle a modern constructor of stemmata. Luckily there were not many mediaeval copyists or revisers possessed of Lupus's acumen. At the same time, the example of his practice should serve as a warning for students of textual criticism. We must watch out for more instances of mixed manuscripts — mixtures not only of different branches of the text but also of a genuine tradition with the private emendations of some scholar.

It is almost unnecessary to emphasize the importance of Beeson's labors with Lupus Servatus for the dating of certain manuscripts and for the history of the development of script in various of the centres of France. I would call attention to two instances of some moment in the history of the script of Tours. The Paris Livy (*B.N. 7526*) known to editors of the historian as the *Thuaneus*, was formerly considered a book of the tenth century. I recognized it as a book of Tours contemporary with the Vatican

[2] *Survey*, p. 31.

[1] *Survey*, pp. 25–28.

Livy, and thus, if my ideas on the matter are correct, written not long before the arrival of Alcuin, or at any rate, not long before the 'Regular Style' which I would associate with him was established at Tours. I noted also, with the help of Lindsay's article, that the supplementary and correcting hand was that of Lupus. On applying to Beeson, I found, not unnaturally, that he had anticipated me in this discovery. The presence of the hand of Lupus in the book of course disposes of the attribution of its script to the eleventh century and establishes its date as at least as early as the first half of the ninth century.

Another book of Tours is the manuscript of Cicero's *De Inventione*, Paris, *B. N. 7774 A.*[1] This work is preceded by a copy of part of the *Verrines*, which is really a different manuscript; it is the leading codex for the part of the *Verrines* that it contains. I assigned it to the régime of Fridugisus, that is to a time not later than 834. Part II, containing the *De Inventione* (*Rhetorica*), I thought might be somewhat later, though still within the same period. I recognized the presence of a correcting hand, but failed to identify it with that of Lupus. Now that Beeson has made this identification, my approximate dating has been corroborated. Moreover, we may now venture a more exact estimate. In a letter sent to Einhard from Fulda between 829 and 835 (Beeson, p. 3), Lupus speaks of a *Tullii de rhetorica liber* which he possesses, but which, owing to its faulty text, he wishes to collate with one that he believes Einhard owns. The Paris book, written at Tours and corrected by Lupus, is apparently the one that he took with him when he went to Fulda about 828. He collated it then, he tells us, with a copy that he found even more defective. The variants in the book of Tours were taken, therefore, from one at Fulda. Whether Lupus got Einhard's copy we do not know, and whether he restored his own copy to Tours we also do not know. It seems more likely that the manuscript made its way from Ferrières — after what sort of itinerary is uncertain — to Paris. At all events, Part II of *B.N. 7774 A* was written at Tours before Lupus went to Fulda about 828, but, I think, not much before that time — say c. 825. For the sake of Lupus's reputation as a borrower, we may charitably suppose that it was written expressly for him by the monks of St Martin's.

The little company of palaeographers, and the larger company of all who are interested in the history of culture in the ninth century, await with impatience the publication of the other manuscripts on Professor Beeson's list and his final estimate of the achievements of Lupus Servatus as a humanistic collector of manuscripts and a philological editor of texts.

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[1] *Survey*, pp. 140 f.

ANTON BLANCK, *Konung Alexander, Bo Jonsson Grip och Albrekt av Mecklenburg.* Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1930. Paper. Pp. 73.

IN THE present monograph, originally appearing in *Samlaren*, N.F., Vol. x (Uppsala, 1929), Dr Blanck devotes himself to the excellent though hitherto somewhat neglected fourteenth-century metrical romance, *Konung Alexander*. After an analysis of pertinent portions of the romance and a statement of Swedish internal politics between 1371–1386, the author concludes (pp. 41 ff.) that *Konung Alexander* is not merely the generally recognized translation of the *Historia de Preliis*, recension I^2, but that it is perhaps first and foremost a '*Tendenzschrift*' in which Darius has been identified by small, original touches of the poet with the shadow-king Albert of Mecklenburg, Alexander less strikingly with the imperial chancellor (*riksdrots*), Bo Jonsson of Gripsholm. The career of the weak, luxury-loving Albert and his final suppression to virtual impotence by Bo Jonsson is traced and appraised with the aid of documents and the most recent historical research; the chief points raised are then compared with passages from the approximate Latin source. It seems to the reviewer conceivable that immediately contemporary readers may have felt a parallel to exist between the portrait of Darius and their own effete king. However, this same sort of parallelism could no doubt be made to hold for other persons, times, and places in relation to other vernacular versions of the Alexander romance.

Now opposed to Albert was Bo Jonsson; to Darius, Alexander. Would these same readers have identified the great Emathian conquerer with the effective, forceful, and evidently exceedingly wealthy Bo Jonsson? Dr Blanck lays no little stress upon the poet's description of Alexander as '*liten och ful*'; Alexander's small stature is traditional and is specified in the poet's Latin source, but 'ugliness' seems to be free a addition. The thread which joins Alexander's ugliness to Bo Jonsson is, however, slender, and rests on the result of excavations of Bo Jonsson's putative grave (pp. 59 ff.) where the smallest of three smallish skeletons, showing minor deformities (including signs of rickets), *may* be the chancellor's, whose health-inheritance seems furthermore not to have been good. If so, there is a presumption that Bo Jonsson *may* have been ugly, perhaps notoriously ugly; if so, the ugly Alexander *might* have been identified with ugly Bo Jonsson. In the brief Epilogue to the poem, it is said that Bo Jonsson had the romance turned from Latin into Swedish verse. We may ask whether Bo Jonsson or his literary agent — to whom Dr Blanck refers on occasion — would have lighted upon 'ugliness' as a point of identification between himself and Alexander?

One can scarcely deny the possibility that contemporary readers might, as they read certain lines about Darius, have seen in him a sort of counter-

part of Albert, but to go further seems daring to say the least. The modern fashion of reading political satire into various and sundry literary works, otherwise straightforward in character, is indeed a dangerous one, and worse than dangerous, all too often seductive both to writer and reader.

F. P. Magoun, Jr.,
Harvard University

Sister Mary Albania Burns, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues, A Study of their Rhetorical Qualities and Form.* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, vol. xxii.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1930. Pp. 121+viii. $3.50.

Following the general plan of figures first adopted and arranged by J. M. Campbell in Volume ii of the Patristic Series, a plan which has been accepted with slight variations as to terminology by succeeding writers on style in this series, Sister Mary Albania Burns has produced a thorough and a useful study of the style of St John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Statues.* Additional opportunity has been given to the author of drawing accurate conclusions from her results by the comparison with the style of the *Sermons* of St Basil,[1] rendered possible by the similar statistical arrangement. It is to be regretted that Guignet, whom the author omits from her bibliography, probably because she was unable to make practical use of his results, and Meridier did not employ the statistical arrangement in their studies of the style of Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, thus producing a broader field of comparison.

The first chapter of this excellent dissertation contains an exposition of the circumstances which called forth these twenty-one sermons and a brief summary of each of them. The succeeding chapters deal with the different figures of speech, *viz.*, Figures of Redundancy, Repetition, Sound, Dramatic Vivacity, Argumentation, Minor Figures Developed in the Spirit of the Second Sophistic, Gorgianic Figures and Allied Devices of Parallelism, Metaphor, Comparison, and Ecphrasis. The conclusion represents to us St John Chrysostom as an orator with a style that is easy and flexible, practical, persuasive, and sympathetic, which shows Sophistic influence, but which never sacrifices thought for mere display.

In comparing her findings in figures of sound with those applying to St Basil, the author would perhaps have observed a greater resemblance between the styles of Chrysostom and Basil had she made use of the results obtained in my study of the Letters of St Basil.[2] Campbell is apparently

[1] J. M. Campbell, *The Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Style of the Sermons of St Basil the Great.* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1922.)

[2] Sister Agnes Clare Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St Basil* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1927.)

rather restrained in his acceptance of figures of sound, according to his statement that, 'In a language so highly inflected as the Greek rhetorical design must be very obvious before one is justified in calling what appears to be a figure of sound truly such.'[1] Thus if we consider paranomasia, the *Letters* of St Basil yield almost the same proportion of examples as the *Sermons* of St Chrysostom, the ratio of lines of text of the letters to the *Sermons* being approximately three to two and of figures 600 to 485. Polyptoton is even more frequent in the *Letters* of Basil, which furnish 230 examples, than in the *Sermons* of St Chrysostom, which show 106 instances. Again, alliteration occurs in practically the same proportion in both, *viz.*, 300 instances in the *Letters* as compared with 203 instances in the *Sermons*. The Letters show fewer examples proportionately of parachesis than the Sermons, i.e., 48 in the *Letters* and 39 in the *Sermons*. Taking these numbers into consideration we may question the accuracy of the conclusion of Chapter IV that, 'In the use of these figures of sound it is to be noted that Chrysostom is consistently far more elaborate and profuse than Basil.'

This, however, is but a minor point, since the dissertation aims at presenting the style and the influence of the *Second Sophistic* on the style of the *Sermons* of Chrysostom and refers to the style of Basil only as a basis of comparison. The quality and clearness of the examples, as well as the accuracy of recording them testify to the carefulness and thoroughness of the study. The arrangement, too, of the examples, especially those of parallelism, is such as to make the figure apparent at a glance. Without doubt, the work as a whole will prove of the greatest use to scholars in the field of early Greek patristic literature.

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H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria (Fourth to Seventh Centuries)*, ed. and completed by E. B. Smith, Part I. Princeton University: Department of Art and Archaeology, 1929. Cloth. Pp. x+274. 288 illustrations. $17.00.

Archaeologists are in general turning against Strzygowski's bold hypothesis which traces the origin of much that is most significant in Christian architecture to Armenia. No one, however, can possibly deny the beauty and interest of the Armenian work, or deny it an honorable place when its position is rightly understood. It belonged to the now shattered but once so flourishing Antiochene patriarchate, and received its church architecture from Syria and neighboring Anatolia where Syrian influence was strong. But Armenia was also much influenced by Persia, and it is fair to say that Armenian church architecture is a fruition of the Syrian under Persian in-

[1] Campbell, *Op. cit.*, XI.

fluence, subsequent to the ruin which swept over Syria in the wake of the Mohammedan conquest. The Armenians developed the domed cross and the periapsidal plan far beyond their Syrian prototypes, and they reinterpreted the basilica.

The same may be said of the Byzantine builders. The types used by the Syrian school of late Roman times were also developed by the architects of the New Rome under the influence of ideas current in Egypt and structural conceptions based on the old Roman imperial vaulted style. This led to the culmination of Byzantine church architecture in Justinian's reign. Further development of the domed cross in particular is responsible for much of its character in later times.

It may be said in addition that the stately Imperial Christian basilican style of the time of Constantine probably owes a great deal of its character to works in Syria before the Peace of the Church. This is only natural, for the first Christian builders did their work in the presence of monumental types which Constantine's architects knew and used; moreover, the Syrian school of architecture was by far the most active in the late Empire.

Thus, while Syrian Christian architecture rarely achieved first-rate esthetic successes with its buildings and never produced a magnificent epitome as it might have done if its career had not been cut off, a fundamental knowledge of it is necessary to any student of Christian antiquities in the East.

These facts suggest the importance of the excellent publication under review, for it consists of a careful and detailed presentation of some two hundred Syrian churches dating from the fourth to the seventh centuries. Abundant chronological data are given, accompanied by sober and thoughtful historical and topographical comments, and well-matured analysis of origins, influences, plans, construction, decoration, and accessories. There is a multitude of plans, elevations, sections, and photographs. The work has, of course, the same basis as the somewhat bewildering official publication of Mr Butler's expedition to Syria; indeed, the same plates and photographs are used; but the whole has been recast and put into a much more convenient and useful form. Mr Butler himself did the groundwork of the revision before his pathetic death in 1922; Mr Baldwin Smith has carried this task conscientiously to completion and brought the work into line with the best of recent scholarship, without altering its essential character as Mr Butler's own. It will assuredly be, for a long time, the standard monumental publication in its field. The book would have gained by the inclusion of general and detailed maps. Here and there one finds little slips such as foreign printers make in English, but the typographical work is nevertheless very good. The appearance of many of the pages would have been im-

proved by cutting out the rather coarsely lettered names on many of the drawings, but the drawings themselves are very clear and readable. The plans have been reproduced (with rare exceptions) at a uniform scale, which gives a very welcome consistency in presentation.

Mr Baldwin Smith has deserved well of his revered friend and teacher.

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Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930. Pp. ix+159.

Although we have long had some knowledge of the organization of mediaeval shipping, our dependence upon general codes of maritime law has been a very serious limitation. The importance of the notarial archives was recognized, but few documents were published, and no systematic use was made of the archives themselves. The extended researches of Professor Byrne in the records of the Genoese notaries have happily made it possible to correct and complete our knowledge on nearly all the primary issues involved in the organization of merchant shipping at Genoa. These sources have given us a large mass of material at early dates, a really adequate chronology of institutional and legal change, and decisive answers to important questions that have hitherto remained ambiguous or without even tentative solutions.

The extent of the material examined makes it safe to assert categorically that the merchant galleys were never more than a rather luxurious type of carrier employed only on certain routes and confined to specific classes of goods. The primary tonnage of commerce was at all times carried by sailing vessels. There is also decisive evidence of the general use of the lateen sail at an early date, as presumed by Jal on the basis of somewhat inadequate documentation. We have evidence, too, that Genoese ships had attained by 1251 a maximum capacity of about 600 dead weight tons. Changes in the modes of ownership can be dated: prior to 1150, ships were commonly owned by the skippers and a few associates; between 1150 and 1250, widely dispersed share ownership was most common; after 1250, ownership becomes highly concentrated in the hands of a class of capitalists with little direct concern with the task of navigation. Freight contracts disclose many changes in form: predominantly oral prior to 1200, notarial contracts then become numerous though there are uncertainties about the handling of many details; by 1250, the notarial forms are well established. The shipping business is thereafter based upon carefully prepared written contracts which cover every detail of the relations between shippers and owners, and

consequently throw a flood of light upon many matters that do not appear in the codes at all.

A careful selection of documents is published in an appendix. They constitute a most desirable set of texts for critical study, and add a finishing touch to this notable contribution to the history of medieval commerce.

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F. COGNASSO, *Amedeo VIII.* Turin: Paravia,1930. Paper. Two vols., pp. viii+274; viii+232.

THESE volumes belong to a series of historical biographies destined to illustrate the outstanding personalities of the House of Savoy from its beginnings with Humbert Biancamano in the twelfth century up to modern times. Apart from its historical value, this collection assumes a new significance in contemporary Italian historiography, coming as it does at a period in which the last descendants of the Savoy dynasty seem to be accepting with resignation a situation very similar to that of the last Merovingian kings.

F. Cognasso has already contributed to this series two important biographies, those of Humbert Biancamano and of Amedeus VII, the Green Count (1334–1383). His new work deals with Amedeus VIII (1383–1451), one of the most famous rulers of the House of Savoy. He was the last of the Counts, and the first to assume the title of 'Duke' by a grant of the Emperor Sigismund (1416). In 1439 he was elected anti-pope by the rebel Council of Bâle, and assumed the name Felix V, which he retained for ten years up to 1449, when he was induced to resign and to accept from pope Nicholas V the title of Cardinal of the Roman Church and of Papal Legate over the regions which formerly belonged to his obedience.

His biography is really a comprehensive history of the troublesome events of the political, religious, and social life from the last decades of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century. He played an active part in that whole history: the civil wars and the English war in France, the competitions for the imperial crown, the struggles among the various Italian states, the efforts to put an end to the Great Western Schism, and the gathering of the Council of Constance. Finally, he identified himself with the new schism of the Council of Bâle.

No wonder that, after the studies of Monod, Guichenon, Costa de Beauregard, Bruchet, Buraggi, Gabotto, and Cognasso himself, all on various periods or aspects of the long reign of Amedeus VIII, a comprehensive biography of this remarkable prince was very much desired. But Mr Cognasso warns us that the present work is not final. For twenty years he has been gathering materials for a complete history of the Duke and his times, and what he offers in these two volumes is only a first sketch destined to

be superseded by a more complete and more organic work. As a matter of fact, this book is, more than anything else, a series of chapters dealing with various topics concerning the government, administration, institutions, family life, and general policies of his reign, rather than an organic chronological and systematic study of the man and his times. Such as it is, however, it will be welcomed by students of European history, for it gives, above all, a very instructive picture, though on a small scale, of the long and difficult task which confronted the monarchies at that time, the task of breaking the feudal system which surrounded each town and each castle by a wall of privileges, exceptions, and local jurisdictions, and of forcing upon all of them the authority of a central government. With Amedeus VIII, though he himself very seldom crossed the Alps and continued to maintain his capital in the Trans-Alpine domains, the House of Savoy began to play an important part in the history of Italy, for not only did he add to his states the principality of Piedmont, formerly ruled by the branch of Savoy-Acaia, and impose his suzerainty on the marquises of Saluzzo, bringing thus almost the whole Piedmontese region under his sway, but he cherished, as well, ambitious views towards the Milanese region, and through marriages, alliances, and wars with Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Naples, became a power to be reckoned with in Italian affairs. But the personality of Amedeus VIII, as a factor in European history, appears even more conspicuously in the rôle that he played in the civil strife in France between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and in the English wars, as well as in the political events which put an end to the Schism.

The little Alpine principality of Savoy, surrounded by strong neighbors often at war with one another, at the same time a vassal state of France and of the Empire, entangled in a thick net of feudal ties and of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions within and without its boundaries, was in continual danger of disintegration, and only a shrewd and even unscrupulous policy, such as was adopted by Amedeus, could have made it survive and prosper at the expense of its stronger neighbors. A shrewd politician and a subtle diplomat, Amedeus was a master in the art of dodging compromising obligations assumed in former alliance and treaties. Bound by family ties to both contending parties in France, he was always able to delay his choice up to the time that there would be little doubt about the final issue of the conflict. Rather than by resort to wars, it was through able negotiations and by siding with the stronger party that Amedeus succeeded in rounding out his states considerably and in laying down the future fortunes of his house. Such a policy became a tradition in the House of Savoy, whose princes, even when, years afterward, they had crossed the Alps and established their capital in Turin, and were assuming more and more an Italian character, and

were converging their territorial aspirations towards Italian lands, played always most skilfully the political game of standing by the stronger of two contestants and sharing in the spoils of victory.

Cognasso, in spite of his somewhat unbounded admiration for Amedeus, gives a striking picture of the political 'variations' of the Sabaudian prince. Much more interesting, however, are the pages given to the administration of the state, in which he adds much to what was already known through the works of Bruchet (*Le Chateau de Ripaille*, Paris, 1907), on the Sabaudian court and its organization, and of Buraggi on the Statutes of 1423 (*Memorie dell'Accademia di Torino*, 1907). Less satisfactory are the chapters dealing with the religious and ecclesiastical events connected with the Council of Basel and the activities of Amedeus as Felix V. This is evidently the period for which Mr Cognasso has not yet completed his investigations in the Sabaudian archives. Let us, then, await the final biography which Mr Cognasso has promised to write. Meanwhile, students of Mediaeval history will find much which is very useful and illuminating in the series of essays that form this book.

G. La Piana,
Harvard University

T. P. Cross and W. A. Nitze, *Lancelot and Guenevere: A Study on the Origins of Courtly Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Boards. Pp. 104. $3.00.

What the authors of this work attempt to give us is a study of the origins of Chrétien's *Roman de la Charrete* and the evolution that the theme underwent at his hands. Their first chapter gives a full outline of the romance, following Foerster's text but making use also of readings from *MS. 12506* of the Bib. Nat. Chapter II deals with the *matiere* or main plot of the poem, and attempts by means of a heavily documented survey of Celtic story material to show that the most probable source is a Celtic abduction story which involves a visit to the other world. The recent reviewer who demanded proof that Chrétien had access to any one of the stories here examined has missed the point completely. It is perfectly obvious that Chrétien never read the *Book of the Dun Cow*, but I find no difficulty in believing that there was some one in France who could give to him, or to Marie, 'the bones of the story' of *Tochmarc Etāine* or one very like it. There are of course non-Celtic abduction stories — Ovid himself has one — but it is sufficient to show, as Chotzen has in another connection, that this type of story is very rare in the matter of France, while among the Celts it is very common, the *aithed* or 'elopement' forming one of the recognized classes of Irish story. This Professor Cross amply demonstrates, and it would be superfluous to attempt to add to the Irish evidence he adduces. On the side of the Welsh it might be pointed out in connection with the note on pages

47–48 that these are by no means the only references to Melwas in Welsh literature of this period or earlier; two of the most interesting are Ieuan Gethin's characterization of the relations between Owen Tudor and Catherine of Valois as 'a second Melwas-marriage,' and Ieuan ap Rhydderch's reference to the illusion of Melwas as a fog by which he covered himself while on his adventures.

Chapter III deals with the *sens* of the romance — which includes the *expolitio* of the theme whereby Chrétien strove to emphasize the idea of Lancelot's absolute subjection to the will of Guenevere, which was evidently the idea that Marie wished to have him bring out. Chapter IV deals with the development of this idea before Chrétien and in the work of Chrétien; this is the real contribution of the Provençals — for most of the rest of the love material may be traced back to Ovid, whose work Chrétien knew at first hand — and even with this the final working out was done at the court of Champagne.

It is to be regretted that the scheme of the book did not call for the consideration of still other aspects of mediaeval love, since all are so closely bound up together. One reason why the love service of Chrétien is so different from the love service of Ovid is that men came to think of love as ennobling as well as refining, and one would like more information on this point. But within the limits which the authors set themselves they have covered the ground thoroughly, and have helped us to a better understanding of the thought and the art of Chrétien.

JOHN J. PARRY,
University of Illinois

W. H. FRENCH, C. B. HALE, edd., *Middle English Metrical Romances*. New York: Prentice Hall. 1930. Pp. x+1041. Cloth. $4.50.

EDITORS and publisher alike are to be congratulated on their attractive volume, which, though in no sense a corpus of the ME. metrical romances will be, none the less, exceedingly useful to a host of readers in a dozen different ways. Nineteen romances are printed entire from an actual manuscript (or photostat of a manuscript), rendered readable, of course, but happily never seriously tampered with. Readers interested in critical texts must turn elsewhere. The *Sultan of Babylon*, Layamon's *Brut*, *Ywain and Gawain*, *Ipomadon*, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, the metrical *King Alexander*, the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, and the *Tale of Beryn* are represented in selection only. *Ywain and Gawain*, excellent though condensed rendering of Chrétien's *Chevalier au Lion*, might well have been given entire and Layamon omitted; Layamon's material is often related to romance, but his professed interest was in fact history, and what he actually writes is a metrical chronicle, as Wace did before him. The admission of selected passages at all

is evidently a concession to 'courses' on the romances; fortunately this practice was not carried far by the editors. Due to their lexical difficulties the West and North-west Midland alliterative more or less had to be excluded from the present volume.

The apparatus is distinctly elementary but probably quite suitable for readers of Middle English who have studied Chaucer. In point of fact the volume would make a first-rate companion book to a Chaucer course. The head-notes to the pieces vary in excellence and, like much of the introduction, will in practice serve the teacher better than the student. Typographically the volume is pleasing enough with its clear type and well spaced lines; it would have been a distinct improvement had the footnotes been numbered by the page rather than by a curious system of sets of 50, a procedure that would have eliminated most of the unsightly two-figure reference-numbers.

The real merit of the volume is, however, that it furnishes us with good texts of a considerable number of romances, many of which are not easily or cheaply secured separately. Readers of mediaeval literature will rejoice in the appearance of this book.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Harvard University

Don Placido de Meester, O.S.B., *Liturgia bizantina. Studi di rito bizantino alla luce della Teologia, del Diritto Ecclesiastico, della Storia, dell' Arte e dell' Archaeologia.* Libro II, Parte VI: *Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino.* Roma: Tipografia Leonina, 1930. Pp. xxxii+571.

This volume is the first to appear, though not the first in logical sequence, of an elaborate and ambitious series in which the author plans to cover the entire subject of the Byzantine Rite. As its title plainly indicates, it is restricted to the blessings which are contained in the Byzantine Euchology and similar books. The Liturgies are excluded, therefore, as well as all rites pertaining to the administration of the Sacraments. What is included however, is matter both ample and diversified, as the following summary of the contents will show.

After a brief introduction, in which the origin and development of the Byzantine Ritual are rapidly outlined, and a sketch of its contents given, the author describes and analyzes in Chapter I the ceremonies of the Monastic Ritual (σχηματολόγιον). These comprise the clothing of a novice, the two investitures — with the 'small habit' and with the 'large and angelic habit,' respectively — the removal of the hood after seven days (ἀποκουκουλισμός), the enclosing of a recluse, the reconciliation of a lapsed monk, the clothing and blessing of nuns, and the affiliation of layfolk to the monastic community. The 'Ritual of the Dead' (ἐξοδιαστικόν) is described in Chapter II. The subject matter of this chapter is considered under three headings: 1) the

assistance given to the dying in their agony, 2) funeral rites, and 3) rites and problems connected with the ceremonial of the dead. Chapter III contains an exposition of the consecration and blessing of a church and of objects connected with public worship. Chapter IV is a description of the blessing of a house or of a part thereof, and of the accompanying ceremonies. In Chapter V various blessings and rites intended for the welfare of the individual Christian in times of spiritual and physical distress are set forth with an abundance of interesting comment. Chapter VI deals with the blessings of animals, of plants and fruits, and of such substances as salt and yeast. Chapter VII contains a detailed account of certain outstanding blessings which take place on fixed days of the year, as for example, the blessing of the water on the feast of the Epiphany, of the palms on Palm Sunday, of bread on Easter Sunday, of the κόλυβα on Saints' days, and finally, a description of the fixed processions of the ecclesiastical year. An Appendix, extending over 11 pages, consists of two brief articles, of which the first is devoted to the following topics: the vestments worn by bishop and priests on divers occasions, the times at which the various services and rites contained in the Euchology are to be celebrated, the liturgical setting of prayers and rites (*'Come inquadrare la recita delle orazioni o il compimento di qualche rito'*). The second article gives a résumé of certain peculiar combinations of prayers found in a number of manuscripts. Twenty-five plates add considerably to the interest and value of the book.

The real value of the work, however, lies not so much in the fact that Dom de Meester has done what had never before been attempted, to wit, given in a single volume a comprehensive description of all the blessings contained in the Byzantine Euchology, but rather in the sound scholarship and in the thoroughly historical method for which he has long since become noted among liturgiologists and Byzantinists. The high standard which he set for himself in his dissertation, 'Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome' (*Χρυσοστομικά Studi e Ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del Comitato per il XV° centenario della sua morte*, Roma, Libreria Pustet, 1908, pp. 245–357), is maintained throughout the present volume, nor is the rich documentation missing which characterizes in so distinguished a manner the article on the Greek Liturgies contributed to the *Dictionnaire d' Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (VI, 1591–1662). On the basis of the 'gigantic researches' of Dmitrievski, as Conybeare once called them, and of several descriptive catalogues, more than 130 manuscripts are cited in the course of the work. The author has complete control of the entire literature of the subject — no slight matter in any part of the Byzantine field!

Profoundly indebted to Dom de Meester, as all students of the subject

must needs be, they cannot refrain from looking forward with an eagerness amounting almost to impatience to the appearance of the remaining volumes of the series.

Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B.,
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Victor Mortet et Paul Deschamps, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture en France*, Vol. II. Paris: Picard, 1929. Paper. Pp. 00+000.

It is the tragedy of archaeology that those who have the genius so often lack patience; and those who have the patience lack genius. In no hay-stack was the sought-for needle ever so exasperatingly concealed; in no stream of El Dorado nuggets of gold hidden among such quantities of slag. That is why forced labor in the field brings forth devastating torrents of printed words. The French school has rendered a supreme service in striking the golden middle road between two extremes — between those who have so much vision that they loose precision, and those who have so much precision that they loose vision. Mâle, Bertaux, de Lasteyrie have all been outstanding figures in this sublimating of a science which in uninspired hands turns to dross. We are eternally grateful to them. Archaeology would long ago have lost all that makes it worth while — its humanism — had it not been for the sacred fire kept burning in Paris. For one of the most appalling of all the appalling mistakes of the XX century, has been the belief that the history of art could be mechanized. Put a penny in the slot, turn the crank, and you will have a corpse. That dead body may be quite exact — so many feet and inches tall, measurements according to standard, and above all no mistakes. But it will breed pestilence and dissolution. No matter how many hundreds of thousands of photographs, how many great libraries, the labor of how many accessory slaves, how many hours of profitless self-abnegation lie behind it, it will be dead, company only for carrion like itself.

The fine old tradition of French scholarship is not mechanical. Foreign students are astonished in Paris to find the simplicity of the tools with which such work has been done. Its vitality lies not in external helps, but in internal force. Those business and wholesale methods, which elsewhere have changed the history of art from the most stimulating of subjects into material for the charnel-house, have happily taken little root in French soil. The Sorbonne still preserves its old tradition, and it is a great tradition.

Paul Deschamps is in the front rank of the younger scholars who are continuing and preserving the work done by the great generation now unhappily passing away, men like Enlart, Lefèvre-Pontalis, André Michel, Maurice Prou. And the book which lies before me illustrates to a peculiar degree this fine aspect of his work. Victor Mortet published in 1911 a collection of ancient texts on the history of architecture in France in the eleventh

and twelfth centuries.This well-made book is the constant work of reference for all who labor in the field, so well known that it would be platitudinous to eulogize once more its merits. Mortet had planned a second volume, which should complete the twelfth century, and continue the work into the thirteenth. But he died before this was complete. M. Deschamps now takes up the work of his teacher where the latter left it, and has completed the unfinished notes with researches of his own.

The new volume will be quite as indispensable to students as the first. The scheme on which both are made is an admirable example of the French method. No one of course questions the value of original documents for the study of the history of art. Students who have worked upon French art of the Romanesque and Gothic periods have experienced how difficult it is to find sometimes even the most fundamental of these texts. They are published in many different and frequently inaccessible works, and many times incorrectly. Yet they are the basis of our knowledge; more than that, they are full of that very live interest which belongs to an original thing. Now in these two admirable volumes these classic texts are simply reprinted. Each is preceded by a brief résumé in French of the contents of the document, and by a bibliographical notice stating, when it is known, where the manuscript is preserved, and giving a list of the previous publications. Nothing could be simpler and less involved, nor more completely satisfactory.

It goes without saying that no collection of this kind can ever be entirely complete. Notwithstanding the publication of the book, I am happy to think that the usefulness of the French archives has not entirely passed. The author of course has selected; and in general he has selected exceedingly well. We have unrolled before us in the original sources the history of French art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We have, one after the other, the famous texts so often referred to and so seldom seen, telling the story of the construction of the great cathedrals and abbeys — of Chartres, of Amiens, of St-Trond, of Fontfroide, of Le Mans, of St-Maximin, of St-Gilles, of Clairvaux, of Châlons-sur-Marne, of St-Remi of Reims, of Autun, of La Couronne, of Loches, of Notre-Dame of Paris, of Senlis, of so many others.

The documents assembled are of interest not only for the history of major monuments, but often throw unexpected light upon quaint details of mediaeval life and mediaeval history. Thus one already celebrated by Labande, but in an article too easily lost sight of, is a letter of the pope Hadrian IV, dated April 20, 1156, and addressed to the canons of Pisa, to whom he announces the arrival of monks from St Ruf of Avignon who are going to Italy to seek stones and columns for their new abbey. On reading this docu-

ment, it is impossible not to recall that the pulpit of the cathedral of Pisa, begun in 1158 by one Guglielmo, and now removed to the cathedral of Cagliari in Sardinia, shows strong Provençal influence; and also that certain capitals not of St Ruf, but of Notre-Dame des Doms of Avignon, of which one is in the Fogg Museum, are executed in Carrara marble.

It is always invigorating to touch reality; and it is the great merit of this collection of texts of M. Deschamps that it brings us directly into contact with basic truth.

A. Kingsley Porter,
Harvard University

Gottfried Müller, ed., *Aus Mittelenglischen Medizintexten. Die Prosarezepte Des Stockholmer Miszellankodex X.90.* (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, 10ter Band.) Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz, 1929. Paper. Pp. 215. M 15.

The Stockholm manuscript contains a variety of medical recipes and information about herbs in prose and verse. Selections from it, were first printed by George Stephens in *Archaeologia*, xxx, (1843) 349 ff. These selections, with additions, were collated with the manuscript and reprinted by Holthausen in *Anglia*, xviii, pp. 295 ff., and xix, pp. 27 ff. The present edition gives all the prose recipes, with full explanatory notes, rich in references to other middle English collections of a similar nature, notably those of Heinrich, Henslow, and Schöffler. The manuscript is the work of several scribes, and seems to have been written during the first half of the fifteenth century. In his introduction, Müller gives an adequate discussion of the language and contents of the prose recipes. He points out that the compilation seems to have been made for a lay practioner, since a regular physician would have had small need for a work in the vernacular. There is little or no order in the arrangement. Only slight effort is made to group the remedies for any one disease, and the same prescription is often given more than once. No source for the whole can be suggested, but the work shows frequent verbal similarities with the other English collections, and seems to have been brought together from a number of English works; Latin and French sources were also used, as several recipes are in Latin, and one (p. 121), in French. The collection may be considered typical of the information available for medical purposes in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe.

Like most similar collections, this one contains many entries which widen and enrich our knowledge of mediaeval life. From one point of view, the book is unadulterated tragedy: for eye troubles, thirty-four recipes (more than for any other ailment) are provided, of which a vast majority must have been harmful. There is much, however, ranging from the curious to the comic: the formula for 'aqua vite' (p. 27), may well commend itself to some of our champions of home industry, while manufacturers of toilet

accessories can get new ideas from the remedies for 'stynkande onde' on pp. 32, 56, 94, 97 and 116. (The curious may see Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXVI [1911], pp. 182 ff. for analogues to *Alphabet of Tales*, number 135, which deals with a manifestation of this age-old testimony to the imperfectibility of the human body.) Other matters of interest are: the panaceas like that on p. 47, containing seventy-four ingredients, or that on p. 126, made up of the various parts of some fifty herbs, three pounds of honey and forty pounds of wine; the suggestion that an herb put in the left shoe will cure toothache in the right side of the mouth (p. 53); the use in cases of the 'fallyng ewell' of 'ananizaptus' said in the ear of a man, and 'ananizapta' in that of a woman (p. 56); the cure of fevers by making the sick man eat sage leaves inscribed with 'Christus tonat,' 'Angelus nunciat,' and 'Johannes predicat' (p. 58); the surprising yet simple indications of the sex of an unborn child on pp. 82–83 and 108–109; the 'souereyn watyr for eyne' in which the solvents consist of white wine, 'vrine of a knawe-chyld and a mayde' (apparently an error, born of zeal, on our author's part for 'of a knaue child pat ys a clene mayde'), and woman's milk (p. 114); the gynecological application of hot fried cow's dung (p. 139); and the prescription of mint juice to clear the voice (p. 93), traditionally still followed in some parts of the United States.

There is a valuable bibliography (pp. 211–215) and the glossarial index is full, though somewhat invalidated for ready reference by the fact that the main entries are made under the modern English spelling of the words. Page and line of the manuscript are given in the margins, but the citation of references in the glossary and, sporadically, in the introduction, to these seems of doubtful value.

B. J. Whiting,
Harvard University

A. R. Nykl, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature containing: Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ališandᵉre (an Aljamiado Version of the Alexander Legend, with an Introduction, Study of the Aragonese Traits, Notes, and Glossary). The History and Classification of the Aljamiado Literature.* New York and Paris: *Revue Hispanique*, 1929. Paper. Pp. 207.

The title describes very fully the contents of this volume, a reprint from the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. LXXVII (1929); it may be added that pp. 5–11 contain a bibliography of matters relating to the subjects dealt with. Pp. 17–35 sketch the origin of the Aljamia and give an account of the Aljamiado texts, but the remainder of the book is devoted to an edition with apparatus of the *Rrekontamiento del Rrey Ališandᵉre*, supplanting the semi-popular, relatively unscientific edition of F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José, hijo de Jacob, y de Alejandro Magno* (Saragossa, 1888). Unfortunately the sources of the *Rrekontamiento* are discussed only sketchily (pp. 41–43),

and for that aspect of this text, of particular interest and importance to students of the legendary history of Alexander, one must still turn to the far more extensive study of the Spanish Arabicist, Professor Emilio Garcia Gomez, *Un Texto Arabe occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro* (Madrid, 1929), pp. xcix–cxiii. There *inter alia* the *Rrekontamiento* is carefully analysed and compared with the *Hadiz* (*History*) *of Dulcarnain*, there edited with a convenient Spanish translation. Gomez' summarizing remarks (p. cxii) on the sources of the *Rrekontamiento* may well be quoted in translation:

> The *Rrekontamiento* is an eclectic redaction which unites and juxtaposes fragments of the two chief versions of the Mussulman legend: the beginning is an abbreviated reflex of the typically Islamitic recension of the legend (accommodated to the Biblical-Khoranic Dulcarnain and for the most part formed of *hadices*, elaborated with almost complete independence of the Greek sources), a version, represented for example in MS. *No. 5379* of the Madrid National Library and MS. *No. LXI* of the Gayangos collection. The rest of the redaction is related to the other Arabic recension of the Alexander legend, more closely subject — though, of course, with extensive variations — to the Pseudo-Callisthenes canon; this is represented in the *Hadiz de Dulcarnain* . . . here edited.

It is in a sense a pity that the authors of two so closely related works could not have drawn upon one another; for Gomez, Nykl's meticulously edited text would have been of considerable help, while Nykl might have greatly enriched his introductory study of the *Rrekontamiento* with the aid of Gomez' elaborate 'Estudio Preliminar.' Here the Hispanic Society of America, with its interest in Gomez' volume (see Gomez, p. xviii), might have found some means of introducing these two scholars to one another.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Harvard University

Sister Mary Bridget O'Brien, M.A., *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.* (The Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies. Vol. xxi.) Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xv+173. $3.50.

This dissertation is an extension of the well-known work of Engelbrecht, *Das Titelwesen bei den spätlateinischen Epistolographen*. Sister Mary includes in her study 'all Christian Latin letters from the beginning of the third century, when epistolary remains become available, to the death of Caesarius of Arles in 543 A.D.' (p. v). She even goes farther than her title indicates, since she includes in her survey some abstract nouns, at least, which are not used in address, but refer to the writer himself in real or assumed humility as an equivalent of the first person (cf. pp. 72–78). The titles are grouped under the general headings of abstract nouns, embracing titles of esteem and titles of self-depreciation (1–78), concrete nouns (79–87), and adjectives (88–160). The titles in the first group are arranged in accordance with the rank of the person addressed, a superior, lay and ecclesiastical, an equal,

or an inferior. The adjectives are classed as attributive, in which case they are discussed as modifiers of abstract or concrete nouns, and as substantives. The book closes with a Summary (161–168), in which the titles are arranged as far as possible by centuries and in a hierarchical scheme, an Index Verborum, and an Index of Classes Addressed.

The chief value of such a study as this lies in its convenience for quick reference and in the exactness of its citations. From neither point of view is this study entirely successful. Citations are made by author and the number of the letter in the collection in which it is printed: if this is the *Patrologia*, the volume and the column are added, if the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (*CSEL*) or the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*MGH*), the page and the line. Unless one knows, therefore, in which one of these collections a letter is to be found, one often has to turn back to the Preface of the book where the author lists the writers by centuries and indicates the source of her text. Thus, such references as 'Avitus, Ep. 2, 15, 17' (p. 26), 'Paulinus, Ep. 5, 25, 10' (p. 93) may point to a volume of the *Patrologia* or to a page of the *Corpus* or the *Monumenta*. Since, too, all readers may not know the century in which a particular writer lived, it is necessary to run through the list of writers until one comes upon his name and thus learns where his letters are to be found. This procedure, as the reviewer can testify, takes time. More serious, however, are the infelicities of expression and the mistakes in citation. Thus, on page 10, after noting that the dictionaries cite references for the use of *aeternitas* as a title by pagan writers in addressing Roman emperors, the author adds: 'no mention is made of the Christian writers, Pope Leo I, Optatus, and Lucifer, in whose letters this title is also found.' This statement must mean that these Christian writers employed the term as a title, but the letters which are quoted in illustration were not written by these Christians. The first letter (Leo, Ep. 63, 54, 877 M.) was written, as the author herself notes in a parenthesis, by the Emperor Theodosius to the Empress Galla Placida; the second, Lucifer, Ep. 3, 321, 22 (*CSEL* 14), was not written by Lucifer but by Florentius, the private secretary of Constantius, to Lucifer; the third, Optatus, (*CSEL* 26), Ep. 8, 212, 21 (not 2 as cited) was not written by Optatus but by the praetorian prefect Petronius to Celsus. This is one of the letters printed as an appendix to the volume of the *Corpus* containing the works of Optatus and this fact evidently led the author to attribute seven letters to Optatus which he did not write. Again on page 18, in her discussion of the avoidance of the title *numen* by Christian writers, Sister Mary says: 'Augustine, however, used it once in a letter to the emperor,' and Ep. 88, 408, 13 (*CSEL* 44) is cited. The word occurs, however, not in Augustine's letter but in one from the pro-consul of Africa to Constantine III, a copy of which

Augustine sends to his correspondent. On page 44 *eruditio* is given as a doubtful title employed twice by Augustine in letters to 'men of high official standing.' The word is certainly not a title in the passages cited and one of the letters (Ep. 87) is quoted on p. 98 as addressed to a bishop. On page 106 the statement is made that *honestissimus* 'is found only in the letters of Nestorius to Pope Celestine I, and also in those of Marius Mercator.' The references given are 'Pope Celestine I, Ep. 15, 50, 499. Similar *ibid.* Ep. 48, 50, 842.' The curious jumble in this statement is no doubt due to the fact that the title occurs in but one letter, written by Nestorius to the Pope, which is printed twice in Migne, Ep. 15, 50, 499 and again among *Marii Mercatoris Translationes*, vol. 48, 841, not 50, 842 as in the text. On page 64 the source of the quotation from Pope Siricius (Migne 13, 1168) is omitted and had the author read the sentence following the one she quotes, she would have learned that *sospitas* is not a title. There are also numerous mistakes in the Latin of her citations and in her references; cf. pp. 10, 38, 44, 64, 65, 75, 143. The treatment of adjectives would have been much more helpful had the author compared the official use, as shown by inscriptions, of such adjectives as *clarissimus*, *egregius*, *perfectissimus*, *spectabilis*.

Such mistakes as these I have cited are evidences of a carelessness in scholarship which tends to rob the reader of the confidence which he should have in the author's statements.

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Johann Sofer, *Lateinisches und Romanisches aus den Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla* (gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+189.

By the author's admission, this study is drawn from a more extensive, unpublished work, *Die Vulgarismen u. Romanismen in den Etymologiae des hl. Isidorus von Sevilla*, which he completed at Vienna in 1924. The investigation was first suggested by Dr Karl Ettmayer, professor of Romance Philology at the University of Vienna, whose interest and proficiency in Vulgar Latin is well known. Besides an Introduction and appendices the present study has four divisions: Latin words of doubtful origin and meaning in Isidore; forms which Isidore refers to as vulgar (not preserved in Romance); vulgar forms which survive in Romance tongues, particularly Spanish; additional vulgarisms in Isidore, of interest to the Romanist. The first two of these divisions are reprints from *Glotta* xvi (1926), 1–47 and *ibid.*, xvii, 1–46, with no changes save continuous pagination; the third division is a reprint of *Glotta* xviii, 112–131, with several slight alterations; the fourth chapter now appears for the first time. In the *Glotta* reprints the

words are discussed under subject headings: rustic expressions, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, colors, nautical terms, religion and mythology, clothing, arms, and miscellaneous; in the fourth division alphabetical order is alone maintained. The appendices contain the necessary registers and a list of the passages cited from Isidore.

A great merit of this study is its careful bibliography. Dr Sofer has been most persistent and painstaking in citing every article, every general work which has a bearing upon his material. He was able to consult the slips of the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* which is going forward at Munich; he also received many suggestions and references from Professor W. M. Lindsay of Saint Andrew's, whose text of Isidore (Oxford, 1911) Dr Sofer has used as his basis. It is unfortunate that there is no complete list of the bibliography utilized which can be readily examined. The lists on pp. x–xii and 179 are intended as indices of abbreviations; they omit such important items as F. T. Cooper's *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (New York, 1895) and the *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum* of Otto Gradenwitz (Leipzig, 1904) which Dr Sofer does not fail to use in his text. Under *Nachträge und Berichtigungen* the author adds further bibliography which had escaped him in the *Glotta* instalments.

The first reaction of the critical reader is to want to check upon Dr Sofer's bibliography for omissions, since it is in bibliography that the learned author has spread himself.[1] This may not be fair, as certain references may have been omitted designedly as having little value or but small bearing upon the point. Dr Sofer has used Cejador y Frauca as a chief authority for Spanish etymology. It is notorious that there does not exist a single satisfactory etymological dictionary for the Spanish language; in such case it might have been wiser to utilize all the available ones. I do not find any use made of the *Diccionario general etimolôgico* (Madrid: Alvarez, 1800–1883, 5 vols) of Roque Barcia, or of the *Diccionario Latino-Español Etimolôgico* of Salazar y Quintana (Madrid: M. Sânchez, no date). I can add two article references: (to p. 151, sp. *cacho*) J. Brüch in *Zrp* XLI, 691–2, and (to p. 101, sp. *camello*) Spitzer in *Neuph. Mitt.*, XXII, 113–117.

The obvious defect of this book is its arrangement. This is partly due to the fact that most of it first appeared in *Glotta* as journal articles. Even so it is difficult to see why Dr Sofer made the chapter division that he did. He also hesitates between listing by subject classification and by alphabet; the result is somewhat of a hodge-podge. Even so, despite some confusion in form, this book will be a tool of immense value to Romanists. As far as can be judged, without exhaustive investigation, the words from Isidore have

[1] In checking upon Dr Sofer's references I have had at my disposal a Spanish bibliography of some 60,000 cards prepared by my colleague R. S. Boggs.

been very carefully selected and most of us are ready to agree with Dr Ettmayer that by a study of the Isidore vocabulary it is possible 'die lateinische und romanische Wortforschung durch neue Lösungen oder Probleme su bereichern.' (p. iii).

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BRIAN WOLEDGE, *L'Atre périlleux; Etudes sur les manuscrits, la langue et l'importance littéraire du poème, avec un spécimen du texte.* Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1930. Pp. 138.

THESE studies were presented as a thesis for the Doctorat de l'Université de Paris, and constitute prolegomena to a critical edition of *L'Atre périlleux*. The first five hundred lines of such an edition are offered as a specimen. This Arthurian romance is at present nearly inaccessible; it was printed in Herrig's *Archiv* for 1868, not too carefully, and on the basis of single MS., N^1. Three MSS are now known to be extant, N^1, N^2 and A (the sigla are Zingerle's), and Mr Woledge is the first to make a thorough study of them. He shows that the first two clearly present errors and omissions of a faulty archetype in passages where A probably preserves features of the original. A, however, is the work of a careless scribe called Colin le Fruitier and in detail the most defective of the three. There are indications of a relationship N^2A. In these circumstances our editor wisely decides to print, with full critical apparatus and a minimum of correction, the text of N^1 the best MS. — 11. 1–5740 are the work of the conscientious copyist to whom we owe the unique tradition of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, and the remainder is by a scribe scarcely inferior — renouncing the impossible task of reconstructing the author's text. Herein he follows the practice accredited by Bédier.

Mr Woledge shows commendable caution in dealing with the dialect of the author and of the copyists and in giving them a local habitation. By his study of the manuscripts he is able to complete and correct the spade work done upon the language of the poet by Wassmuth in 1905. Wassmuth assigned the author confidently to the west of the department of the Eure and tentatively to the neighborhood of Bernay, on the mere evidence of two overlapping areas on Suchier's maps in Gröber's *Grundriss*. Mr Woledge is not even sure that he was a Norman; he might come from farther west if we assume that the more eccentric features of his dialect gave way to the forms of the literary language.

As to the composition of the poem Mr Woledge is equally cautious. The evidence presented by Freymond and Zingerle that 11. 2791–5718 are an interpolation seems to him inconclusive; Wassmuth's contention that the end of the poem is the work of a second author is plausible but uncertain.

It is shown with great probability that the poem dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. One cannot agree that by this date a writer under-

taking an Arthurian romance, 'especially a romance about Gawain,' was foredoomed to conventional imitation. After all, the poet who devised the story of Gawain and the green knight showed vigorous originality. Not that we are claiming such for the present romancer; in fact, we think Mr Woledge overestimates his narrative art relatively to the whole genre.

Points of contact with other Arthurian romances are collected, but no attempt is made to view the data from the standpoint of folk-lore, or to seek light on general Arthurian problems. It is all too likely that *L'Atre périlleux* will prove unremunerative in this respect, but its date is not as conclusive an indication as Mr Woledge seems to think; there are most significant contributions to Arthurian story of later date than this. Furthermore, the materials preserved are so incomplete that even a late romance may bring to the surface a vein otherwise hidden.[1]

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[1] At lines 56, 127, 156, 177, 307, 328, Mr Woledge's report of the reading of N^1 seems to differ from Zingerle's *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxxvi (1910), 289. One has every reason to believe that his readings are correct.

On p. 37 n. 3 read N^1A for N^1N^2; p. 36, l. 3, read N^1N^2 for N^2N^2.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

J. Bühler, *Die Kultur des Mittelalters.* Leipzig: A. Kröner, 1931. Cloth. Pp. ix+360. RM. 3.75.

F. Ernst, *Die wirtschaftliche Ausstattung der Universität Tübingen in ihren ersten Jahrzehnten (1477–1534).* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1929. Paper. Pp. 105.

I. Gollancz, ed., *Death and Life, a Mediaeval Alliterative Debate Poem in a Seventeenth Century Version.* London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Paper. Pp. xvi+38.

L. Gougaud, *Anciennes Coutumes Claustrales.* Abbé Saint-Martin de Ligugé, Vienne, France: 1930. Paper. Pp. 121.

F. B. Gummere, *Founders of England,* with supplementary notes by F. P. Magoun, Jr. New York: Stechert, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xii+506.

E. B. Ham, ed., *Jehan le Nevelon: La Venjance Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, XXVII). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. lxvi+128.

F. Jónsson, ed., *Ágrip af Noregs Konunga Sögum* (Altnordische Sagenbibliothek, XVIII). Halle: Niemeyer, 1929. Paper. Pp. 65. RM. 4.50.

K. McKenzie, ed., *Antonio Pucci: Le Noie* (Elliott Monographs, XXVI). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. clxii+101.

W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies.* New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. ix+259.

E. J. Martin: *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xi+283.

E. J. Martin, ed., *Twenty-one Medieval Latin Poems Edited with Translation, Notes, and an Introduction.* London: Scholartis Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+126. 16 shillings.

A. H. Noyes, *The Military Obligation in Mediaeval England.* Columbus: Ohio State University, 1931. Paper. Pp. ix+200. $2.50.

L. J. Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Mediaeval History* (revised edition prepared under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America). New York: F. S. Crofts, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xvii+643.

H. Pirenne, A. Renaudet, E. Perroy, M. Handelsman, L. Halphen, *La Fin du Moyen-Age (La Désagrégation du Monde Médiéval).* Paris: Alcan, 1931. Paper. Pp. 569. Frs 60.

G. Soyter, ed., *Byzantinische Dichtung.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+68. RM. 3.

R. Trautmann, transl., *Die altrussische Nestorchronik.* Leipzig: Markert and Peters, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxii+302.

A. M. Walz, *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum.* Rome: Herder, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiv+664.

W. Weinberger, *Wegweiser durch die Sammlungen altphilologischer Handschriften (Sitzungsber.* Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl., CCIX, 4). Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930. Paper. Pp. 136. RM. 6.70.

B. Wilkinson, *The Mediaeval Council of Exeter.* Manchester (England): Manchester University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxiv+105. 10/6.

K. Wührer, *Romantik im Mittelalter.* Vienna: R. M. Rohrer, 1930. Paper, Pp. 76.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

SORTES, PLATO, CICERO

Satirisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts

Von HEINZ PFLAUM

EINLEITUNG

DAS nachstehend zum ersten Male mitgeteilte Gedicht hat etwas von der rätselhaften Art der Schlüsselpoesie, und dem ist es wohl zuzuschreiben, dass die bisherige Beschäftigung mit ihm jedesmal von schweren Missverständnissen begleitet war. Den Anfang macht in dieser Hinsicht der Schreiber der ältesten Hs., *cod. Par. lat. n.a. 1742*, der im Titel den Inhalt des Gedichts folgendermassen bezeichnet: 'Incipit t(ra)ctatus fr(atr)is Guido(n)is de Ma(r)chia ord(inis) mi(n)or(um) de cic(er)one disputatore & sortep(rae) dicato(r)e & pl(at)one l(e)c(t)ore.' Hier ist nun das Epitheton *disputator* zu Cicero durchaus unpassend; die Inhaltsanalyse wird deutlich machen, dass dieser Titel dem Cicero des Gedichtes auf keine Weise zukommt. Der erste Forscher, der unserm Gedicht wieder Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt hat, ist Delisle; er zitiert in seiner Beschreibung der genannten Hs.[1] den Titel des Gedichtes und die ersten beiden Strophen; der Titel ist in seiner Transkription vollends ganz sinnlos geworden: '. . . de Cicerone disputatore et sorte, predicatione et Platone lectore.' Aus dem Eigennamen *Sortes* ist also das Nomen *sors, sortis* geworden, *praedicatore* ist verlesen und der syntaktische Zusammenhang zerrissen. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass unter diesen Umständen die beiden zitierten Strophen, die eben auf einem Wortspiel

[1] *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* LVI (1895), 674.

mit *Sortes* und *sors* beruhen, ebenso unverständlich erscheinen wie der verderbte Titel. Dies ist denn wohl auch die Ursache davon, dass Kingsford[1] und Oliger,[2] die von dem Gedicht nur das kannten, was Delisle davon mitgeteilt hat, ihm literarischen Wert abgesprochen haben; mit Unrecht, denn welchen Wert kann auch ein Urteil haben, das auf Missverständnis beruht? Die zwei allein noch übrigen Erwähnungen des Gedichts haben sein Verständnis ebensowenig gefördert: gelegentlich der Beschreibung der zu Tours befindlichen Hs. des Gedichts[3] werden die ersten drei Strophen mitgeteilt, ohne dass aber die Abbreviatur *Sor* (=Sortes) aufgelöst würde, und eine Anmerkung (von M. Dorange) gibt an: 'Nous copions ce mot tel qu'il est figuré dans le MS., sans nous trouver à même de préciser quelle interprétation peut en être proposée'; es ist nun aber klar, dass ohne die richtige Interpretation dieses Wortes das Gedicht überhaupt unverständlich ist. Die Beschreibung der Prager Hs. des Gedichts durch Truhlář[4] zeigt dasselbe. Dort heisst es: 'fol. 274 (anepigr.) Carmen iocosum de Platone et Sorte (sic pro: *sorite*). "Sortes in consortibus . . . in pace sunt omnia." ' *Sorites* ist eine Form des Trugschlusses, der sog. Häufelschluss; mit unserm Gedicht hat er natürlich nicht das geringste zu tun; es ist eben nur ein missglückter Versuch des tschechischen Gelehrten, die Crux zu beseitigen.[5]

[1] *Fratris Johannis Peckam Tractatus Tres de Paupertate*, edd. C. L. Kingsford, A. G. Little, F. Tocco (*British Society of Franciscan Studies*, vol. II, Aberdeen, 1910, p. 151).

[2] P. Livarius Oliger, 'Das Streitgedicht Mundus et Religio in einer Prosabearbeitung des XV. Jahrhunderts' (*Collectanea Variae Doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki obtulerunt . . .*, München, 1921), p. 177.

[3] *Catalogue Général des MSS des Bibliothèques Publiques de la France: Départements*, XXXIII (*Tours*, par G. Collon, 1ère Partie [Paris, 1900]), 287.

[4] Jos. Truhlář, *Cat. Codicum Manuscriptorum Latinorum qui in Regia Bibliotheca Publica atque Universitatis Pragensi asservantur*, I (Prag, 1905), 1570.

[5] Weitere Mitteilungen über unser Gedicht sind mir nicht bekannt geworden; doch scheint auch Hauréau sich damit beschäftigt zu haben. In seinem grossen noch ungedruckten Initienverzeichnis, dessen Manuskript sich in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris befindet, fügt er nämlich den Anfangsworten und der Signatur der Pariser Hs. hinzu: '*Extraits* IV 40.' Aber weder Hauréau's eigene *Notices et Extraits* (Paris, 1890–1893) noch die gleichnamige Kollektion der Académie des Inscriptions enthalten etwas bezügliches; es muss sich also um eine ungedruckte Exzerptensammlung handeln, die Hauréau angelegt hat; doch ist eine solche Sammlung, wie mir M. Omont auf meine Anfrage hin liebenswürdigerweise mitteilte, in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek nicht vorhanden. Vielleicht ist es dieselbe Exzerptensammlung Hauréau's, von der Paul Meyer, *Notice sur Barth. Hauréau* (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXXII, Paris, 1898) p. VII spricht.

Die wirklichen Schwierigkeiten des Gedichts liegen freilich nicht hier, sondern in der symbolischen Bedeutung der Personen, von denen es handelt.

I. Analyse des Gedichts

Drei Personen werden uns vorgestellt; ihre Charakteristik ist der Inhalt des Gedichts. Diese drei sind 'Sortes, Plato und Cicero. Der Name *Sortes* erscheint auch sonst; er ist eine Verballhornung von *Socrates* (vielleicht die Kürzung So$\bar{r}$tes[1] als Wort gelesen?). Der Name des Sokrates kommt seit Abälard[2] häufig als Beispiel in den Syllogismen der scholastischen Literatur vor. Belege für die Form *Sortes* aus der Prosaliteratur bietet Grabmann[3]; einen poetischen Beleg findet man in dem von Karl Strecker[4] kürzlich veröffentlichten Gedicht 'Meum est propositum gentis imperite' (XIII. Jh.) Dort heisst es: 'Dives in fallaciis discat esse fortis, Discat capram facere de persona Sortis.'[5] In der Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle gibt Strecker weitere Belege für *Sortes*. Das Gedicht handelt also von Sokrates, Platon und Cicero; doch bezeichnen diese drei Namen nicht die drei antiken Philosophen, sondern drei typische Figuren aus des Dichters Umwelt, denen er diese Namen in symbolischer Absicht gegeben hat. Derartige symbolische Verwendung berühmter antiker Philosophennamen ist mehrfach nachzuweisen. So enthalten die *Carmina Bu-*

[1] Man findet in Hss. sowohl So$\bar{r}$tes (Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum*, 2ª ed., Mailand, 1912, p. 357) als So$\bar{c}$tes (De Wailly, *Paléographie*, Paris, 1838, I, 454).

[2] Abälard, *Dialectica* III., cap. *De argumentis* (*Œuvres Inédits* d'Abélard, ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1836, p. 427): 'Alioquin et in ista consequentia "si Socrates non est asinus, est non-asinus" necessarium esset argumentum.' Da Abälard der älteste Schriftsteller ist, den Strecker (s.u.) für diesen Gebrauch des Namens Sokrates anführt, möchte ich darauf aufmerksam machen, dass schon ein halbes Jahrhundert früher Sokrates als Paradigma der Dialektik verwendet worden ist, nämlich in Berengar's von Tours *De sacra coena* (edd. A. F. et F. Th. Vischer, Berlin, 1834, *passim*). Abälards *Dialektik* ist nach dem frühesten Ansatz (von G. Robert, *Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement de la Théologie pendant la Première Moitié du 12e Siècle*, Paris, 1909, p. 188) um 1121 verfasst, die genannte Schrift Berengar's dagegen spätestens 1075.

[3] Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, Bd. II. (Freiburg, 1911), p. 116, n. 1.

[4] Karl Strecker, 'Quid dant artes nisi luctum!,' *Studi Medievali, Nuova Serie*, I (1928), 380 ff.

[5] Str. 16, v. 1–2; *loc. cit.*, p. 389. Um Syllogismen von dieser Art — und nicht um die Tierfabel (wie H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, [München, 1920], p. 159, meint) — handelt es sich auch, wenn in dem Gedicht 'De Presbytero et Logico' (*Notices et Extraits*, XXXII, 1, 291) den Philosophen vorgeworfen wird: 'Sermo vester canis est, asinus et leo; Semper est de Socrate, homine tam reo.'

rana ein dialogisches Gedicht,[1] in dem zwei Geistliche sich über die Verderbtheit der römischen Kurie unterhalten; sie heissen Diogenes und Aristippus.[2] Im *Metalogicus*[3] persifliert Johannes von Salisbury einen zeitgenössischen Sophisten, den er Cornificius nennt, also mit dem Namen des römischen Rhetors und Dialektikers, den das Mittelalter durch Makrobius[4] kannte; Walter Mapes nennt in einem Gedichte einen Philosophen seiner Zeit Porphyrius[5] u.s.w. Und *Sokrates* und *Plato* sind geradezu zu Gattungsnamen für Philosophen geworden; in einem alten Epitaph[6] für Alexander von Hales (starb 1245) heisst es:

'Se totum ad Studium Parisiense tulit
Quo vel Socraticos vel summos quosque Platones
Ingenio facile dexteriore preit.'

Ebenso werden Sokrates und Plato als Exponenten der reinen Philosophie in einem Gedichte des Primas[7] genannt:

'Ibi [in Reims] nomen non Socratis,
sed eternae Trinitatis,
non hic Plato vel Timeus,
hic auditur unus deus . . . '

Endlich verdient eine Stelle Erwähnung, aus der sich ergibt, dass alle drei Namen unseres Gedichts *zusammen* in der Dialektik verwendet wurden: In einer lateinischen Grammatik des 13. Jahrhunderts[8] wird als Beispiel für einen zusammengesetzten Satz die Phrase gegeben: 'Sor[9] rogat Platonem ut ipse diligat Ciceronem.'

[1] *Carmina Burana*, edd, A. Hilka et O. Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930), Nr. 189 (ed. Schmeller, No. CLXXI).

[2] Dieser Name wird sogar von einem italienischen Philosophen als Beiname geführt: Evaricus Aristippus (*ca.* 1162), so wie es auch Gelehrte mit Namen Aristoteles und Plato gab: Johannes Aristoteli, Professor in Bologna (*ca.* 1380); Platone da Tivoli (*ca.* 1150) etc.

[3] *Liber* I, *cap.* 1–9 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CXCIX, 825–837).

[4] *Saturnal.*, I, 23, 2.7; *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* II, 10, 10 ff.

[5] Er erzählt von einem spitzfindigen Mönch, 'qui nostrum Porphyrium laqueo suspendit.' (*The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. by Th. Wright, London, 1841, p. 28.)

[6] Bei Franc. Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae*, (Rom, 1587), I, 126.

[7] No. 18 Vers 53 ff. (*Die Gedichte des Primas* ed. Wilhelm Meyer, *Nachrichten der Kgl. Ges. der Wiss.*, Göttingen, 1907, Phil. hist. Kl. p. 102).

[8] Ch. Fierville, *Une Grammaire Latine Inédite du 13e Siècle*, (Paris, 1886), p. 29.

[9] Diese Grammatik (oder ihr Herausgeber?) schreibt meist *Sor*, gelegentlich *Socrates;* einmal stehen absurderweise beide Formen nebeneinander: 'Sor legit Lucanum; Lucanus legitur a Socrate.'

Von der Biographie und Persönlichkeit der grossen antiken Philosophen wusste man einiges, besonders durch verschiedene Exzerpte aus Diogenes Laertius, der um 1160 ins Lateinische übersetzt worden war[1] und dessen Nachrichten auch im XIV. Jahrhundert Walter Burleigh in *De vita et moribus Philosophorum*[2] bearbeitet hat. So hat denn unser Dichter die Namen jedenfalls der beiden griechischen Denker passend gewählt, d.h. passend zu deren traditionellem Bilde. Sokrates heisst sein Praedicator, weil er wie dieser unermüdlich auf den Beinen ist, auf Strassen und Plätzen seine Lehre mitteilt, ein Genosse der Armen, nicht belastet durch öffentliche Aemter, und dabei ein ärmliches Leben, ein Leben ohne allen Komfort, mit stoischer, besser: kynischer Genügsamkeit führt. 'Sokratisch' ist dem Dichter überhaupt gleich 'frugal,' wie ein Vers des Gedichts (9, 3) zeigt: 'quieti socratice paratur hospitium.' Sokratisch ist es denn auch, wie der genügsame Vagabund, der nach den feineren Genüssen des Luxus nicht fragt, dafür die derberen Freuden der Welt, den Wein, den Schmaus und die Liebe geniesst. Plato dagegen ist als Schulhaupt aufgefasst, d.h. der mittelalterliche Professor wird durch den würdevollen Vorstand der Akademie symbolisiert, der nicht auf der Gasse meditiert, sondern im Hörsaal doziert; seine gewaltige Disputierkunst mag in Platons dialogischer Produktion eine Analogie finden. Und so wie die Wendung *socraticum hospitium* so hat auch *platonicum consortium* bei unserm Dichter einen generellen Sinn, nämlich den von heiterer, gebildeter Geselligkeit, wie sie im *Symposion* erscheint; an der oben angeführten Stelle (9, 4) fährt er fort: 'nec Sortes platonice sortitur consorcium.' So ist denn für den Praedicator und den Lector jedenfalls der eine oder andere charakteristische Zug aus dem Bilde ihrer grossen Paten verwendet, der die Namengebung rechtfertigt: für den einen vor allem des Sokrates Vagabundieren, für den andern Platons akademische Würde.

Woher aber schreibt sich der Name 'Cicero'? Um die Wahl des Namens aus den Eigenschaften der so bezeichneten Person zu verstehen, muss man sich einen Cicero vorstellen, der, müssig in seinem Tuskulum sitzend, sich's gut sein lässt, übrigens mehr Jurist und

[1] Vgl. Val. Rose in *Hermes* I (1866) 376 ff.
[2] *Bibl. des Literar. Vereins*, Stuttgart, 1886.

Beamter als Philosoph und also dem Sokrates und Plato in philosophischen Dingen nicht ebenbürtig, während er sie gleichwohl durchhechelt und aburteilt. Seine Mässigkeit im Essen und Trinken gefällt dem lebenslustigen, freiheitliebenden Scholaren, der das Gedicht verfasst hat, ebensowenig wie sein sittenrichterliches, doktrinär autoritatives Wesen, seine Streitsucht. Er ist, so findet der Dichter, weder Fisch noch Fleisch: auf Ehren und Würden erpicht gleich Plato, ist er so wenig wie Sokrates geneigt, die Mühen eines akademischen Amtes auf sich zu nehmen. Das ergibt denn nun freilich ein reichlich schiefes Bild von der Persönlichkeit des grossen Redners, und es ist überhaupt merkwürdig, dass ein derartig unfreundlich gezeichneter Charakter den Namen des allgemein bewunderten Cicero trägt — war doch Cicero seit der karolingischen Renaissance als grösster Prosaiker durchgängig anerkannt.[1] Man muss vielleicht annehmen, dass hier die Polemik der patristischen Schriftsteller wie Laktanz[2] einwirkt, die sich oft in scharfer Weise gegen Cicero wendet, sowie auch die Tatsache, dass man von Cicero nur die dialektischen und rhetorischen Schriften besass. Im übrigen war es, was Cicero betrifft, dem Dichter anscheinend genug an einer vagen Analogie zwischen der Person und ihrem Namen.

Soviel also über die Namengebung! *Thema* des Gedichtes ist (um es zunächst ganz allgemein zu sagen) die Charakteristik dreier nach Tätigkeit, Lebensweise, Rang und Naturell untereinander sehr verschiedener Personen, die Sortes, Plato und Cicero benannt sind. In dem *ersten*, dem längsten Teile des Gedichts (Str. 1–22) sind es Sortes und Plato, die charakterisiert werden, und zwar durch eine Reihe von Kontrastierungen; jede Strophe enthält einen oder auch zwei Züge, in denen die beiden sich unterscheiden. Solche antithetische Charakteristik wurde im rhetorisch-dialektischen Schulunterricht des Mittelalters besonders geübt; Beispiele findet man nicht nur in zahlreichen Streitgedichten, sondern auch in den *Artes Poeticae* wie im *Laborintus* des Everardus Alemannus.[3] Der *zweite* Teil des Gedichts

[1] Vgl. Paul Schwenke, 'Hadoards Cicero-Exzerpte,' *Philologus*, Supplementband v (1886) p. 397–588, bes. p. 404.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. lat.* vi, 135, 263, 297, 351, 386, 410, 441, 536.

[3] Vers 275 ff. (ed. Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques du 12e et du 13e Siècle*, Paris, 1924, p. 346).

(Str. 23–34) schildert dann, was Cicero von den beiden andern unterscheidet, was ihm mit Sortes gegen Plato, mit Plato gegen Sortes gemeinsam ist. Die Schlussstrophe endlich drückt den Wunsch des Dichters nach Ausgleich dieser Gegensätze aus. Belebt ist dies etwas dürre Schema durch den burlesk-pathetischen Ton des Ganzen und durch die drastische Komik der Antithesen. Dies rhetorische Mittel verwendet der Dichter mit viel Geschick; hierin vor allem liegt der nicht geringe literarische Reiz seines Gedichts. Der Wertakzent, mit dem die Charakterbilder gezeichnet sind, ist für Plato und Sortes nahezu gleich: beide haben einige Mängel und bedeutende Vorzüge, doch steht der erstere im Urteil des Dichters im ganzen doch höher. Cicero hingegen ist ganz negativ gesehen: er hat die Mängel der beiden anderen und keinen ihrer Vorzüge.

Wir haben nun diese drei Charakterbilder im einzelnen anzusehen und ihre Deutung zu versuchen.

Sortes symbolisiert, so scheint uns, den Bettelmönch und Wanderprediger, also den Stand, den in den ersten Jahrzehnten des XIII. Jahrhunderts die neugegründeten Orden der Dominikaner und der Franziskaner geschaffen haben. So heisst es denn von Sortes in den verschiedensten Wendungen, dass er 'läuft' (*currit*), zu Fuss, ohne Pferd und Wagen, in Schnee, Regen und Sturm oder in der Sonnenglut durchzieht er das Land. Eine systematische Vorbereitung auf sein Predigeramt hat er nicht erhalten (5, 4),[1] theologische Gelehrsamkeit fehlt ihm denn auch (18, 4). Sein Predigen ist die praktisch-theologische und -moralische Verarbeitung der akademischen, philosophisch-theologischen Forschung (Str.13), deren Verständnis ihm freilich nicht leicht fällt (14, 4). Er ist Popularisator, kein selbständiger Kopf; das Thema seiner Predigt nimmt er fix und fertig mit auf den Weg (16, 3), und natürlich braucht er nicht zu fürchten, dass jemand ihm widerspricht, wenn er predigt (20, 3 f.). Für seine Mängel entschädigt sein Eifer; er plackt sich ab, wie er kann. Das Leben solch eines Wanderpredigers ist ja freilich schwer genug. Die Mühen des Weges (32, 2) und die Unbilden der Witterung (4, 1), dieselbe rauhe Kutte im Sommer und im Winter (5, 2), mageres Essen und ein

[1] Im folgenden sind die Nummern von Versen im allgemeinen nur dann angegeben, wenn die Analyse eine besondere Interpretation der betreffenden Stellen zur Voraussetzung hat.

hartes Bett (8, 3), dazu den Spott der Gelehrten (9, 4) muss er ertragen. Es ist ein Leben von Tag zu Tage, von der Hand in den Mund (10, 1), bar der Ehren und Würden (11, 1). Aber dies Leben hat auch seine Freuden, die dem gelehrten Stubenhocker nicht zu teil werden. Mit offenen, unverbildeten Sinnen geniesst er das Angenehme dieser Welt (15,3 f.): seine Freizügigkeit (16,3), Gesundheit und langes Leben (16, 4 f.), Gastfreundschaft (19, 2), Bacchus und Venus (17, 2; 18, 4).

Dieser neue Sokrates ist also — ganz wie manche andere Mönche seiner Zeit — ein loser Vogel, der es mit der Regel des hl. Franziskus nicht sehr genau nimmt; er hat eben ein weites Gewissen (18, 3), und der Dichter — ganz nach Scholarenart — findet nichts dabei. Seine Schilderung des Sortes ist von einem reizenden Humor und vom behaglichsten Wohlwollen erfüllt, und nur am Schluss (35, 1) lässt er einen leisen Verweis hören. Im ganzen aber hält er dafür (33, 1 f.), dass auch dieser schlichte Knecht Gottes mit seinem Pfunde wuchert, und er gibt sich der Hoffnung hin (11, 3), dass der geduldige Kämpfer das Paradies offen finden werde.

Plato, der würdevoll und tiefgründig *ex cathedra* disputiert, scheint mir deutlich als *lector* gekennzeichnet, d.h. als Professor an einer Universität oder einer Klosterschule. Bekanntlich hatten die Dominikaner gleich nach der Approbation ihres Ordens (1216) und bald darauf auch die Franziskaner — sehr gegen den Willen ihres Stifters[1] — sich den Wissenschaften zugewandt, sodass in den folgenden Jahrzehnten, teils innerhalb der Universitäten, teils in Verbindung mit ihnen, dominikanische und franziskanische *Studia* entstanden. Erst verhältnismässig spät nahmen die übrigen Orden diese Tendenzen auf: noch gegen Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts hiessen die beiden genannten Orden *ordines studentes*[2] κατ' ἐξοχήν. Einem dieser beiden Orden gehört also jedenfalls unser Plato an, und da der Verfasser selbst Franziskaner war, so ist anzunehmen, dass auch Plato als diesem Orden angehörig gedacht ist.

[1] Dies die, m. E. richtige, Meinung von Paul Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, (Paris, 1894), p. 318 ff. P. Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte der Wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um die Mitte des 13. Jhdts.*, (Freiburg, 1904), sucht dagegen den hl. Franziskus selbst als den Wissenschaften geneigt darzustellen.

[2] Dieser Ausdruck bei Roger Bacon, *Compendium Studii Philosophici* ed. Brewer, (London, 1859), p. 426.

In der Charakteristik des Mendikanten-Professors sind Respekt vor dem hohen Stande des akademischen Lehrers und Ironie wunderlich gemischt. Sie legt besonders nahe, als Verfasser des Gedichts einen Scholaren anzunehmen, dem eben die Gelehrsamkeit und der dialektische Scharfsinn seiner Professoren Achtung und Bewunderung einflössen, der sich aber auch gern über sie lustig macht: wäre der Dichter damals selbst Lektor gewesen, so würde der Spott über Platos Schwächen wohl fehlen; auch würde er dann wohl nicht (Str. 7 und 9) betonen, dass Lector und Praedicator von Natur und vor Gott gleich sind und also (muss man schliessen) zu den gleichen Ansprüchen ans Leben berechtigt sind. Dass aber der Verfasser selbst Praedicator wäre, schliesst schon seine höhere Wertung des akademischen Standes (besonders Str. 12) aus.

Die Schilderung der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Platos stimmt mit dem, was wir sonst vom mittelalterlichen Universitätswesen wissen, gut überein, während die Beschreibung seiner Persönlichkeit und seiner Lebensweise unserer Kenntnis des Lebens an den alten Universitäten eine Anzahl neuer charakteristischer Züge hinzufügt.

Der Professor ist auf sein Amt durch lange Jahre gründlich vorbereitet (5, 3). Seine hauptsächlichen öffentlichen Funktionen sind die *Disputatio* und die *Lectio*.[1] Für die *Disputatio* (1, 3; 2, 1; Str. 20; 29, 4) ersinnt er in angestrengter Arbeit im Voraus das 'problema' (16, 2), das dann seine Schüler unter seinem Vorsitz kontradiktorisch erörtern (30, 3). Die *Lectio* erstreckt sich auf die verschiedensten Fächer. Es war nämlich bis Ende des XIV. Jahrhunderts üblich, dass alle Dozenten einer Fakultät die Textbücher — und das heisst auch die Studienfächer — zu Anfang des Semesters so unter sich verteilten, dass im Turnus jeder einmal über jedes Buch zu lesen hatte.[2] Im allgemeinen behandelt Plato die philosophischen Fächer, d.h. diejenigen, über die es Schriften vom 'Philosophus' (14, 2), d.i. Aristoteles, gab: also neben Logik und Metaphysik auch Physik, Kosmologie, etc. (1, 4; 3, 7; 7, 1; 10, 3; 14, 2; 32, 1). Eine Ausnahme hiervon bezeichnet nur 14, 1: 'dum Plato vult legere Genesim vel Exodum,' was auf

[1] Ueber *Lectio* und *Disputatio* vgl. besonders M. Grabmann, *Geschichte d. Schol. Meth.* (*loc. cit.*), Indices.

[2] Masius in Schmid's *Geschichte der Erziehung*, Bd. II, Abt. 1, (Stuttgart, 1892), p. 430.

die Theologie zu deuten scheint.[1] Aber die *Genesis* liess sich ja auch für Kosmologie heranziehen, und das Buch *Exodus* kann der Lektor auch aus historischem Interesse zur Interpretation wählen. Uebrigens mochten überhaupt — entsprechend dem Grundzug scholastischer Methodik — Philosophie und Theologie in der akademischen Praxis lange nicht so geschieden sein wie im Studienprogramm.[2] Platos wesentliche Aufgabe ist jedenfalls der Unterricht in der Philosophie.

Anschaulicher als die Tätigkeit des Professors ist seine Lebensweise geschildert. Sein Leben ist — insbesondere im Vergleich zu dem des Wanderpredigers — reich an Ehren und Annehmlichkeiten. Er erhält den obersten Platz an der Tafel (6, 2); er geniesst den Umgang der Vornehmen und wird mit öffentlichen Aemtern bekleidet (11, 2). Seinen Bruder, den armen Sortes, darf er von oben herab abkanzeln (2, 4; 9, 3 f.). Er trägt feines Leinen und einen prächtigen Talar (5, 1); natürlich streicht er Kollegiengelder ein (6, 1). Wo Sortes sät, da erntet er (7, 3 f.); das heisst wohl: die jungen Leute, die Sortes durch sein Predigen dem Orden und also auch dem Studium gewinnt, bringen dem Professor Gewinn ein. Er kann sich auch an geistvoller Geselligkeit erfreuen (8, 4).

Aber man muss auch die Kehrseite der Medaille betrachten. Man sollte es kaum glauben, was der Herr Professor für ein geplagter Mann ist. Das Nachdenken raubt ihm den Schlaf (20, 2); die Gicht und alle andern Gebresten des Stubenhockers plagen ihn (16, 1). Die Freuden des Weines sind nicht für ihn (25, 1). Bleichen Angesichts windet er sich in seiner Stube (21, 1), um neue und sublime Gedanken aus sich herauszupressen. Immer wühlt die Angst in seinen Eingeweiden (21, 2), denn er hat höchst kritische Zuhörer: wenn er ihren Erwartungen nicht entspricht, so reagieren sie mit Zischen und Murren (4, 3; 19, 4). Seine unterjochten Sinne rächen

[1] Vers 12, 3: 'pociori opere vacat cum Jheronimo,' der gleichfalls Bibelexegese andeutet, ist sicher interpoliert, da von den fünf Versen, die Str. 12 unregelmässigerweise hat, nur dieser Vers ohne Störung des Sinnes entbehrt werden kann; er fehlt auch in der Prager Handschrift. Uebrigens lässt sich der Hinweis auf Hieronymus auch als Anspielung auf Geschichtswissenschaft deuten, da Hieronymus ja allgemein als der Vater der christlichen Historiographie galt.

[2] Mit Recht betont M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*, 5e éd., (Louvain, 1924), I, 65–66, 'le mélange de certaines matières et de certains arguments philosophiques avec les matières et les arguments théologiques.'

sich: sie quälen ihn mit unziemlichen Tagträumen und Wunschbildern (18, 2). Lange kann ein solches Leben nicht währen (17, 4). Plato ist eben, mit einem Wort, der Prototyp des überanstrengten, nervösen Kopfarbeiters. Seine Charakteristik, die zu der des Sortes in effektvollem und komischem Kontrast steht, ist als eine originale Leistung anzusprechen.

Von *Cicero* empfangen wir ein weit weniger präzises Bild als von den beiden andern. Und man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass dies nicht zufällig so ist: die beiden ersten Charakteristiken enthalten zwar auch einige negative Züge; aber bei ihnen ist doch nur gutmütiger Spott, freundschaftliche Neckerei im Spiel. Aber Cicero ist durchaus feindselig aufgefasst. Der Typus oder die Persönlichkeit, die er vertritt, ist dem Dichter schlechterdings verhasst; darum wohl mochte dieser — aus Vorsicht oder aus Takt — nicht allzu deutlich sein. Was wir von Cicero erfahren, ist also im wesentlichen nur dies: nach seiner Lebensweise steht er in der Mitte zwischen Sortes und Plato. Bald tummelt er sich im Freien wie Sortes, bald hockt er im Hause wie Plato, ganz nach seinem Belieben. Er ist masslos faul, kuschelt sich ins Körbchen wie ein Schosshündchen (26, 4); dabei ist er aber doch ehrsüchtig. Er spielt sich als Herrn auf: Sortes und Plato, die Tätigen, Verdienstvollen, müssen sich vor ihm, dem Untätigen, Unbegabten, ducken; er urteilt sie ab (27, 4) und schreibt ihnen ihre Tätigkeit vor, obwohl nichts ihn dazu berechtigt (Str. 29). Selbst Plato, den scharfen Disputator, steckt er in die Tasche (30, 4): er raubt den Menschen die Ruhe (31, 4). Störrisch wie ein Esel (26, 3) und brutal wie ein Nashorn (32, 3 f.) geht er seinen Weg; dabei ist er so verweichlicht, dass er derbe Speisen und Bier nicht verträgt (24, 1 f.). Er gleicht dem trägen Knecht des Evangeliums, der das anvertraute Geld seines Herrn im Boden vergräbt, anstatt es auf Zins zu legen (33, 3 f.). Er ist der 'Vicarius' der beiden andern, aber ohne ihre Verdienste (25, 4).

Was bedeutet nun all dies von Cicero Gesagte? Sortes und Plato waren leicht zu definieren: der eine ist Wanderprediger, der andere Professor. Was aber ist Cicero? Fest steht zunächst: diese Figur muss so gedeutet werden, dass nicht nur die angeführten Eigenschaften auf sie zutreffen, sondern dass sie auch mit den beiden andern zu-

sammen eine organische Gruppe bildet; die drei müssen aufeinander einen sachlichen Bezug haben. Da bietet sich nun diese Erklärung an: Alle drei sind Mitglieder des Franziskanerordens, (dem auch der Dichter angehörte); Plato und Sortes symbolisieren die beiden traditionellen Haupttätigkeiten der Mendikanten, Unterricht und Predigt, so wie noch heute in allen Franziskanerklöstern die Brüder in Lectores und Praedicatores eingeteilt werden; Cicero ist keins von beiden, sondern etwas höheres: er ist Prior, Guardian eines Klosters oder gar einer 'Provinz' (wie die Landsmannschaften bekanntlich in vielen Orden genannt werden), vielleicht auch Rektor der Schule, der Sortes und Plato angehören. Der Ausdruck *amborum vicarius* (25, 4) stimmt hierzu sehr gut. 'Vicarius,' ein Titel, der im Mittelalter verschiedenen Staatsbeamten, Magistratspersonen, auch Richtern zukam,[1] hat im Franziskanerorden zu allen Zeiten speziell einen Oberen bezeichnet. So erklärt sich die Macht, die im Gedicht Cicero über die beiden andern hat, wie auch dies, dass er weder die Tätigkeit des Lectors, noch die des Praedicators ausübt. Er überwacht, setzt ein und setzt ab, tyrannisiert, spaziert herum oder liegt auf der Bank; zu tun hat er nichts — das ist das Bild, das sich der junge Klosterbruder von seinem Oberen macht; es ist die Einstellung, die der Untergebene so oft gegenüber seinem Vorgesetzten hat, besonders aber die Goliarden gegenüber der geistlichen Obrigkeit.

Ausser 'Vicarius' ist übrigens noch ein Ausdruck da, der sich speziell auf die Verhältnisse des Ordens beziehen lässt und so unsere Auffassung stützt: 'medius in ordine' (31, 1); d.h. dann also 'er (Cicero) nimmt eine Mittelstellung (zwischen Lector und Praedicator) im Orden ein'; und auch der Vers (23, 1) 'inter istos medius *admiscetur* Cicero' ('ist unter die andern gemischt') scheint deutlich darauf anzuspielen, dass Cicero gleichfalls dem Orden angehört.[2] Man versteht auch, warum der Dichter inbezug auf Cicero nicht deutlicher gewesen ist: wo es sich um einen Höheren handelte, war grössere Behutsamkeit im Ausdruck geboten. Und vielleicht hängt es hiermit zusammen, dass der Titel des Gedichts, (der nur in der Pariser Hs.

[1] Vgl. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, sub voce.*

[2] Ueber Vers 32, 4, worin, wie es scheint, auf die Mitra angespielt wird, wie sie von Aebten und Bischöfen getragen wurde, vgl. unten den Kommentar zur Stelle.

steht) dem Cicero ein so unpassendes Epitheton gibt: *De Cicerone* disputatore *et Sorte praedicatore et Platone lectore.* Das Wort *disputator* hat nie ein bestimmtes Amt oder dergleichen bezeichnet, sondern immer nur einen Menschen, der gerade mit Disputieren beschäftigt ist, und kann also ebensowenig einen Titel abgeben wie unsere Worte 'Vorredner,' 'Fragesteller,' 'Absender' u.s.w. Es ist also wohl möglich, dass das harmlose, aber unpassende Wort 'disputator' in Vertretung eines in diesem Zusammenhang verfänglicheren Titels wie 'Prior,' 'Vicarius,' 'Guardianus' oder dergl. eingeschmuggelt ist, veilleicht unter Einwirkung der im XII. Jhdt. von Petrus Cantor[1] eingeführten parallelen Gruppierung von Lectio, Disputatio und Praedicatio, (die sich aber bei ihm nur auf die Beschäftigung mit der Heiligen Schrift bezieht, während in unserem Gedicht diese Worte unzweifelhaft einen allgemeineren Sinn haben).

So gedeutet, stellt sich das Gedicht *Sortes Plato Cicero* als *die humoristisch-satirische Charakteristik der drei Mönchstypen dar, aus denen sich der Franziskanerorden*[2] *zusammensetzt: Professor, Wanderprediger, Prior.* Das Gedicht rückt damit in die Nachbarschaft der zahlreichen Dichtungen, die einen Rangstreit zwischen den verschiedenen geistlichen Ständen, zwischen den einzelnen Mönchsorden, zwischen Scholar und Pfründner, 'Logiker' und 'Presbyter' etc. enthalten und die H. Walther[3] zusammengestellt und besprochen hat.

Wir können jedoch diesen Teil der Untersuchung nicht abschliessen, ohne zuvor die Frage noch aufzuwerfen, ob es sich in unserm Gedicht tatsächlich nur um die Schilderung von Typen handelt oder nicht vielmehr um die Porträts dreier bestimmter Personen aus des Dichters Umwelt, so dass wir es mit einem eigentlichen Schlüsselgedicht zu tun hätten. Mit dieser Möglichkeit müssen wir durchaus rechnen, wenngleich wir, wie die Dinge liegen, wohl kaum eine Hoffnung haben, diese drei Personen je identifizieren zu können. Aber zuviel dürfen wir in den Begriff des individuellen Porträts bei unserem

[1] Petrus Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum, cap.* 1 (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CCV, 25).

[2] Sämtliche Angaben des Gedichts treffen freilich ebenso auf die Dominikaner wie auf die Franziskaner zu. Wenn wir es dennoch auf den letzteren Orden speziell beziehen, so geschieht das vor allem, weil der Verfasser selbst Franziskaner war.

[3] H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (=*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* II, München, 1920), p. 158 ff.

Gedicht auch nicht hineinlegen. Das Wichtigste war für den Dichter gewiss nicht die originalgetreue Zeichnung, sondern eben die Herausarbeitung des Typischen, Ueberindividuellen. Hatte er wirklich drei Männer seiner Bekanntschaft bei der Abfassung im Auge, so hat er jedenfalls ihre persönlichen Züge weitgehend verwischt, um statt dessen alle die hervortreten zu lassen, die für Tätigkeit und Lebensweise der Dargestellten und also auch für alle anderen Kleriker mit gleichen Lebensbedingungen charakteristisch sein konnten; die künstlerische Absicht ging beim Dichter des *Sortes* wie bei einem Rutebeuf, einem Freidank und so vielen anderen dahin, gewisse allgemeine Erscheinungen seiner Zeit im Zerrspiegel einzufangen. Von einer Personenbeschreibung forderte die mittelalterliche Poetik, dass sie präzise Angaben über des Dargestellten Rang, Alter, Ort, Gestalt, Nation u.s.w. enthalte;[1] in der Charakteristik des Sortes, des Plato und des Cicero aber fehlen gerade solche speziellen Angaben, sozusagen die Personalien, völlig. Wenn es in der Stadt, in der das Gedicht entstand, zehn Professoren, zehn Wanderprediger und zehn Aebte gab, so konnte wohl auch ein Mitbürger des Dichters schwerlich aus dem Gedicht erraten, wer von diesen nun Sortes, wer Plato und wer Cicero sei. Wenn also wirklich individuelle Porträts dem Gedicht zugrundeliegen, so sind diese Porträts jedenfalls zu Typengemälden ausgestaltet und müssen als solche beurteilt werden.

II. Zur Form des Gedichts

Die in unserem Gedichte verwendete Strophe ($4 \times 7 \smile - a + 7 \smile - b$, d.h. acht trochäische Siebensilbler mit zwei gekreuzten Reimen) ist auffallend selten;[2] sie findet sich genau so, soweit ich sehe, nur gelegentlich bei Abälard[3] und bei Adam von Skt. Viktor,[4] ferner (jedoch erweitert um einen Refrain) in zwei Gedichten Walthers von Châtil-

[1] Matthieu de Vendôme, *Ars versificatoria* (ed. Faral, *Arts Poétiques*), I, 141–92.

[2] Das Gedicht *Carmina Burana* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 124 (Schmeller Nr. LXXXVII) *Dum Philippus*, das Wilh. Meyer, *Ges. Abh. zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, (Berlin, 1905) I, 305, als einziges Beispiel für diesen Strophenbau anführt, gehört nicht hierher, da es nicht (wie Meyer sagt) aus einer vierzeiligen Strophe, sondern in Wahrheit aus einer sechszeiligen besteht.

[3] Abälard, *Planctus* II (ed. Migne, *Patr. lat.* CLXXVIII, 1818), Vers 1–8 (nur zwei Strophen!).

[4] *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de St Victor*, ed. L. Gautier (Paris, 1858), I, 18; I, 133.

lon[1] und (unter Hinzugügung zweier anders gereimter Zeilen) in Nr. 47 der von Flacius Illyricus[2] gedruckten Motette. Die dieser Strophe zugrundeliegende Zeile, die Verbindung zweier trochäischer ('steigender') Siebensilbler, war zwar weit weniger beliebt als die eigentliche 'Vagantenzeile,' ist aber (obwohl schwieriger zu handhaben) doch auch nicht selten verwandt worden,[3] besonders, wie mir scheint, in Frankreich. Taktwechsel, den ja manche Dichter, besonders in trochäischen Reihen, soweit wie möglich zu vermeiden gesucht haben, zeigen die 140 Verse unseres Gedichtes sowohl in der ersten wie in der zweiten Vershälfte ausserordentlich oft, nämlich 81 mal,[4] Hiatus an sieben Stellen. Zu kurze oder zu lange Verse oder Strophen kommen nicht vor; nur Strophe 12 zählt gerade in den beiden besseren Hss. *N* und *T* fünf Verse, jedoch jedenfalls auf Grund von Interpolation. Die von W. Meyer[5] als 'daktylischer Wortschluss im Taktwechsel' bezeichnete Erscheinung, d.h. die Verwendung eines Proparoxytonons vor einem mit betonter Silbe beginnenden Worte (wie *dinúmerat pluries* 3, 2; *in váriis finibus* 15, 2), eine Lizenz, die im allgemeinen verpönt war,[6] findet sich nicht weniger als neunmal; der an sich seltene[7] Fall eines zweisilbigen Wortes am Ende eines steigenden Versschlusses kommt einmal vor (4, 4 *in Silo*).[8] Rührender Reim (*rime riche*, z.B. *loquitur: prosequitur* 2, 1–2) ist häufig (16 Fälle, darunter ein vierzeiliger[9]), gleichfalls eine Eigenschaft, die sich

[1] O 3 und O 33 (*Die Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, hsgg. von K. Strecker, Heft 1, [Berlin, 1925] p. 4 und p. 61 f.) Walter liebt überhaupt den steigenden Siebensilbler und verwendet ihn auch sonst oft, freilich mit anderen Versarten kombiniert.

[2] Flacius Illyricus, *De corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata*, (Augsburg, 1754), p. 18 ff.

[3] Zum Beispiel Abälard, *Hymn.* ed. Migne (*loc. cit.*), Nr. 56–59; Archipoeta ed. Manitius (München, 1913) Nr. 4; *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 127 (Schmeller Nr. LXXXIX); Adam de St Victor, II, 252; Flac. Ill. Nr. 18; *Liebeskonzil von Remiremont* (ed. Wilh. Meyer, *Nachr. der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1914 I 1 ff.) u.s.w. (Es versteht sich, dass die hier von mir genannten Stücke nur in ihrem Versmass, nicht aber in ihrem Reimschema mit unserem Gedicht übereinstimmen.)

[4] Davon 33 mal in dreisilbigen Worten am Beginn eines Halbverses (wie 'Platónis in manibus' 1, 3), was nach W. Meyer, *Ges. Abh.* [cit.] I 264 oft auch in solchen Gedichten, die an sich Taktwechsel zulassen, vermieden wird.

[5] *loc. cit.*, I, 265–9.

[6] Vgl. Karl Strecker, *Einführung in das Mittellatein*, (Berlin, 1928), p. 28.

[7] Strecker, *Cambridger Lieder* (Berlin, 1929), p. 115 Anm.

[8] Doch wurde dies Wort vielleicht, wie im Hebräischen, oxytonisch gebraucht.

[9] Str. 1, *consorcio:dispensacio:disputacio:demonstracio* (Hier also zugleich auch dreisilbiger Reim in drei Zeilen; siehe unten).

besonders bei Gedichten aus Frankreich findet. Die beliebte Spielerei, (die in der *Poetik* des Geoffroi de Vinsauf[1] ausdrücklich empfohlen wird), mehrere Composita desselben Wortstammes im Reim zu binden (z.B. *prefero:infero*) ist zweimal durch alle vier Reime einer Strophe durchgeführt (Str. 2 und Str. 29). Dreiseilbiger Reim, den, wie es scheint, die romanischen Dichter besonders lieben, findet sich in nicht weniger als fünf Strophen; alle übrigen Reime sind zweisilbig ('leoninisch'); einsilbige Wörter erscheinen nicht im Reim. Die von Wilhelm Meyer[2] aufgestellte Regel, wonach Wiederholung desselben Reims in mehrstrophigen Gedichten möglichst vermieden wird, ist in unserm Gedicht, wie übrigens in so vielen anderen, nicht beachtet: gewisse Reime kehren bis zu achtmal wieder. Die Reime des Gedichts sind nach mittelalterlicher Auffassung sämtlich rein.[3] Mit Vorliebe ist Allitteration verwendet (vgl. besonders 5, 3 b; 14, 4 a; Str. 24). In stilistischer Hinsicht ist der antithetische Bau der meisten Strophen sowie die Neigung zu Wortspielen und zu mehrfacher Wiederholung desselben Wortes oder Wortstammes hervorzuheben.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass der Dichter (was für einen Romanen typisch ist) die formalen Verzierungen (rührender Reim, dreisilbiger Reim, Allitteration, Wortspiel, Wortwiederholung, reimbildende Komposita, Antithese) aufsucht, das er hingegen die strengeren prosodischen Regeln (Vermeidung von Hiatus, daktylischem Wortschluss, Taktwechsel, Wiederholung des Reims) nicht beachtet.

III. Der Verfasser des Gedichts

Ein Verfasser wird nur in der Pariser Hs. (*N*) angegeben, und zwar 'frater Guido de Marchia ordinis Minorum.' Was wir von diesem Manne wissen, ist wenig.[4] Guy de la Marche war ein vorehelicher

[1] Geoffroi de Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, Vers 1812 ff. (bei Faral, *Les Arts Poétiques*, p. 252 f.).

[2] *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1907, Phil.-hist. Kl., p. 168 ff.

[3] Es kommen also Reime wie *anvię: patrię* oder *hominis: crastinīs* vor, aber nicht solche wie (*Archipoeta* I, 21) *verecundo:precum do* oder (*ibid.* III, 6) *decor:mechor*, oder gar (*Primas* III, 26 [ed. W. Meyer, p. 121]) *sumpta: Acerunta*.

[4] Vgl. Hauréau in: *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXIX, (Paris, 1885), p. 552–557. Alle älteren Notizen über Guy, von Wadding, Sbaralea, Bale, Pits, Tanner, Fabricius, (sämtlich bei Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age, Biobibliographie*, nouv. éd., I, [Paris, 1905], col. 2009–2010 angeführt) sind wertlos.

Sohn Hugos, zwölften Grafen von Angoulême. Da Hugo XII 1257 geheiratet hat, ist Guy vor diesem Datum geboren. In einem päpstlichen Schreiben von 1291 wird dem Guy de la Marche, 'presbytero ordinis Minorum' wegen seiner Gelehrsamkeit und sittlichen Qualitäten das Recht gegeben, trotz des Makels seiner Geburt alle höheren Aemter im Franziskanerorden, dem er seit langem angehört, zu bekleiden, mit Ausnahme des höchsten, des Amts eines Ordensgenerals. Von Bale[1] erfahren wir noch, dass Guy Doktor der Philosophie war, und aus der Bezeichnung 'Guido de Marchia Pictaviensis' im Inhaltsverzeichnis der Hs. *N* lässt sich schliessen, das Guy im Franziskanerstudium zu Poitiers dozierte. Aus dem Inhalt des angeführten Schreibens geht hervor, dass Guy damals in reiferem Alter stand. Wann er starb, darüber lässt sich nicht das geringste vermuten, und Kingsford hat Unrecht, wenn er sagt,[2] dass Guy wahrscheinlich um 1315 starb; denn Hauréau, auf den sich Kingsford hierfür beruft, bringt, wie der Zusammenhang deutlich ergibt, die Notiz über Guy ausschliesslich deswegen zum Jahre 1315, weil er als Terminus ad quem für die Abfassung der *Disputatio mundi et Religionis*, die er dem Guy zuschreibt, das Jahr der Aufhebung des Templerordens (1312) annimmt. Setzt man aber den Terminus ad quem der *Disputatio* bis 1270 herauf oder spricht sie dem Guy gar ab (was Kingsford beides tut), so fehlt der Ansetzung des Jahres 1315 als mutmassliches Todesjahr Guys jegliche Basis. Wir haben also festzustellen, dass wir nur dies wissen: Guy wurde vor 1257 geboren und starb nach 1291.[3]

Ist nun Guy tatsächlich als Verfasser des Gedichtes *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* anzusprechen? Das muss zunächst als sehr zweifelhaft erscheinen, und zwar aus folgendem Grunde. In zwei Handschriften, *T*(ours) und *P*(rag), ist das Gedicht anonym überliefert, nur in *N*(= Paris, Bibl. Nat. *n.a. lat. 1742*) unter Guys Namen. Die Hs. *N* enthält nun noch ein anderes Gedicht, als dessen Verfasser sie Guy

[1] *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus*, (Ipswich, 1548), cent. XII art. 16.

[2] Johannes Peckham, *Tractatus tres*, p. 151.

[3] M. J. Georges, Präsident der Société archéologique de la Charente zu Angoulême, hatte die Güte, auf meine Bitte hin in den lokalen Quellen Nachforschungen über Guy anzustellen, ohne aber weiteres zu finden. Für seine Bemühungen sei ihm auch an dieser Stelle wärmstens gedankt.

angibt, nämlich die eben genannte *Disputatio mundi et religionis*. Neuerdings hat aber Kingsford den Nachweis unternommen, dass die *Disputatio* nicht Guy de la Marche, sondern Johannes Peckham gehört, und andere Forscher, H. Walther[1] und P. Livarius Oliger,[2] haben seiner Beweisführung zugestimmt. Wenn nun dieser Nachweis richtig ist, so wird auch die Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* an Guy aus zwei Gründen sehr zweifelhaft. Einmal ist zu bedenken, dass dieselbe Handschrift, die die *Disputatio* fälschlich Guy zuschreibt, auch in bezug auf den Verfasser des anderen Gedichtes wenig Glauben verdient; vielmehr ist dann damit zu rechnen, dass diese Abschrift der beiden Gedichte aus einer Quelle stammt, die an Guy's Dichterruhm interessiert war, etwa aus demselben Kloster, dem Guy angehört hat. Ferner aber hängt die Frage der Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* an Guy noch auf andere Weise mit der der *Disputatio* zusammen: die beiden Gedichte haben nämlich, wie wir zeigen werden, gewisse stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten, die es sehr wahrscheinlich machen, dass sie tatsächlich *einem* Verfasser gehören. Es ergibt sich also, dass die Zuweisung von *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* mit der Entscheidung über den Verfasser der *Disputatio* steht und fällt. Wir haben uns also zugleich mit diesem letzteren Problem auseinanderzusetzen, das durch die literarische und kulturhistorische Wichtigkeit der *Disputatio* und die Bedeutung ihres präsumptiven Verfassers, John Peckhams, ein besonderes Interesse gewinnt.[3]

Die *Disputatio Mundi et Religionis*[4] ist gedacht als Verteidigung der Bettelorden gegenüber den Anschuldigungen ihrer Gegner. Mundus, Personifikation des weltlichen Lebens,[5] bringt beim Papst und

[1] H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, p. 166.

[2] 'Das Streitgedicht Mundus et Religio,' in *Collectanea variae doctrinae*, p. 177.

[3] Johannes Peckham, geb. in Surrey um 1240, Franziskaner; dozierte mit ausserordentlichem Erfolge in Oxford, Paris und Rom, Erzbischof von Canterbury seit 1279, starb dort 1292; seine zahlreichen und vielgelesenen Schriften erstrecken sich auf Naturwissenschaft, Philosophie, Theologie, franziskanische Apologie; hinzu kommen einige Gedichte. Vgl. *Dict. of Nat. Biogr., s. v.*

[4] Gedruckt von Hauréau, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* XLV (1884) p. 1–30, von Kingsford in seiner genannten Ausgabe der *Tractatus tres de Paupertate* des Johannes Peckham, p. 159–191, sowie in mehreren alten Ausgaben der Werke des S. Bernardino da Siena.

[5] Mundus vertritt das weltliche Leben im allgemeinen, nicht aber, wie P. Livarius Oliger *loc. cit.*, pp. 170, 180, 183 und 184 behauptet, den Weltklerus im Gegensatz zum Ordensklerus. Die Stellen über den Kummer der Eltern wegen der Verführung ihrer Söhne (Vers 45–56 und

bei der Kurie seine Anklagen vor und fordert Verbot der Orden; Religio, Personifikation des Lebens der Bettelmönche, verteidigt sich und klagt ihrerseits Mundus an; der Papst entscheidet schliesslich, dass das mönchische Leben zwar besser, dem Christen zuträglicher ist, dass man aber auch in der Welt (*mundo*) rein (*munde*) anstatt weltlich (*mundane*) leben kann. Beide, Kloster und Welt, sollen, bei Strafe, Frieden halten und einander dienen, das Kloster durch sittliches Vorbild, die Welt durch Gewährung des Unterhalts. Mundus klagt die Mönche vor allem an, dass sie die Jugend zum Eintritt ins Kloster verführen, dass sie betteln und dabei im Reichtum leben, dass sie nicht arbeiten, dass sie hochfahrend sind u.s.f. Religio repliziert, dass das Weltleben ein Leben voll Sünde ist, dass es zwar schlechte Christen unter den Mönchen gibt, besonders unter den Benediktinern; Franziskaner und (in zweiter Linie) Dominikaner aber sind musterhaft; Christus selbst wollte ein Bettler sein; physische Arbeit ist von dem, der forscht und grübelt, nicht zu fordern u.s.w. Von beiden Seiten wird der Disput mit Leidenschaft und eindringlicher Argumentation geführt; gelehrte theologische und klassische Anspielungen gibt es in Menge, ebenso Wortspiele, rhetorische Paraden, plastische Details. Es sind im höchsten Masse gelungene, witzig pathetische 'Kapuzinerpredigten,' wertvoll besonders durch die freimütige Kritik der Mängel des Klosterlebens.

Der Umfang des Gedichtes ist in den Hss. sehr verschieden; die kürzeste Fassung hat 435 Verse, die längste 811.

Es gilt nun, die Argumente zu prüfen, die Kingsford[1] und Oliger[2] zur Zuweisung des Gedichtes an Johannes Peckham Anlass geben konnten. Ich stelle sie zunächst zusammen, um sie sodann Punkt für Punkt zu besprechen.

1. Vor allem hat die Zuweisung an Peckham einige Hss. für sich. Die Hss. sind von H. Walther[3] und dann noch einmal (ausführlicher) von Oliger[4] beschrieben worden; jede dieser beiden Listen hat einige

101–112 der Ausgabe Kingsfords) genügen, um das zu beweisen; denn sie passen natürlich nicht auf die Weltgeistlichen, die ja im allgemeinen keine Söhne haben, sondern nur auf Laien. Umgekehrt enthält das ganze Gedicht keine Anspielung, die sich direkt auf die Weltgeistlichen beziehen liesse.

[1] *loc. cit.*, p. 151–5.
[2] *loc. cit.*, p. 176–7.
[3] *loc. cit.*, p. 165 f.
[4] *loc. cit.*, p. 173–175.

Hss., die der anderen fehlen; sie ergänzen sich also gegenseitig.[1] Aus der Vergleichung ergibt sich, dass vier von den dreizehn Hss. des Gedichts Peckham als Verfasser angeben: *C*(=Cambridge, Un. Lib. *cod. Dd XIV, 20*); *D*(=Oxford, Bodl. Lib., *Digby 166*); *I* (=Bologna, Bibl. Arciepisc., Aula 2a, *cod. C. V. 19*) sowie München, *cod. lat. 8980;* in sieben Hss. ist kein Verfasser genannt, in zweien Guy.

2. Das Gedicht ist, wie Kingsford nachweist, zwischen 1255 und 1274 entstanden;[2] 'also,' sagt Kingsford, 'kann Guy, der damals erst ein Knabe war, nicht der Autor gewesen sein.'

3. In der Zeit, in der das Gedicht wahrscheinlich entstand (1255–1274), war Peckham Lehrer in Paris. Er hat selbst an der Polemik zwischen den Franziskanern und Wilhelm von St Amour über die Ordensregeln teilgenommen.[3] Die Anklagen von Mundus gegen die Mönche sind z.T. die gleichen, die damals gegen die Franziskaner vorgebracht worden sind. Es finden sich Parallelen zu einigen Stellen des Gedichts in Peckham's prosaischen Schriften:

4. Peckham ist auch sonst als hervorragender lateinischer Dichter bekannt.

Auf Grund dieser Argumente kommen die beiden Forscher dazu, Guy höchstens die erweiterte Fassung des Gedichtes, wie sie z.B. in *Parisin. Lat. 7906* vorliegt, dem Johannes Peckham aber das ursprüngliche Gedicht zuzusprechen.

Sehen wir nun der Reihe nach zu, was es mit diesen Argumenten auf sich hat.

1. Was die Zuweisung der *Disputatio* an Peckham in vier Hss. betrifft, so ist zu erinnern, dass, wie man weiss, die Verfasserangaben der Hss. in überaus vielen Fällen auf reiner Willkür beruhen. Es

[1] Zu den von Oliger beschriebenen Hss. treten hinzu: München, *cod. lat. 8980* (s. xv); Basel, Un.-Bibl. *D* iv 4 (s. xiii–xiv); Brit. Mus. *Roy. 8B* vi (s. xvi). Was die für uns wichtigste Frage der Attribution betrifft, so kann ich aus Mitteilungen, für die ich den Bibliotheksverwaltungen in Basel und London verpflichtet bin, Walthers und Oligers Angaben dahin ergänzen, dass das Gedicht in beiden Hss. anonym ist.

[2] Im Laufe seiner diesbezüglichen Untersuchung fixiert Kingsford p. 153 das Jahr 1274 als Terminus ad quem; in seiner Schlussfolgerung setzt er jedoch dafür 1270 ein; denselben Widerspruch zeigt Oliger p. 176. Ich sehe keinen Anlass, den Terminus ad quem vor 1274 anzunehmen.

[3] Vgl. über diesen Streit jetzt A. Callebaut, 'Jean Peckham et l'Augustinisme' (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* xviii [1925], 441–472).

war bekanntlich gang und gäbe, Werke, die man in der Vorlage anonym fand, mit dem Namen irgendeines bekannten Schriftstellers zu schmücken. Der Name des berühmten, auch als Dichter gefeierten Erzbischofs von Canterbury war ganz dazu angetan, auf diese Weise verwertet zu werden. Auch zwei andere lateinische Gedichte, *De Confessione* und *Dum iuvenis crevi*, die die Hs. *Ee VI6* der Universitätsbibliothek Cambridge enthält, sind ihm fälschlich zugeschrieben worden. Peckhams Ruhm blühte natürlich vor allem in England, und so sehen wir denn, dass zwei der in Betracht kommenden Hss., *C* und *D*, aus England stammen, während die dritte Abschrift, *I*, aus dem Besitz des Francesco d'Empoli O. F. M. (starb nach 1347) stammt, der in Oxford studiert hat. Die vierte Hs. (München), hat kein Gewicht, da sie erst dem xv. Jh. angehört. Zu beachten ist noch, dass die Verfasserangaben sowohl in *C* wie in *D* nicht vom Abschreiber selbst stammen, sondern erst nachträglich von anderen Händen hinzugefügt worden sind.

2. Auch wenn das Gedicht spätestens 1274 oder sogar (wie Kingsford und Oliger wollen) spätestens 1270 verfasst ist, so spricht das nicht gegen Guys Verfasserschaft, da in Wahrheit nichts uns zwingt anzunehmen, dass Guy damals noch ein Kind war. Wie ich oben dargelegt habe, wissen wir von ihm nur, dass er vor 1257 geboren und nach 1291 gestorben ist, im letzteren Jahre aber ein als Charakter und als Gelehrter angesehener, reifer Mann war, den bis dahin nur der Makel seiner Geburt von hohen Aemtern ausgeschlossen hatte. Nichts spricht also dagegen und einiges dafür, dass Guy auch 1270 schon erwachsen war. Kingsfords und Oligers Behauptung beruht eben nur auf der unbeweisbaren Annahme, dass Guy bis 1315 gelebt hätte.

3. Der Zusammenhang der *Disputatio* mit dem Streit um die Mendikantenorden, an dem auch Peckham sich beteiligt hat, und die Aehnlichkeit in der Argumentation beweisen nach keiner Seite hin etwas. Diese Argumente, die ebenso bei anderen Schriftstellern sich finden (ich will nur Thomas von Aquino und Bonaventura nennen), waren in jenen Jahren, wie auch Jahrzehnte später, unzweifelhaft Gemeingut. Die Parallelen zu einigen wenigen Stellen des Gedichtes, die Kingsford s. 192–193 und 197–198 aus Peckham's Prosaschriften

zusammengetragen hat, sind nicht im mindesten charakteristisch; Kingsford selbst ist sich darüber klar gewesen: 'they are not of a conclusive character.'

4. Während die bisher behandelten Punkte nur dies ergaben, dass Peckham nicht der Verfasser der *Disputatio* sein *muss*, zwingt uns die Vergleichung mit den Peckham sicher zugehörigen Gedichten einerseits und mit dem Gedichte *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* andererseits zu dem Schluss, dass Peckham nicht der Verfasser der *Disputatio* sein *kann*. Peckhams Gedichte sind: *Philomela* (mystische Betrachtungen vor allem über Christi Leiden), *Meditatio rythmica de Sacramento Altaris, Versus de Sacramento Altaris, Psalterium beatae Mariae Virginis* (Peckham gehört vielleicht nur das Prooemium), *De Deliciis Virginis gloriosae.*[1] Diesen Gedichten ist Stil und Stimmung gemeinsam: es sind die Aeusserungen schwärmerischer Frömmigkeit, einfach in der Diktion, obwohl sehr gefühlvoll, reine Stimmungsergüsse, von der erbaulichen Betrachtung bis zum gesteigertsten Ausdruck franziskanischer Christusmystik. Die *Disputatio* ist offenbar von ganz anderer Art: ein Erzeugnis ironischer Reflexion, drastisch, schwierig in der Diktion, burlesk-pompös, reich an rhetorischen Antithesen, an mythologischen und theologisch gelehrten Anspielungen, das Werk eines Scholaren, der seine Bildung zu zeigen liebt, der die Ansprüche seines Ordens stolz verteidigt, aber auch die Kritik mit Behagen zu Worte kommen lässt. Diese komisch-antithetische Anlage, diesen kritisch-rationalen Charakter teilt die *Disputatio* auch mit *Sortes, Plato, Cicero*, aber nichts davon finden wir in Peckhams erwähnten authentischen Gedichten. Gemeinsam ist der *Disputatio* und dem *Sortes* auch die Schlusswendung: beide enden mit der konzilianten Feststellung, dass die verschiedenen Parteien, die im Gedichte antithetisch gegeneinander gestellt sind, im grossen Ganzen die gleiche Notwendigkeit, den gleichen relativen Wert haben.

Wir haben bisher von dem allgemeinen Eindruck der *Disputatio* und des *Sortes* im Gegensatz zu Peckhams Gedichten gesprochen; die Prüfung der metrischen Verhältnisse stärkt unsere Ansicht. Wir

[1] Die genannten Stücke sind sämtlich u.a. bei Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, gedruckt und zwar: L, 602–616, 597, 598; LV, 153–171; L, 598–600. Vgl. ferner ebenda V, 19; XXIII, 5; XXXVII, 110.

wählen als Vergleichsobjekt die *Philomela*, das umfangreichste und charakteristischste unter Peckhams poetischen Werken. Wir sehen nun zunächst in der *Philomela* (die ebenso wie die *Disputatio* in Vagantenstrophen geschrieben ist) das sorgliche Bemühen, Taktwechsel zu vermeiden; die *Disputatio* und *Sortes* dagegen wimmeln von Taktwechsel: *Philomela* zeigt in ihren 360 Versen 24 mal Taktwechsel (davon 10 Fälle der leichtesten Art, nämlich bei angehängtem -que, wie cáputqué, súoqué, múndiqué) also im Durchschnitt 7 Taktwechsel (Tw) auf 100 Verse; *Disputatio* zeigt allein in den ersten 100 Versen 66 mal Tw, und *Sortes* zeigt in seinen 140 Versen 81 mal Tw, also im Durchschnitt auf 100 Verse 57 mal Tw. In Prozenten ausgedrückt: 7%: 66%: 57%. Von Zufall kann da offenbar keine Rede sein. Umgekehrt zeigt die *Philomela* eine andere Lizenz, die die beiden übrigen Gedichte vermieden haben, nämlich die Verwendung eines einsilbigen Wortes am Schluss eines Verses oder Halbverses: die *Philomela* (360 Verse) hat 16 Versschlüsse vom Typus *tále cór*, *sénsit hóc*, *pía méns*, *sé dat*, *ulnís te*, die *Disputatio* (580 Verse) nur einen (*audi mé*, Vers 15), *Sortes* (140 Verse) keinen. In Prozenten ausgedrückt: 4.4%: 0.2%: 0%. Endlich weist die *Philomela* zahlreiche stark prononcierte Enjambements auf, während die beiden andern Gedichte solche offenbar zu vermeiden suchen.

Der Zusammenhang, der, wie wir sahen, durch die allgemeine Stimmung, die Schlusswendung und die Behandlung des Verses zwischen der *Disputatio* und dem *Sortes* hergestellt wird, erscheint endlich entscheidend gefestigt durch die Sprache der beiden Gedichte. Sie haben nämlich eine Anzahl paralleler Wendungen, die um so bemerkenswerter sind, wenn man die Kürze des *Sortes* in Betracht zieht. Es sind die folgenden:

1) Non via sed invio
D(=*Disp.*, ed. Kingsford) 72
Non via sed invio
S(=*Sortes*) 13, 3.

2) Et celestis praemii erunt iam consortes
D 316
Praestat eis bravium aeternae salutis
D 568
Sortes erit superum consors sorte bravii
S 11, 3

3) Nam si solum legerent saeculares isti
Iam falsis quae dicerent non posset resisti
D 529 f.
Si Plato non legeret, si cessaret quaestio . . .
Sortes sorte curreret
S 13, 1–3

4) Cum transire videris caput monachorum,
Tot vadit cum faleris et turmis equorum
Et cum tot armigeris et turba cursorum.
D 289 ff.
Sortes prae consortibus currit in consorcio,
In equis et curribus non est dispensatio
S 1, 2

5) Et Boëz manipula et panis Abdie . . .
Ministrabunt singula nunc ut illa die
D 546–8 (mit Anspielung auf *Ruth*, 3,7)
Sortes cursim seminat de cuius manipulo
Plenus Plato ruminat sine cordis scrupulo
S 7, 3 f. (mit Anspielung auf dieselbe Bibelstelle)

6) Et si de tot milibus sint decem vel centum
Vacantes erroribus, *condentes talentum*,
An ab hoc ex omnibus sumas [so ist wohl zu verbessern statt 'sumus,' das Kingsford druckt] argumentum,
Quod unum in moribus teneat accentum? (Das Fragezeichen fehlt bei Kingsford)[1]
D 205–8 (mit Anspielung auf *Matth.*, xxv., 18)
Plato, Sortes tradita *talenta* multiplicant . . .
Ciceronis merita Ciceronem iudicant
Quem in mna *recondita* ociosum indicant
S 33, 1–4 (mit Anspielung auf dieselbe Bibelstelle).

7) Et, si bene cogitas, sub umbra pannorum [scil. der Doctores]
Quiescunt nunc veritas et verba sanctorum.
D 527 f.
Plato pannis tegitur sicco sedens vellere
S 5, 1

8) Ut ab his desisterent, fuimus admixti
D 532
Inter istos medius admiscetur Cicero
S, 23, 1

[1] Bei dieser Gelegenheit seien auch einige andere sinnstörende Fehler in Kingsfords Text vermutungsweise verbessert. Hinter den Versen 64; 212; 396 und p. 174, n. 10, v. 4 müssen Fragezeichen stehen; hinter Vers 541 Semikolon oder Punkt. Dagegen ist p. 177, n. 8 hinter Vers 5, und p. 179, n. 7 hinter Vers 4 der Punkt zu streichen. In Vers 513 wird die Lesart von *A* durch den Reim gefordert. Ausserdem lies Vers 398 *est;* Vers 471 *transeo;* p. 188, n. 13 v. 1 *praeterea.*

Die Frage, die uns im Vorhergehenden beschäftigt hat, beantwortet sich nunmehr dahin: Die *Disputatio inter mundum et religionem* ist kein Werk des Johannes Peckham; sie gehört vielmehr demselben Dichter, der *Sortes Plato Cicero* geschrieben hat. Seinen Namen erfahren wir aus den Hss. *Par. lat. n. acq. 1742* und Oxf. Coll. *Reg.*[1] und wir haben keinen Grund, diese Angaben der beiden Hss. in Zweifel zu ziehen. *Der Verfasser der 'Disputatio' und des 'Sortes' ist Guy de la Marche.*

IV. Die Handschriften des Gedichts und die Prinzipien der Ausgabe

Drei Hss. des Gedichts sind mir bekannt geworden:

1) *Hs. N* = Paris, Bibl. Nat. *ms. lat. nouv. acq. 1742.* Anfang XIV. Jhdts., Pergament. 28×20.5 cm. Ehemals dem Dominikanerkloster Grenoble gehörig. Die Hs. ist beschrieben von Délisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes* LVI (1895), 674–677, sowie von Omont, *ibid.*, LVII (1896), 177 ff. Sie enthält ausser unserem Gedicht einige kleinere *Sermones* (anonym), drei Traktate des Bonaventura sowie einen *Liber de generalibus tripartitus*, verfasst um 1300, hier fälschlich dem Humbert de Romans zugeschrieben; ferner, abgesehen von unserm Gedicht, noch folgende lateinische Gedichte:

1) Gespräch zwischen Maria und dem Kreuz, anf. *Crux de te volo conqueri*, von Philippe de Grève.[2]

2) Streit zwischen Wein und Wasser, anf. *Denudata veritate.*[3]

3) *Disputatio mundi et religionis*, anf. *O Christi vicarie*, hier (ebenso wie unser Gedicht) dem Guido de Marchia zugeschrieben. Es ist dasselbe Gedicht, von dem im vorigen Abschnitt die Rede war.

Das Gedicht *Sortes, Plato, Cicero* steht fol. 5^{r}–5^{v}; jede Seite ist in zwei Kolonnen geteilt. Die Schrift, eine schöne Rotunde, mutet italienisch an. Der Anfangsbuchstabe der ersten Strophe ist verziert, die der übrigen scheinen abwechselnd blau und rot zu sein. Die Verse

[1] Es ist dies die Hs., in der Bale die *Disputatio* las, die aber, nach Kingsford, p. 149, dies Gedicht in ihrem heutigen Zustand nicht mehr enthält.

[2] Gedruckt von Paul Meyer in seiner Ausg. von *Daurèle et Beton* (Paris, 1880), p. LXXV. In unserer Hs. ist kein Verfasser angegeben.

[3] Gedruckt *Carmina Burana* ed. Schmeller Nr. 173 (ed. Hilka-Schumann, Nr. 193); Du Méril, *Poésies inédites du moyen age*, (Paris, 1854), p. 303 ff.

sind abgesetzt; wenig Abkürzungen. Ueberschrift, fol. 4^{v} unten, anscheinend von der gleichen Hand: 'Incipit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia, ordinis minorum, de Cicerone disputatore et Sorte praedicatore et Platone lectore.'[1] Am Ende unseres Gedichtes sind von einer anderen Hand des 14. Jhdts. die Worte eingefügt: 'Explicit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia ordinis minorum.'

2) *Hs. T* = Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, *ms. 376.* Georges Collon[2] setzt die Hs. ins Ende des XIII. Jhdts; doch erklärte Herr Prof. Degering, Direktor der Handschriftenabteilung der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, dessen Urteil ich die Photographie unseres Gedichts unterbreitete, dass die Schrift frühestens der Mitte des XIV. Jhdts. angehört. Pergament, 14, 5×10 cm. Ehemals in der Bibliothek der Kathedrale von Tours. Die Handschrift enthält ausser unserm Gedicht noch das *Breviloquium* des Bonaventura sowie einige kleine anonyme Traktate theologischen, z.T. mystischen Inhalts. Unser Gedicht steht fol. 68^{v}–69^{v}. Enge, flüchtige Schrift (französische Bastarde); überaus viele Abkürzungen. Je zwei Verse auf der Zeile. Ueberschrift und Explicit fehlen.

3) *Hs. P* = Prag, Oeffentliche und Universitätsbibliothek, *cod. lat. 1569*, XV Jh. (z.T. datiert Erfurt 1432). Papier, 22×15, 5 cm. Ehemals im Jesuitenkolleg Skt. Clemens zu Prag. Die Hs. enthält ausser unserem Gedicht nur noch theologische und philosophische Werke des Nicolaus Bonetus (†1360). Unser Gedicht steht am Schluss der Handschrift, fol. 274 $^{r-v}$. Die Schrift, eine wohl deutsche Bastarde, ist flüchtig; zahlreiche Abkürzungen. Je zwei Verse auf der Zeile. Ueberschrift und Explicit fehlen.

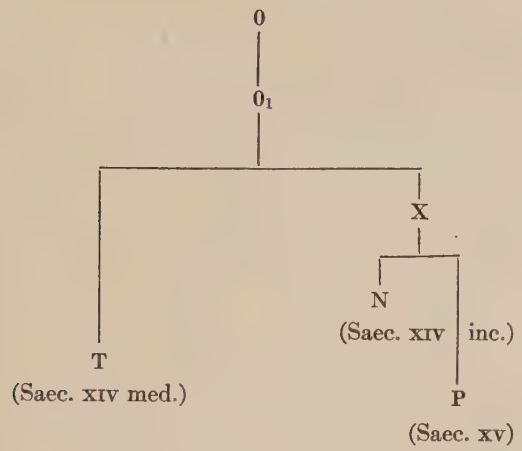
Ich habe die Handschriften in Photographien benutzt; für die Erlaubnis zu deren Herstellung bin ich den Vorständen der betreffenden Bibliotheken verpflichtet, wie ich auch den Herren Prof. E. K. Rand (Cambridge, Mass.), Dr M. Schwabe (Jerusalem) und besonders Dr H. Walther (Göttingen), die die Güte hatten, die Arbeit vor der

[1] Ueber die fehlerhafte Wiedergabe dieser Stelle bei Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. d. Ch.* LVI, 674, bei Kingsford, *Johannis Peckham Tractatus* . . . p. 151 und bei Oliger, *Collectanea* . . . p. 177 n. 6, vgl. oben, p. 499.

[2] *Cat. gén. des mss. des bibliothèques publiques de la France, Départements*, t. XXXVII, (Paris, 1900), p. 287 f.

Drucklegung zu lesen, für eine Ansahl wertvoller Fingerzeige und Anregungen herzlichen Dank schulde, dem Letztgenannten ausserdem für den Nachweis der Hss. *T* und *P*.

Das Verhältnis der Handschriften wird durch das folgende Schema bezeichnet:



N und *P* bilden eine besondere Klasse, da sie, gegenüber der richtigen Lesart von *T*, an vier Stellen charakteristische gemeinsame Fehler haben, (nämlich 5, 4 *sorti* statt *sortim;* 8, 1 *facit* statt *fecit;* 11, 1 *expers* statt *exsors;* 20, 1 *discurrere* statt *discutere*) während *T* nirgendwo in einem unzweifelhaften Fehler mit der einen gegen die andere übereinstimmt. *T* ist durchaus die beste Handschrift, obwohl Str. 35 in ihr fehlt; *P*, die jüngste Hs., ist ziemlich stark verderbt.

Unter diesen Umständen ergab sich für die Herstellung des Textes die Notwendigkeit, *T* im allgemeinen als Grundlage zu wählen und von *T* nur in den wenigen Fällen abzugehen, wo *N* oder *P* einen ausgesprochen besseren Text boten oder wo alle drei Hss. versagten. Für Str. 35, die in *T* fehlt, habe ich nach Möglichkeit *N* den Vorzug vor *P* gegeben. Sämtliche Varianten sind am Fuss der Seiten mitgeteilt. Ich habe *u* and *v* unterschieden, *j* durch *i* ersetzt, Eigennamen und Strophenanfänge durch Majuskeln gekennzeichnet und Interpunktionen hinzugefügt, im übrigen aber die Schreibung der Hss. bewahrt.

N f. 5a
P f. 279r
T f. 68v

1. Sortes prę consortibus currit in consorcio;
in equis et curribus non est dispensacio.
Platonis in manibus sonat disputacio
et de sortis cursibus longa demonstracio.

2. Quicquid Plato loquitur, quicquid Plato disputat,
Sortes hoc prosequitur et currendo computat.
quod si bene curritur, Plato cursum reputat;
si cursus remittitur, Plato Sorti imputat.

3. Plato vult ostendere, quot sunt motus species,
quas Sortes in pulvere dinumerat pluries.
fervent ambę colerę, rubent ambę facies;
sed dispares opere, et dispar est requies.

4. Quicquid ningit circius, quicquid gelat aquilo,
Sortes, vento pervius, reputat pro nihilo.
Plato sui conscius, pro tenui sibilo
grandi plaga saucius, immolabit in Silo.

5. Plato pannis tegitur, sicco sedens vellere;
Sortes aut compluitur aut sudat in pulvere.
Plato prędelegitur, diu discit dicere;
Sortes sortim mittitur aut pati aut agere.

N = Paris, *Bibl. Nat., fonds lat., nouv. acq., ms. 1742.* *P* = Prag, *Univ.-Bibl., cod. lat. 1569*• *T* = Tours, *Bibl. Munic., ms.* 376. —

Ueberschrift in N: Incipit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia Ordinis Minorum de Cicerone disputatore et Sorte predicatore et Platone lectore. *Keine Ueberschrift* *P T* — 1, 1 prę] in *P* — 1, 2 curribus] *verbessert aus* (*zu?*) canibus *T* — 1, 4 cursibus] corsibus *P* — longa] magna *N* — 2, 1*a* quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 2, 1*b* quicquid] quidquid *P* — 2, 3 cursum] sortem *N* — 3, 2 dinumerat] experitur *N* — 3, 3*a* ambę] ambo *P* — 3, 3*b* rubent *verbessert aus* fervent *T* — 4, 1*a* quicquid] quidquid *P* — circius] circinus *P* — 4, 1*b* quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 4, 3 sui] sibi *NP* — pro tenui] protervii *N* — 4, 4 Silo] sylo *N* — 5, 2*a* aut] autem *P* — 5, 3 discit] discet *NT* — 5, 4, sortim] sorti *NP* —

1, 1: Sortes = Socrates; vgl. die Einleitung. — 3, 1: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica, Prima Secundae, quaestio* 6, *art.* 1 unterscheidet drei Arten von Bewegung. — 3, 3: *colera* = χολέρα. 4, 1: Cfr. Martial. v, 9. — 4, 3 f.: Sinn: 'Wenn sich auch nur ein leises Zischen (im Hörsaal) erhebt, so ist das für den selbstbewussten P. ein solcher Hieb, dass er ein Stossgebet spricht.' — 4, 4: In Schiloh stand die Stiftshütte; daher *immolare in Silo* mehrmals im *Alten Testament.* Insbesondere dürfte *I Sam.*, Kap. I vorschweben, wo Hanna, durch Penina's Spott über ihre Unfruchtbarkeit gekränkt, in den Tempel zu Schiloh beten geht, — 5, 1: Gemeint ist der Talar des Gelehrten. — Für die *facultas legendi* in Theologie war ein Studium von mindestens acht Jahren obligatorisch; vgl. Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Univ. Paris.* (Paris, 1889), I, 79. — 5, 4: *sortim* ('wie es der Zufall fügt') wohl Neubildung des Dichters, analog *cursim* (7, 3), *sensim*, etc. —

6. Nec Platonis lectio nec sermo gratuitus;
primos in convivio percipit accubitus.
Sorti pro stipendio cursivi circuitus
communis refectio, communis est habitus.

7. Dum Plato determinat de centro et circulo,
se Sortes exterminat discurrens in sabulo;
Sortes cursim seminat, de cuius manipulo
plenus Plato ruminat sine cordis scrupulo.

8. Dum Plato pompaticę ventilat eloquium,
Sortes sortis rusticę quęrit diversorium;
quieti socratice paratur hospicium,
nec sortis platonicę sortitur consorcium.

9. Pares ambos racio, pares fecit dominus;
de pari principio par eorum terminus.
sensibili medio Plato nichilominus
probat Sorti socio, quod ipse sit asinus.

10. Dum Sortes sollicitus cogitat de crastinis,
distrahuntur habitus utriusque hominis;

6, 1 lectio] actio *N* — 6, 2 percipit] vendicat *P* — 6, 3 cursivi] cursuum *P* — 6, 4*a* communis] communis est *N;* communis *verbessert aus* communis est *T* — 7, 1 et] in *P* — 7, 3 cursim] cursum *P* — 7, 4 plenus Plato] plato pleus (!) *P* — ruminat] rumiat (!) *N* — 8, 1–4 *in N nach Strophe 9* — 8, 2 querit diversorium] dies querit sorcium *NT* — 8, 3 quieti] quietis *P* — 8, 4 sortis] *verbessert aus* sorti *T* — 9,1 ambos] ambo *N* — fecit] facit *NP* — 9, 2 par eorum] impar eis *N* — 9, 4 Sorti] sortis *P* — 10, 2 distrahuntur] distrahitur *N* — habitus] *am Rande nachgetragen P* —

6, 4: 'Gemeine Beköstigung, gemeines Gewand.'—7, 1: Der terminus technicus *determinatio* bezeichnete die Entscheidung einer Frage auf dem Wege des Syllogismus; vgl. *Chart. Univ. Paris.* I, 563; II, 673. — *centrum et circulus*, vielleicht speziell 'Erde und Himmelsgewölbe'; vgl. *Cambridger Lieder* ed. Strecker, Anhang, Nr. 2, Str. 24: 'Hec (scil. ars astrologica) perpendit celum, terram . . . axem, decem circulos . . . ' — 7, 3: Cf. *Ruth* III, 7. Des Sortes Saat wird zu einer Garbe, von der Plato sich voll isst; ich verstehe: Sortes' religiöse Propaganda zieht junge Leute in den Orden; diese werden Platos Schüler.—8, 2: diversorium (deversorium) 'Schlupfwinkel.'—8, 4: Sinn: 'Sortes findet keine so erlesene Gesellschaft, wie ein Plato sie hat.'—9, 2: Geburt und Tod.—9, 4: *ipse* hier wie mittellateinisch auch sonst oft = *ille* (Dieser abgeschwächte, 'rhetorische' Gebrauch von *ipse* neuerdings zusammengestellt von Lilliedahl, *Lunds Universitets Arsskrift*, N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 24 [1928], p. 22–27).—Der syllogistische Beweis, dass Sokrates ein Esel (oder eine Ziege, ein Tier etc.) ist, gehörte seit Abälard zu den gebräuchlichen Sophismata logicalia der Scholastik; vgl. die Einleitung.—

Plato rerum transitus exponit in terminis
in virtute spiritus, qui spirat ex paginis.

N f. 5b 11. Sortes consors pauperum, exsors magisterii,
Plato compar procerum, expers est officii;
Sortes erit superum consors sorte bravii,
si pertransit alterum per viam compendii.

12. Plato nescit currere nisi cursu intimo,
currit tamen propere spiritu et animo;
(pociori operę vacat cum Jheronimo.)
igitur concludere possum, sicut ęstimo,
Platonem prędcurrere, quia cursu optimo.

13. Si Plato non legeret, si cessaret quęstio,
nisi palam fieret Platonis opinio,
Sortes sorte curreret, non via, set invio,
et tandem deduceret cursum prędcipicio.

14. Dum Plato vult legere Genesim vel Exodum
et in scolis promere Philosophi methodum,
Sortes vult evadere quietis incommodum;
cursor curans currere comprehendit postmodum.

15. Plato mentis acie fertur in simplicibus;
tractus rei specie, trahitur a sensibus.
Sortes, currens varie in variis finibus,
gaudet rerum facie, ridet rerum fructibus.

10, 3 exponit] disponit *P* — 10, 4*b* ex] in *N* — 11, 1 exsors] expers *NP* — 11, 4 si] sic *P* — 12, 1 *am Rande* Lector *N* — intimo] optimo *P* — 12, 2 currit tamen] cucurrit enim *P;* currit enim *T* — propere] prospere *P* — 12, 3 *fehlt P und ist wohl späterer Zusatz* — 12, 5 quia] qz *NT;* q^{a}i (=quasi) *P* — 13, 1*b* si] sic *P* — questio] lectio *NP* — 13, 4 et] set *N* — 14, 2 scolis] scol *P* — 15, 2 tractus *scripsi*] tracta *PT;* tracto *N* — rei] rerum *P* — 15, 3 currens] currit *P* —

10, 3: *terminus* bedeutet hier vielleicht—wie auch (nach Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford*, [London, 1886], p. 226) im mittelalterlichen Oxford—'Studienquartal' oder aber (in Anlehnung an ὅρος) 'Definition'. Mit *rerum transitus* könnten vielleicht die 'transzendenten Dinge, τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά' gemeint sein.—10, 4: Den Vorlesungen lag bekanntlich immer ein autoritativer Text zugrunde. — 11, 3 *superi* hier 'die Seligen.' — 12, 3. Bibelexegese? 13, 1: Die Quaestio ist die Problemstellung mittels Argumenten und Gegenargumenten und die anschliessende Lösung durch Distinktionen; vgl. Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II, (Freiburg, 1911), p. 424–430. Sie bildete einen Teil der Lectio; vgl. Paulsen, *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts* u.s.w. 3. Aufl. I, (Leipzig, 1919), 38.—13, 3: Ebenso *Disputatio Mundi et Religionis* ed. Kingsford (*Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies*, vol. II) Vers 72 'non via sed invio.' Cf. Ovid., *Met.* XIV 113.—14, 2: *Philosophi methodus* ist die (vor allem in der aristotelischen Topik gelehrte) Methode, zwecks Klärung der Probleme Einwände und Schwierigkeiten aufzuwerfen, also innerhalb des scholastischen Betriebs speziell die Disputationsmethode.—15, 1: *mentis acie:* cf. Quintil. XI, 210; *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann, Nr. 17 (Schmeller Nr. 1) v. 9.—*simplicia,* 'die abstrakten Dinge.'—15, 2: Sinn: 'Indem ihn die *Idee*

16. Plato plenus reumate, Plato dolens latera,
pro novo probleumate se torquet in camera;
Sortes sumpto theumate via currit libera,
sua suo climate recreando viscera.

T f. 69r 17. Sortes certis spaciis sano currit pectore,
expertus pręsagiiis influentis amphorę.
hęret Plato studiis spiritu et corpore;
repletus discursiis, brevi vivit tempore.

18. Dum Plato cotidie torquetur in studio,
occurrunt fantasię mentis in ginnasio.
Sortes consciencię sinitur arbitrio;
assunt patri filię, desunt patres filio.

19. Trituram diligere doctus, Sortes cursitat;
currens in itinere, hospitem pręcogitat.
P f. 27 9v Plato pressus onere, si non se sollicitat,
quid placeat dicere, murmur domi excitat.

20. Cum Plato discutere debet difficilia,
nequit sompnum capere, oppressus angaria.
certe vellet currere sorte Sorti propria,
N f. 5c cui licet concludere sine controversia.

21. Plato pallens facie tractat arduissima
et configit anxie splen, epar et intima;

16, 2 probleumate] problemate *P* — 16, 3 theumate] themate *P;* teugmate *T* — 17, 1 sano currit] currit sano *P* — 17, 2 amphorę] amfore *T* — 18, 1 cotidie] cottidie *NP* — 18, 2 occurrunt] occurrit *P* — fantasię] *ausgestrichen und unter der Seite ergänzt* fanthasie *P* — mentis] gentis *P* — ginnasio] gynnasio *P;* gignasio *T* — 18, 3 Sortes consc. sin. arb.] Sortes rerum specie gaudet et solacio *N* (*Lückenbüsser auf Grund von 15, 4*) — 19, 1 doctus Sortes curs.] Sortes doctus cogitat *P* — 19, 3 onere] honere *N* — non se] se non *P* — 19, 4 murmur domi] domo murmur *PT* — excitat] *am Rande hinzugefügt P* — 20, 1 cum] dum *N* — discutere] discurrere *NP* — 21, 2 splen, epar] epar, splen *P* —

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des Dinges (das Ding an sich) anzieht, zieht sie ihn ab von den sinnlichen Dingen.' (Die Konjektur *tractus* rechtfertigt sich durch *tracto* [Hs.*N*], was vom Schreiber statt *tractus* verlesen sein könnte. *trahitur a* wie Verg. *Aen.* II 403 f. '*trahebatur . . . a templo Cassandra*'; *species* als Uebersetzung von *ἰδέα* bei Cic. *Ac.*, I 30; id. *Top.* 530). Sinn der ganzen Strophe: Plato spekuliert, Sortes geniesst. — 16, 2f.: *probleuma* die These, die der Lehrer seinen Schülern als Grundlage für die Disputation zu liefern hatte; *theuma* das Predigtthema, das der Prediger einem Homiliar entnehmen konnte. — 18, 2: *Cf.* Sidon. Appollin. Ep. I 6 *gymnasium litterarum.* — 18, 4: 'Die Mädchen leisten dem Pater Gesellschaft, die Kirchenväter bleiben ihrem Sohne fern.' — 21, 2: Cf. *Ps.* CXIX, 120. epar = *ἧπαρ*.

Sortes deus patrię; cuius quęquam optima,
cuius sunt primicię, libamen et victima.

22. Plato, planta stabilis, quasi Iacob alius
est Ysaac utilis et Rebeccę conscius;
Sortes motor mobilis venatur exterius,
cito supplantabilis, si non currit caucius.

23. Inter istos medius admiscetur Cicero,
nec iste nec alius, motu motus libero.
non est Sortis socius nisi cursu prospero;
si manet interius, quiescit cum altero.

24. Nocent propter coleram Ciceroni cicera,
nec patitur pateram patēre pro sicera.
declinat ad dexteram inter duo latera:
honori dat operam, set abhorret opera.

21, 3 patrię] p(at)rie *T* p(ate)rne *P* — 22, 1, Plato] *verbessert aus* planta iacob *T* — 22, 2 conscius] socius *N* — 22, 3 motor mobilis] motu nobilis *P* — exterius] diffusius *N* — 22, 4 currit] currat *N* — 23, 1 *am Rande* Cicero *N* — admiscetur] affuit et *N* — 23, 2 motu motus] motus motu *NP* — 24, 1 nocent] nocet *P* — 24, 2 patitur pateram] patriam patitur *N* — patere] patrie *N* — sicera] sycera *N;* cicera *T* — 24, 4 set] et *P* — abhorret] aborret *N* —

21, 3: *deus patrię:* cf. *Ps.* XCV, 7: 'Afferte Domino patriae gentium, afferte Domino gloriam.'[1] Gleichwohl ist die Stelle merkwürdig, (verderbt?). Sinn: Sortes ist gleichsam der Gott des Landes; ihm bringt das Volk Früchte, Trankspenden und Braten. — 21, 4: Vgl. *Num.* XXXI, 29: 'primitiae Domini sunt' und viele ähnliche Stellen des Alten Testaments. — 22, 1–4: Den Namen 'Jakob' erklären Hieronymus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXIII, 781) und nach ihm die meisten Bibelexegeten des Mittelalters als 'supplantator' (im Anschluss an *Gen.* XXVII, 36). Jakob ist dem Isaak *utilis*, denn er bringt ihm Speise (*Gen.* XXVII, 18); er ist *Rebeccae conscius*, denn er weiss von ihrem Betrug (*Gen.* XXVII, 13). Plato, *planta stabilis* wie Jakob, ist dem Isaak (d.h. Christus, insofern Isaak bei Tertullian [Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, II, 346] und vielen andern als Präfiguration Christi gefasst wird) durch seine Forschung und Lehre nützlich und mit Rebekka (die, nach Ambrosius, Migne, XIV 452, und vielen anderen, die Kirche präfiguriert) vertraut. Sortes *venatur* und *supplantabilis* wie Esau; indes Esau = Sortes im Weiten schweift, läuft ihm Jakob = Plato den Rang ab. — 22, 3 *motor mobilis*. Der Begriff bei Aristoteles, *Metaph.* XI 6, danach in der Scholastik allgemein, z.B. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol., Pars Prima, quaestio* II, *art.* 3. — 23, 2: *motu motus libero* vielleicht Anspielung auf *motu proprio* (wie man bekanntlich seit altersher gewisse päpstliche Bullen nennt)? Der Vers hätte dann den Nebensinn: 'Cicero ist selbstherrlich wie der Papst' oder auch 'Cicero gehorcht nur dem Papst.' — 24, 2: 'Auch verträgt er es (wegen seiner schwächlichen Konstitution) nicht, dass sein Becher für berauschendes Getränk (*sicera* = σίκερα < hebr. šekhar, *Dt.* XIV, 26 u. ö.), offensteht.' (Die Lesung *patere* 24, 2*b* befriedigt weniger.) —

[1] *Patriae* ist in diesem Psalmenvers natürlich Vokativ Pluralis; bei dem in den Hss. üblichen Mangel an Interpunktion konnte aber ein mittelalterlicher Leser das Wort als Genitiv Singularis verstehen (beziehungsweise konnte der Dichter in Reimnot vorgeben, es so zu verstehen), wie auch in verschiedenen älteren Vulgata-ausgaben das Komma vor *patriae* fehlt.

25. Plato vigil, sobrius insudat propositis;
Sortes cursor anxius circuit in compitis.
ille, statu varius, liber est in libitis,
amborum vicarius, neuter est in meritis.

26. Plato mira dicere proponit in crastino;
Sortes sperat currere succurrente domino.
Cicero vult sistere exspectans cum asino;
divertit ab onere, serviens in cophino.

27. Cicero cum superis nomen sibi vendicat;
navigat in prosperis nec se curis implicat;
non insistit litteris nec plateis prędicat;
fovetur a ceteris et ceteros iudicat.

28. In parcium serie par est participio
vel cum bina facie compar Ianuario;
nunc avis, nunc bestię gaudet privilegio
et in omni specie caret esse proprio.

29. Quem Cicero reputat, stultus est, qui arguit;
Sorti cursum deputat, Platonem instituit.
non ut Plato disputat nec ut Sortes circuit;
nemo sibi imputat, nemo legem posuit.

25, 1 sobrius] p(er)nus (*!verderbt aus* pervius?) *P* — 25, 2 compitis] competis *P* — 25, 3 est] *fehlt P* — in libitis] inlibitis *N* — 25, 4 est] *fehlt T* — 26, 1 mira] iura *P* — 26, 2 sperat] *am Rande* sperat *verbessert aus* preparat *N;* querit *P* — succurrente] succurte (!) *N* — 26, 3 exspectans] expectans *N* — 27, 1 superis] superbis *N* — 28, 1 par est] parens *P* — 28, 2 vel] est *P* — bina] bona *P* — 29, 1–4 *fehlt P* — 29, 3*b* nec] non *T* —

25, 1: *propositum* hier (wie schon bei Cic. *Top.* §79) = These. — 25, 4: *vicarius* = Prior? Vgl. die Einleitung. — 26, 1: *proponit . . . sperat . . . vult:* die Strophe beschreibt, was für Pläne sich jeder der drei für den nächsten Tag macht. — 26, 4: Reminiszenz an *Ps.* LXXXI, 7 'Divertit ab oneribus dorsum eius, manus eius in cophino servierunt,' (so in der Vulgata sinnloserweise anstatt 'seine Hände liessen ab vom Korb'). 28, 1: *parcium.* Priscian II, v, 22 (dem die späteren Grammatiker folgen) unterscheidet acht *Partes orationis,* zu denen auch das Partizipium gehört. — *Par est participio,* insofern auch das Partizip zwittrig (*verbum infinitum*) ist. Vgl. Vers 2–4. — 28, 2: *Ianuarius* verwechselt mit *Ianus.* — 28, 3: D. h. er lebt amphibisch, bald schweifend wie Sortes, bald geruhsam wie Plato. Zugleich Anspielung auf die Fabel von der Fledermaus, die bei einem Krieg zwischen den Vögeln und den Vierfüsslern sich treulos bald der einen, bald der andern Partei zugesellte. Die Fabel stammt von Phaedrus, ist aber nur in einer mittelalterlichen Prosaauflösung seiner Gedichte (*Fabulae antiquae*) erhalten (gedruckt bei Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins* [Paris, 1884] II, 134) und von dort auch in andere Sammlungen übergegangen. — 29, 1: D. h. wohl: wenn Cicero einen Disputator (*arguere* = disputieren) lobt, so ist es gewiss ein Dummkopf. — 29, 4: *sibi* = *ei.* —

30. Sortes currit propere, set non sic de singulis;
Cicero sub vellere accubat in angulis.
quod potest obicere Plato cum discipulis,
N f. 5 d Cicero scit solvere cum pharetrę spiculis.

31. Medius in ordine, sed ignarus medii,
vertitur in cardine, typum gerens ostii;
quicquid est in homine pacis et solacii,
perflat suo turbine sub aura favonii.

32. Plato circumloquitur ydeas ac numeros,
Sortes sortem sequitur, calles currens asperos.
nullo duce ducitur Cicero rinoceros;
nec agit nec agitur, cornu tutans humeros.

33. Plato, Sortes tradita talenta multiplicant,
racione posita simplis dupla vendicant;
Ciceronis merita Ciceronem iudicant,
T, f. 69ᵛ. quem in mna recondita ociosum indicant.

30, 4 scit] sit *N* — cum] ex *NT* — pharetrę] pharatre *NT* — 31, 1 in] est *T* — 31, 2 typum gerens] gerens typum *P* — ostii] hostii *NP* — 31, 3 quicquid] quidquid *NP* — 31, 4 perflat] p(ro)flat *P* — 32, 1 ac] et *P* — 32, 3 calles] calle(n)s *P* — 32, 3 ducitur] sequitur *N* — 32, 4 nec agitur] cum agitur *P* — tutans] cutans(!) *P* — 33, 1 tradita] credita *PT* — 33, 3–4 iudicant . . . indicant] indicant . . . iudicant *P* — 33, 4 in mna] in ima *N;* nimia *P* —

30, 1: *sed non sic de singulis,* mir unverständlich. — 31, 1: 'Obwohl im Mittelpunkt des Ordens stehend, weiss er in seinem Benehmen nicht das rechte Mass zu halten.' — 31, 2: 'Gleich einer Tür dreht er sich in der Angel.' Dasselbe Bild z.B. in folgenden Versen des *Carmen de Curia Romana* mit Bezug auf den Papst und die Kardinäle gebraucht:

'Nec ratione vacat, quod habent a cardine nomen;
Deservire solent nomina rebus in his:
Porta suos postes sine cardine claudere nescit,
Nec bene praeter eos pastor ovile regit.
Cardo tenet portam, nec quid valet illa remoto
Cardine; sic Papa nil valet absque viris.'

31, 4: *perflat suo turbine;* cf. Vergil., *Aen.* I 87. — *aura favonii;* cf. Catull. LXIV 282; Lucr. I, 11. — 32, 1: Cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica,* passim; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol., Prima Pars, quaestio* 30. — 32, 4: *cornu tutans humeros* vielleicht Anspielung auf die mit zwei 'Hörnern' geschmückte Mitra der Bischöfe und Aebte. Ebenso vergleicht Pierre Bersuire (*Moralitates,* XXIV, cap. 14) einen unwürdigen Geistlichen mit dem grossen Tier der Apokalypse und sagt von ihm, er habe sogar Hörner, 'id est mitram, quando episcopus aut abbas fit.' Vgl. *Carm. Bur.,* ed. Schmeller, p. 15, *Episcopi cornuti* und viele ähnliche Stellen. — 33, 1–4; Cf. *Matth.* XXV, 14 ff.; *Luc.* XIX, 12 ff. —

34. Sortes necessarius, sed Platonem prefero,
quod hic, potest alius, nec conversim infero.
plus valent, cum amplius alter est in altero.
set ab eis verius deputatur Cicero.

35. Si cum Sortis cursibus currit conscientia
et clamant operibus Platonis eloquia,
Cicero si manibus procul pellit vicia,
Pax erit hominibus, in excelsis gloria. Amen.

Explicit tractatus fratris Guidonis de Marchia Ordinis Minorum.

34, 1–4 *fehlt* P — 34, 3 plus valent cum] Plato valet T — 34, 4 set] et T — deputatur] depuratur T — 35, 1–4 *fehlt* T — 35, 1 si] sic P — currit] currat N — 35, 2 clamant operibus] sonant in moribus N — 35, 3 Cicero si] sed Cicero N — pellit] pellat N — vicia] ocia P — 35, 4 Pax erit hom. in exc. gl.] deus est in omnibus in pace sint omnia P — *Unterschrift* (*aus* N)] *fehlt* PT — Marchia] machia(!) N.

34, 4: *deputatu r*'unterscheidet sich.' — 35, 2: D. h. wenn Plato seinen Reden auch Taten folgen lässt. Dieselbe Mahnung an die Professoren *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr .23 (Schmeller Nr. v) Str. 1. — 35, 3 Cf. *Carm. Bur.* ed. Hilka-Schumann Nr. 33 (Schmeller Nr. XIII) 1, 7 *pulso procul vitio* und *Ezech.* XLIII, 9 — 35, 4: Kombiniert aus *Luc.* II, 14 und *Luc.* XIX, 38.

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THE SONG OF THE ASS

Orientis Partibus, with special reference to *Edgerton MS. 2615*

By HENRY COPLEY GREENE

THE pages[1] here reproduced from the unpublished *Beauvais MS.* at the British Museum suggest certain observations on the texts of the mediaeval *Song of the Ass*, on known variations of its melody, on customs associated with it, especially at Beauvais, and on mediaeval music.

I

To represent the Virgin's flight into Egypt, a strange holiday was celebrated yearly in many towns during the Middle Ages. The following account[2] of the Beauvais celebration is found in a letter of December 18, 1697 from a Canon in Beauvais, Foy de Saint-Hilaire, to M. de Francastel, Assistant Librarian of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.

'On the first day after the Octave of the [three] Kings,[3] they chose a beautiful young girl, put a child in her hands, and mounted her on an ass which they led in procession from the Cathedral Church to the Church of St Stephen. Placing the ass and his lovely burden in the Sanctuary there on the Gospel side, they sang a solemn mass, whose prose [of the Ass] is in Louvet,[4] and whose *Introit*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., end in *hin ham* [he haw], to the point where *in fine missae sacerdos versus ad populum vice "Ite Missa est" ter hinhanabit* [he-hawed], populus vero vice "Deo gratias" ter respondavit, "Hinham, Hinham, Hinham".'[5]

[1] Previously reproduced in so-called facsimile from tracings, *Annales Archéologiques* XVI (1856), 259, 300; also five lines photographically, with no critical study, in E. Duncan, *The Story of the Carol* (London: Walter Scott, 1931), p. 42.

[2] Dom Paul Denis, *Lettres Autographes de la Collection de Troussures* (Paris: Champion, 1912), p. 312.

[3] Foy de Saint-Hilaire is emphatic as to dates: 'We must not confuse the holiday of the Ass with the day [other days] when the prose [of the Ass] was sung; for it is certain that this holiday [when the Ass went into St Stephen's] was neither on Christmas day nor on the day of the Circumcision, nor on the [Three] Kings' day, [but on] the first day after the octave of the [Three] Kings.'

[4] Pierre Louvet, *Histoire et Antiquités du Diocese de Beauvais* (Beauvais, 1631–1635), II, 301.

[5] In connection with this story, Foy de Saint-Hilaire added:

'See what I heard said by my late father, who had seen the whole Donkey Mass, [of] which [the MS.] was kept in our parish church of St Stephen, and which a clerk of the Curé's . . . seized and cruelly burned because of conscientious scruples. His name was Davennes, and I knew him when I was a child.' (Denis, *op. cit.*, 312).

Here are the words[1] of the famous prose of the Ass, as it was sung at the Cathedral of Beauvais.

Orientis partibus
Adventavit Asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus
Sarcinis aptissimus.
Hez hez sire asnes hez.

Out from lands of Orient
Was the ass divinely sent.
Strong and very fair was he,
Bearing burdens gallantly.
Heigh, sir ass, oh heigh.

Hic in collibus Sichen
Iam nutritus sub Rub[en]
Transiit per Iordanem
Saliit in Bethlehem.
Hez hez.

In the hills of Sichem bred
Under Reuben nourishèd,
Jordan stream he traversèd,
Into Bethlehem he sped.
Heigh, heigh!

Saltu vincit hynnulos
Dammas et Capreolos
Super dromedarios
Velox madianeos.
Hez hez.

Higher leaped than goats can bound,
Doe and roebuck circled round,
Median dromedaries' speed
Overcame, and took the lead.
Heigh, heigh!

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula.
Hez hez.

While he drags long carriages
Loaded down with baggages,
He, with jaws insatiate,
Fodder hard doth masticate.
Heigh, heigh!

Cum aristis ordeum
Comedit [et carduum
Triticum a pale] a
Segregat in area.
hez hez.

Chews the ears with barley corn,
Thistle down with thistle corn.
On the threshing floor his feet
Separate the chaff from wheat.
Heigh, heigh!

Amen dicas, asine
Iam satur ex gramine
Amen Amen itera
Aspernare vetera.

Stuffed with grass, yet speak and say
Amen, ass, with every bray:
Amen, amen, say again:
Ancient sins hold in disdain.

Hez va hez va hez va hez
Biax [sire asnes] car allez
Bele bouche car chantez.[2]

Heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh
Fair Sir Ass, you trot all day;
Fair your mouth, and loud your bray.

These words must have been sung in the Cathedral of Beauvais early in the XIIIth century.[3] As for the story of the pretty girl riding

[1] Latin text, Br. Mus. *Edgerton MS. 2615*, ff 1, 2, from photos in possession of the author. The same prose occurs a second time in the same MS. ff 43, 44. Where illegible, the words are inserted between brackets from ff. 43, 44 (numbering on MS. ff. 41, 42), see reproductions.

[2] These three lines are omitted in the second version, which also has a single *hez* for the refrain.

[3] This MS. was written probably during the pontificate of Gregory IX (1217–1241) and before the marriage of Louis IX to Marguerite of Provence in 1234 (see ff 42, 42b). *Catalogue*

an ass into the church and up beside the altar, it has been told and retold, quoted and re-quoted. Hitherto, in tracing these quotations down, the student eventually arrived at Ducange, or rather, his later editors.[1] In the Glossarium of 1733 (*s. v. Festum asinorum*) this story appears with the Prose[2] from 'praeter edita MS. codex 500. annorum.' Now this account (save some slight additions) is virtually identical with Foy de Saint-Hilaire's description of 1697, quoted above. So close is the correspondence that we must conclude either that the later editors of Ducange quoted from Foy de Saint-Hilaire or used the same MS. that he used.[3]

But these editors did more. They printed a longer version of our song, as sung at the Church of St Stephen. After the first stanza they inserted:

'Hez, sire asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez
Et de l'avoine à plantez.

Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.'

'Heigh, sir ass, you sing hee-haw,
Your fair mouth's a sulky maw;
You shall have your fill of hay,
Oats enough to cast away.

Slow he went on lagging feet
Till the rod began to beat,
And the pointed goad to prick,
Thigh and sides, and make him kick.
Heigh, sir Ass, oh heigh.'

After the second stanza of our version they also inserted:

'Ecce magnis auribus
Subiugalis filius
Asinus egregius
Asinorum dominus.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

'With his flapping ears and long
Lo the harnessed son of song.
He is chosen: hear his call,
Ass of asses, lord of all.'

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of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1882–1887 (London, 1889), pp. 336–337.

[1] See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford University Press, 1903), I, 287.

[2] Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1733), III, 426–427.

[3] The sequence of events makes this probability almost a certainty. The 1681 edition of Ducange did not refer to the Beauvais ceremonies. M. de Francastel, at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, writes M. de Saint-Hilaire on behalf of a 'man of letters' who wants a memoir about 'the mass, the prose, and the opera of the Ass,' with a 'copy of anything remarkable in the Mass' (Denis, *op. cit.*, 319) Foy de St Hilaire, sends on December 18, 1697 a full report (*ibid.*, 311–313) which M. de Francastel acknowledges (*ibid.*, 320). The 1733 edition of Ducange contains Foy de Saint-Hilaire's story of the ceremonies, the text of *Orientis Partibus*, and other matters to which he refers.

and after our third verse:

'Aurum de Arabia
Thus et myrram de Saba
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez, sire Asnes, &c.'

'Red gold from Arabia,
Frankincense and, from Sheba,
Myrrh he brought and, through the door,
Into the Church he bravely bore.'

After *Amen, dicas Asine*, they also inserted a rubric: *hic genuflectebatur.*

In addition to the *Edgerton 2615* and Ducange versions, two others are known, (1) from Sens, and (2) from Bourges.

The Sens version, of about 1200 A.D., in a Mass attributed to Pierre de Corbeil and admirably published by the Abbé Henri Villetard,[1] is like our *Edgerton 2615* text, except that it introduces the verse beginning *Aurum de Arabia* after the third stanza, and that it omits the final lines in French.

The Bourges version, reported by the Abbé d'Artigny,[2] is also like our first Beauvais version except that it places the stanza beginning *Aurum de Arabia* after the fifth stanza; and that it changes *Iam satur ex gramine*, in the last stanza, to *Iam satis de carmine.* The Abbé d'Artigny was assured that his version was faithfully copied from a Gothic book given by the Canon Jean Sartoris to the Church of Notre Dame de Sales at Bourges. It is to be hoped that someone may unearth this MS., and establish its character and date.

To return to the stanzas from the *Glossarium* of Ducange: while 'Lentus erat pedibus' seems uncharacteristic of our bounding Ass, it may be meant to represent him before he was inspired with the divine fire; and the additional French verse is lively enough to add zest to a query as to where the editors found it.

Gustave Desjardins[3] asserts that the later editors of Ducange copied their version of the song from a 'MS. of the twelfth Century' described as *No. 76* in the 1464 inventory of the relics and other ornaments of the Cathedral of Beauvais. Chambers[4] identifies this with

[1] Henri Villetard, *Office de Pierre de Corbeil* (Paris: Picard, 1907).

[2] *Nouveaux Mémoires* (Paris, 1756), 77.

[3] G. Desjardins, *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Beauvais* (Beauvais, 1865), p. 127, note 1.

[4] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, 284, note 2, says: 'This (and not the MS. used by Ducange's editors) is the MS. whose description Desjardins, 127, 168, gives

the *Edgerton MS. 2615* which does not contain the additional Ducange verses.

Desjardins also cites[1] Pierre Louvet's description of a Beauvais ceremony including an ass. From a twelfth century MS., Louvet quotes a version of the *Orientis Partibus*[2] practically identical with the *Edgerton MS.* version quoted above, but without the final lines in French, or the additional verses printed in Ducange.

Chambers,[3] who dates Louvet's MS. as of 1160–1180, quotes an eighteenth-century account of the ceremonial from Dom Grenier.[4] Louvet's seventeenth century account[5] is far simpler.

'On the Day of the Circumcision,' he says, 'I find that, in the time of my lord Henry of France, Bishop of Beauvais, they made public prayers and petitions not only for the Pope and for the Diocesan, but also for the King, the Queen, and for the Christian Army; and that on that day, divine service was done with greater joy than on any other day in the year. The more so as at Matins 19 proses, with organ playing, were sung, among others one beginning with these words, "Calendas Ianuarias solemnes Christe facias, &c." The *Introit* of the Mass, the *Kyrie Eleyson*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the Epistle, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were sung with Paraphrase: sung also were three proses, one after the *Introit*, another before the Gospel, and the last after the offertory. After the *Gloria in excelsis*, the aforesaid prayers and petitions were conceived in the form of a Litany in these terms, *Christus vincit, Christus regnat*, etc.' [Here follow prayers for Pope Alexander, Henry, Bishop of the Church, King Louis, the Queen, and all Judges]. 'Before the beginning the *first vespers* there were sung outside the Church doors and in front of them these lines

"Lux hodie, lux laetitiae, me judice tristis

[four lines ending with],

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from a 1464 Beauvais inventory; No. 76: item ung petit volume . . . commencent au IIe feuillet *Belle bouche* et au penultième, *coopertum stolla candida*.' This description fits *Edgerton MS. 2615* like a glove. Yet no less an authority than H. Omont says (*Bulletin de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXXIV, 258) that *Edgerton MS. 2615* was described by Louvet in his History (pp. 296–302). Louvet described an earlier MS. But *Edgerton MS. 2615* was evidently described in 1697 by Foy de Saint-Hilaire, who specified the *Orientis Partibus* in three parts in counterpoint, and quoted the first and last stanzas from Daniel in the same MS. (Denis, *op. cit.*, p. 312).

[1] Desjardins, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–125.

[2] Louvet, *op. cit.*, II, 301.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 285.

[4] Dom P. N. Grenier, *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la Picardie* (Amiens, 1856), pp. 362–364.

[5] Louvet, *op. cit.*, II, 299–302.

Laeta volunt qui cumque colunt Asinaria festa".'

[Then follows a passage which expresses Louvet's mistaken idea that a man in disguise acted the part of the ass] 'While the man who took the part of the Ass was conducted to the table, they sang this ode [the prose of the Ass, six stanzas]. 'After the reading of the *Tablet*' [account of the Ceremonial], Louvet continues, 'they sang *Deus in Adventorium*, then the *Veni Creator*, then on the steps, they sang,

"Haec est clara dies clarorum clara dierum"

[etc. four lines] Then before the Altar they sang,

"Salve feste dies toto venerabiles aevo
Qua Deus est ortus virginis ex utero."

Then two more proses, after the end of which they sang the Antiphony *Ecce Annuncio* and the psalm *Dixit Dominus*.'

Louvet's account of the first Vespers goes no further. It should be noted that he says nothing about the Ass being present at the Mass.

Foy de Saint-Hilaire chides Louvet for not mentioning that in the *Tablet*[1] is written 'Hic die incensabitur cum boudino et saucisa'[2] ('censing with pudding and sausage'), a detail not forgotten by Dom Grenier,[3] who seems to have amplified Louvet's[4] description of this MS. from his copy[5] of *Edgerton 2615* as well as from Ducange. The resemblance includes the excision of certain pages which appear to have been removed from *Edgerton 2615*. But Dom Grenier brings the Ass to the Mass instead of to vespers.

On the evidence before us, we may provisionally list the existing versions of *Orientis Partibus* (excluding the Bourges version) as follows: — Louvet's version, 1160–1180; the Sens version, attributable to the beginning of the thirteenth century;[6] the Beauvais version, *Edgerton MS. 2615*, probably 1227–1234; the Ducange version, still vaguely dated (except for the *Aurum de Arabia* verse which is in the Sens MS.).

[1] On a separate sheet accompanying his letter, Foy de Saint-Hillaire described this twelfth-century Tablet as a MS. from which pages had been removed, which probably contained a record of usages which later times preferred to suppress. (p. 313, note 3.) He also pointed out (312) the suspiciously similar removal of pages from *Edgerton 2615*.

[2] *Lettres Autographes*, p. 311.

[3] Dom Grenier, *op. cit.*, 363.

[4] See Chambers I, 268, note 1. Chambers leaves this vaguer than if he had known Louvet's text, and compared it with *Edgerton 2615*.

[5] B. N. *Picardie 158*.

[6] Arguments for this approximate date are given in Villetard, *op. cit.*, 15–17.

The twelfth and thirteenth century festival of the Ass has been so energetically discussed that only a few points remain to be emphasized, in relation to the Beauvais manuscript. Men have argued back and forth as to whether the Ass actually went into the churches. In the Procession of the Prophets, Balaam rode his ass into the Rouen cathedral.[1] Very likely the Virgin rode her ass into the Cathedral at Beauvais. The assertions that she did so, however, are generally based on the Ducange statement that she rode the ass, not into the cathedral, but from it to the Church of St Stephen: 'super asinum . . . sedens, ab Ecclesia Cathedrali ad parochiam S. Stephani . . . ducebatur. Ad parochiam . . . sanctorium ipsium ingrediebatur puella.' As shown above, the MS. of the special mass there was burned.

The Beauvais manuscript has also been used to prove that the Ass was led into the Cathedral of Beauvais. Chambers wrote, in reference to this MS.: 'the heading *conductus quando asinus adducitur* seems to show that there at least the Ass appeared and even entered the church'.[2] Now the damaged first page apparently reads *cunductus asi-*[*ni cum*] *adducit-*[*ur*].[3] By itself, this text scarcely seems to establish whether the Ass was at the Cathedral door, or inside, when the *Orientis Partibus* was first sung at the opening of Vespers. The subsequent rubrics do not mention the Ass at all. Even if the twelfth century ceremonial described by Louvet persisted at Beauvais Cathedral, the Ass was led in before the *Deus in Adventorium.*

The same phrase has been misquoted[4] as the rubric before the second version of *Orientis Partibus* sung at the Mass, just after the epistle. As may be seen in our reproduction (Plate I), the actual rubric makes no mention of the Ass: it reads, *Conduct*[*us*] *subdiaconi ad Ep*[*isto*]*lam*, which certainly does not mean that the Ass was present at the Mass. On the whole, therefore, the evidence of this manuscript is pretty definite as to the Mass but inconclusive as to vespers.

[1] A. Gasté, *Les Drames Liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen* (Evreux, 1893), pp. 4–22.

[2] Chambers, I, 331, See, however, p. 285, note 2, where he says, 'to me it reads like "Conductus asi . . . adducitur".'

[3] Photograph in possession of author. See also Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[4] See Villetard, p. 232, 4°.

dia nr̄a. Xp̄s uincit. x̄. R̄. Liberatio ꝙ redemp

tio nr̄a. Xp̄s uincit. x̄. r̄. Defensio ꝙ ꝓtectio

nr̄a. Xp̄s uincit x̄ R̄. Ipsi soli imperium glo

ria ꝙ potestas per immortalia secula scl'oꝝ amen.

Ipsi soli honoꝝ lax ꝙ iubilatio per infinita scl'a

scl'oꝝ amen. Ipsi soli uirtus. fortitudo ꝙ vic

toria per omn̄ia scl'a scl'oꝝ amen. Kyrieleyson.

Concluct subdi

Xp̄e audi nos. Kyrie eleyson. Acom ad sp̄lam.

Orientis partibꝫ aduentauit asinus pulcher

Plate I

II

Orientis Partibus was sung to different melodies, of which two principal ones are known, the Sens and the Beauvais versions.[1] Let us consider the Sens melody before studying the version in the Beauvais MS. here reproduced. The Sens melody, which has the quality of a popular sacred song,[2] is as follows:

G A B G A F G
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus
D D E C D D B
Ad-ven-ta-vit As-in-us
B A C B A G B
Pul-cher et for-tis-si-mus
D C B G A F G
Sar-cin-is apt-tis-si-mus
G A B A G
Hez, sir as-nes, hez.

Almost anyone can pick out this glad little tune for himself on the piano. As to time, the notes are equal.[3] There are neither flats nor sharps. The melody, beginning and ending with G, is in the Myxolidian mode. Much of the foregoing appears obvious after the years of study which have now been devoted to Gregorian music. In 1780, when the tune was printed by Laborde,[4] musicians naturally 'edited' the musical text to suit their own prejudices. Laborde in 1780 rewrote it into 6/8 time and inserted one sharp, thus forcing the tune into the modern key of G major.

In 1806 Millin[5] copied Laborde. On April 29, 1847, Félix Clément[6] had the *Orientis Partibus* (still in G major) sung at the Collège Stanislas, Paris, before an audience of perhaps a thousand people, who were astonished and delighted by a mediaeval song which they had

[1] Desjardins, *op. cit.*, p. 134 mistakenly asserts that 'the music is the same in the MSS of Sens and Beauvais.' He quotes the Sens version, with one note wrong.

[2] Such songs are still sung in church in Catalonia (where they are called *goigs*), in Provence, and presumably in other unsophisticated regions.

[3] The photographic reproduction of the MS. in Villetard, *op. cit.*, plate II, makes this clear. The few tailed notes are irregularly distributed; 3 in verse 1; 2 in verse 2; 3 in verse 3; 3 in verse 4; 2 in verse 5; 10 in verse 6; 10 in verse 7; they seem to indicate accent rather than time.

[4] J. B. Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780), II, 234.

[5] H. L. Millin, *Monuments Antiques* (Paris, 1806), II, 348.

[6] *Annales Archéologiques*, VI (1846), 304, and VII (1847), 26.

never before heard. He led this song in 1849 at the Sainte Chapelle, and again at Saint Eustache, in 1875, before four thousand people.[1]

Though a fairly close 'facsimile' (from a tracing of the MS. fol. 1) had been published[2] in 1847, neither Clément[3] nor his successors[4] could escape their prejudice in favor of the modern scale. In 1853, when Redhead arranged the melody as a hymn in four parts,[5] he followed Clément in transferring it to the major scale; he also added ornamental notes *BC* for *adventa*vit and G*A* for *fortissimus;* as for the rhythm, he transcribed the melody in 4/4 time, with the notes generally (not always) equal. In *Hymns Ancient and Modern*,[6] the arrangement, adapted from Redhead, is in 4/4, 3/4 time, and in the modern key of G major. From *Hymns Ancient and Modern* it was transferred to the American Episcopal *Hymnal.* The Song of the Ass is now also sung, from the *Harvard University Hymn Book,* in 3/4 time, F major, (without Redhead's ornaments) to Wesley's words: 'Christ the Lord is Risen Today.'[7]

In the Middle Ages, the less known Beauvais version was sung twice; first, in one part, at the opening of Vespers, (ff. 1, 2) and again, in three parts, (ff. 43, 44) in the Mass. The three-part arrangement, here photographically reproduced, was studied by Coussemaker[8] in 1856 from a 'very faithful and exact reproduction from a tracing of the manuscript itself'; but as the manuscript was then owned by Signor Pacchiarotti of Padua, Coussemaker never saw the original.

Miss Anne L. Thorpe, who has kindly inspected the manuscript for me in the British Museum, reports:

'Folio 1^r, the four staff lines are vermillion red, the notes black. The Capital *O* at the beginning of the song is blue-green with fine red scroll work. Subsequent capitals, beginning each verse, alternate red and blue green. . . . In

[1] Villetard, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[2] *Annales Archéologiques*, VII, 26.

[3] *Annales*, VII, 27.

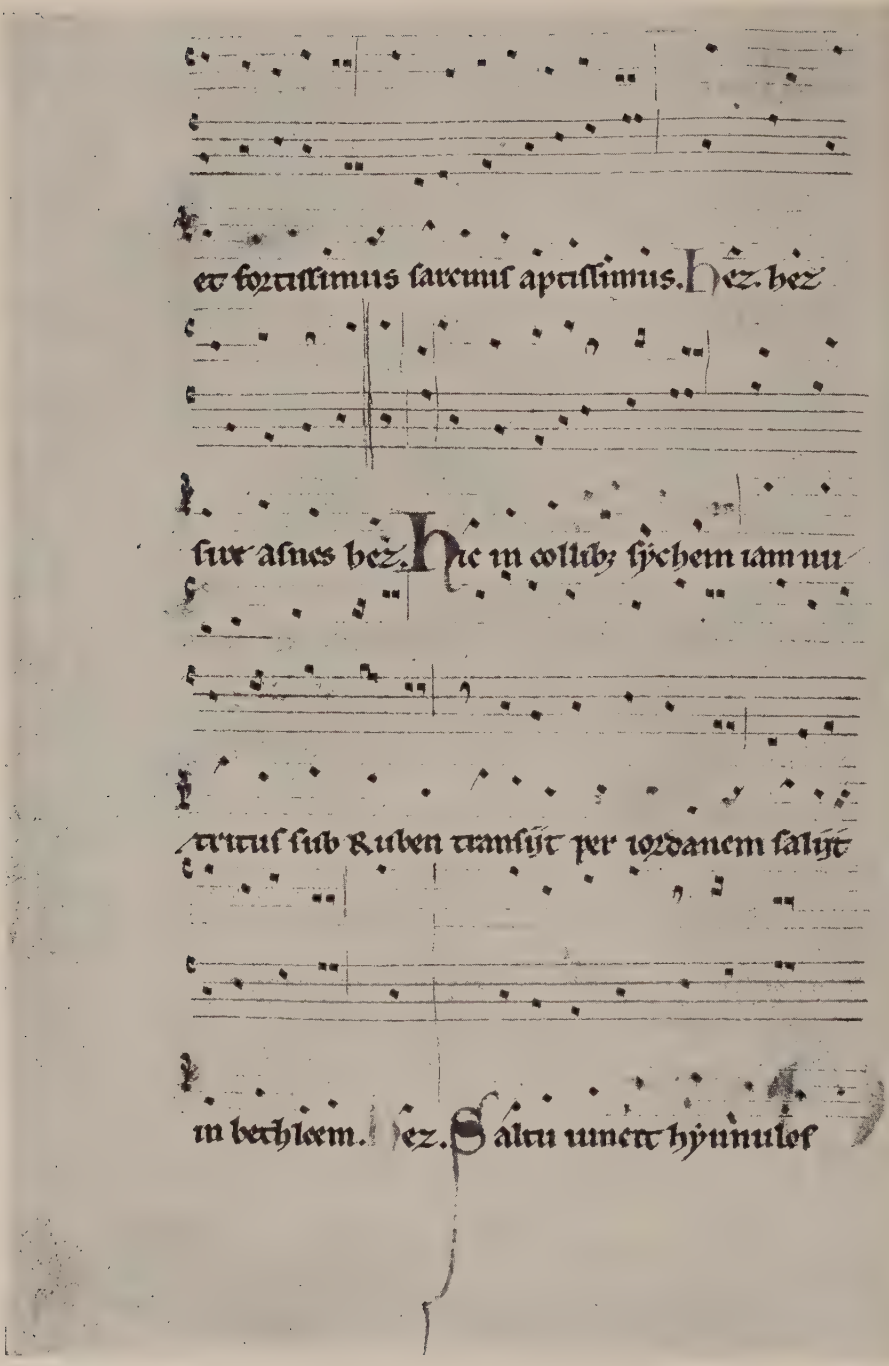
[4] For instance, J. B. Weckerlin, *La Chanson Populaire du Pays de France* (Paris, 1903), I, 5.

[5] Richard Redhead, *Church Hymn Tunes*, London: (1853).

[6] *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, (Historial edition, London, 1909, 545.

[7] C. E. Moore and A. T. Davison, *Harvard University Hymn Book* (Cambridge, 1926), No. 72; also to the words of three other hymns, Nos. 71, 87, 195.

[8] Annales Archéologiques XVI (1856), 300, reproduction facing 259, 300.



et fortissimus sarcinis aptissimus. Hez. hez

sive asnes hez. Hic in collibz sychem iam nu

tritus sub Ruben transijt per iordanem salijt

in bethleem. Hez. Saltu iuncit hynnulos

Plate II

comparing the three-part version (folio 43) you can see that the ascending notes of the first phrase have . . . been erased (in the singer's part) and changed.'

The 1856 'exact reproduction' shows this alteration over the syllables vinc*it hynnulos* in the third stanza, but not elsewhere; and Coussemaker fails to mention it. In the photographs here reproduced, the alteration is clearly shown over the first words of each stanza.

The original melody can still be distinguished, except over the syllables [*Orien*]*tis partibus* in the first stanza. Now assuming for the moment that the clef is the same, this melody corresponds, note for note, with the melody sung to the same words at the beginning of the service:

G A B C D C B
O-ri-en-tis Par-ti-bus

D D E C D C B
Ad-ven-ta-vit As-in-us

D C B B B G AB
Pul-cher et for-tis-si-mus

C B B G A F G
Sar-cin-is Ap-tis-si-mus

As altered, however, the first phrase reads:

G A B G A F G
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

And this is exactly the opening phrase of the Sens version.

A curious fact is important here. In the first Beauvais version the clef is C on the third line[1] throughout the song. In the second version we find, in the voice part, that an F clef on the third line is generally substituted for the C. The clef, however, is clearly C over the syllables *dam*[*mas*] and *ma*[*dianeos*] in stanza three (Pl. III); and over *Cum* and *pa*[*bula*] in stanza four. In other words, there is a change of clef from F to C in the middle of stanza three; and from C to F in the second line of stanza five (Pl. IV). This makes that phrase read, not:

[1] In modern music we find, in the treble, a symbol standing for G on the second line: the space above that is A; the space below F, etc. In mediaeval music the letter C may be placed on any line desired, say the third. Then any note on that line is read C; in the space below it, B; etc.

D D E C D C B
Co-me-dit et car-du-um

but:

D D E F G F E
Co-me-dit et car-du-um.

In other words, a shift, like a geological fault, occurs. The musical phrase is broken in the middle. The result is musical nonsense.

If we now examine the F clefs more closely, for instance over the word *et* in stanza one, (Pl. II) and over the word *in* in the last line of stanza two (Pl. II) we easily make out a C half obscured by the F. If we then compare the F clefs for the voice part with the F clefs in the other parts, for instance over *velox* in stanza three, *cum* and *dura* in stanza four, and *segregat* in stanza five, we see that these latter F's are fresher and sharper in outline; in other words, that they have not been made over from something else, or written where a C has been erased.[1] What must the conclusion be? That these F clefs, for the voice part, should be disregarded; and the melody restored to the form in which it remains for most of the third stanza and all of the fourth and part of the fifth (Plate III). Granted that this conclusion is correct, why were these alterations made? One may guess at the motive from the results. The change in the first phrase, from

G A B C D C B
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

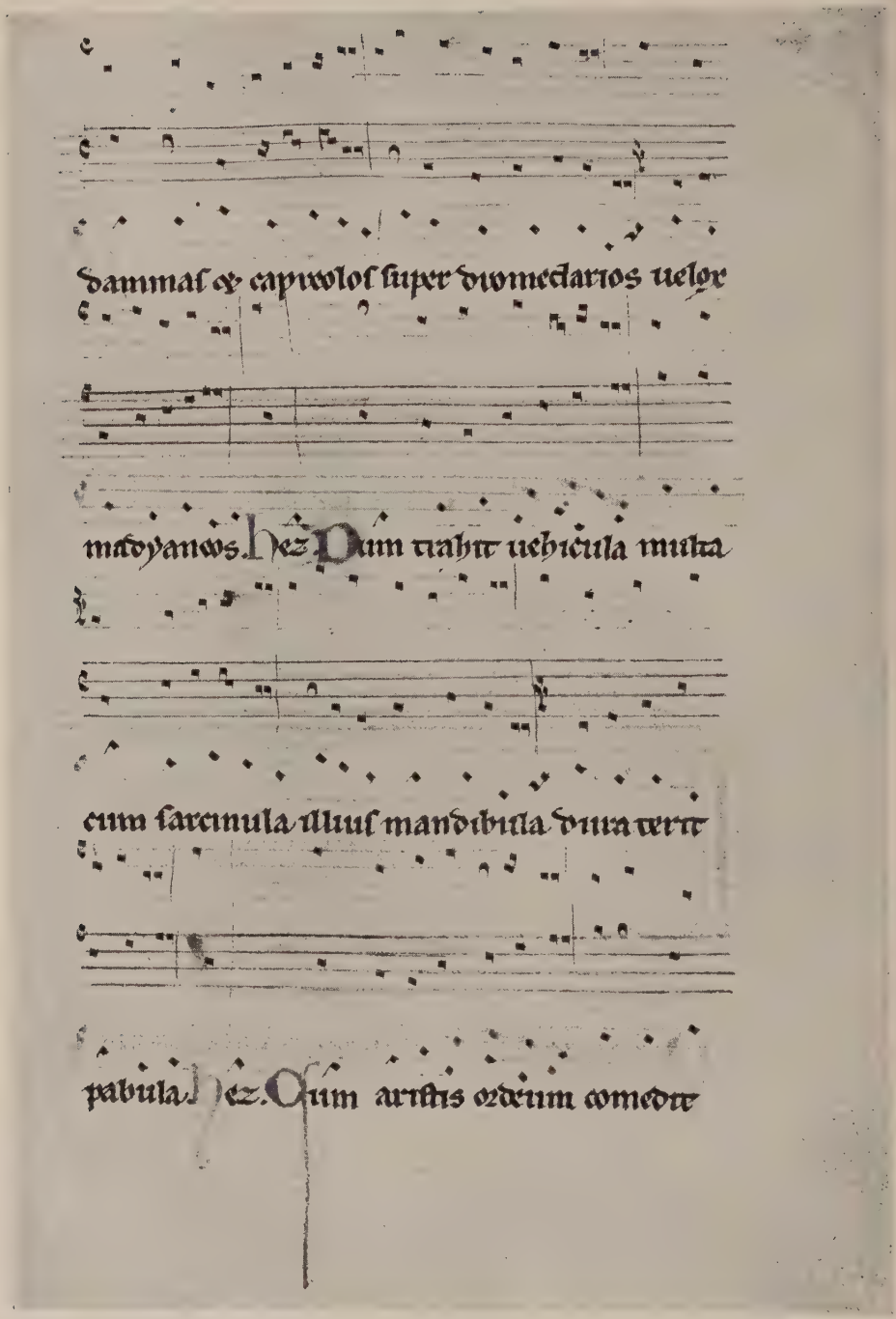
to

G A B G A F G
O-ri-en-tis par-ti-bus

transforms the opening of the smooth, somewhat ecclesiastical Beauvais melody into the corresponding phrase of the popular Sens tune. The substitution of an F for C clef shifts the voice part out of the myxolydian mode (GABCDEFG), into that non-ecclesiastical Ionian (CDEFGABC) which we now call the scale of C major. We may therefore guess that the man who tampered with the manuscript had a preference for a popular tune in a lay mode or scale.

That man probably had still another motive, as one sees when con-

[1] The writer has photographs of all the other three-part music in this Mass, fols. 69–94 ^{vo}; nowhere does evidence appear, on these folios, of altered clefs or notes.



dammas & capreolos super dromectarios uelox

madyancos. Hez. Dum trahit uehicula multa

cum sarcinula illius mandibula dura terit

pabula. Hez. Cum aristis ordeum comedit

Plate III

sidering the relations between the different parts in this piece. The middle and upper parts, which seem to be instrumental, consist of two pleasant little melodies, each corresponding to one stanza of the text. Each melody recurs again and again throughout the piece with only such slight variations as occasionally substituting a plica for a square note. When these two melodies are played against each other, the effect, though primitive to modern ears, is never dissonant. When, however, the voice part, in the first Beauvais form, is sung against these parts, a difficulty presents itself. At the end of the very first line, *Orientis partibus*, B, in the voice, clashes against CG in the instruments. In singing these words to the Sens version of the tune (whose note for the final syllable *bus* is G), this discord is avoided.

The amender of this musical text paid no attention to the similar, though less important dissonances which occur in singing the syllables

*Pul*cher et *fortissimus*
Sarcinis aptissimus

Such transitional dissonances being familiar in thirteenth century music, he presumably did not object to them. But changing the clef, as he has done, results in substituting new discords for old ones, for instance, the adjacent notes, or seconds, corresponding with the syllables:

*Pul*cher et *fortis*simus

The music shown in our reproductions is significant as a specimen of early thirteenth century composition. It is in three parts, the bottom one with words over it, the middle and the top one without words. While the lowest of the three parts is obviously for voice, the two upper parts seem more appropriate for instruments. The first two notes, G C in the middle part and C G in the top part, correspond to nothing in the text; similarly the G C and C G after *hez, sire asnes, hez*. If sung at all, these notes must have been sung without words. It seems far more probable that they were performed on instruments. Moreover, since the taste of the time called for melodies played against each other rather than for successive chords, the notes just quoted would require instruments of different quality: otherwise G C and C G would sound, not like a descending pair of notes played

against an ascending pair, but like one chord G C, repeated. These two parts were therefore probably carried by instruments of different tone-color, such as a viol and a pipe, or perhaps by the organ which was frequently used in these services at Beauvais.[1]

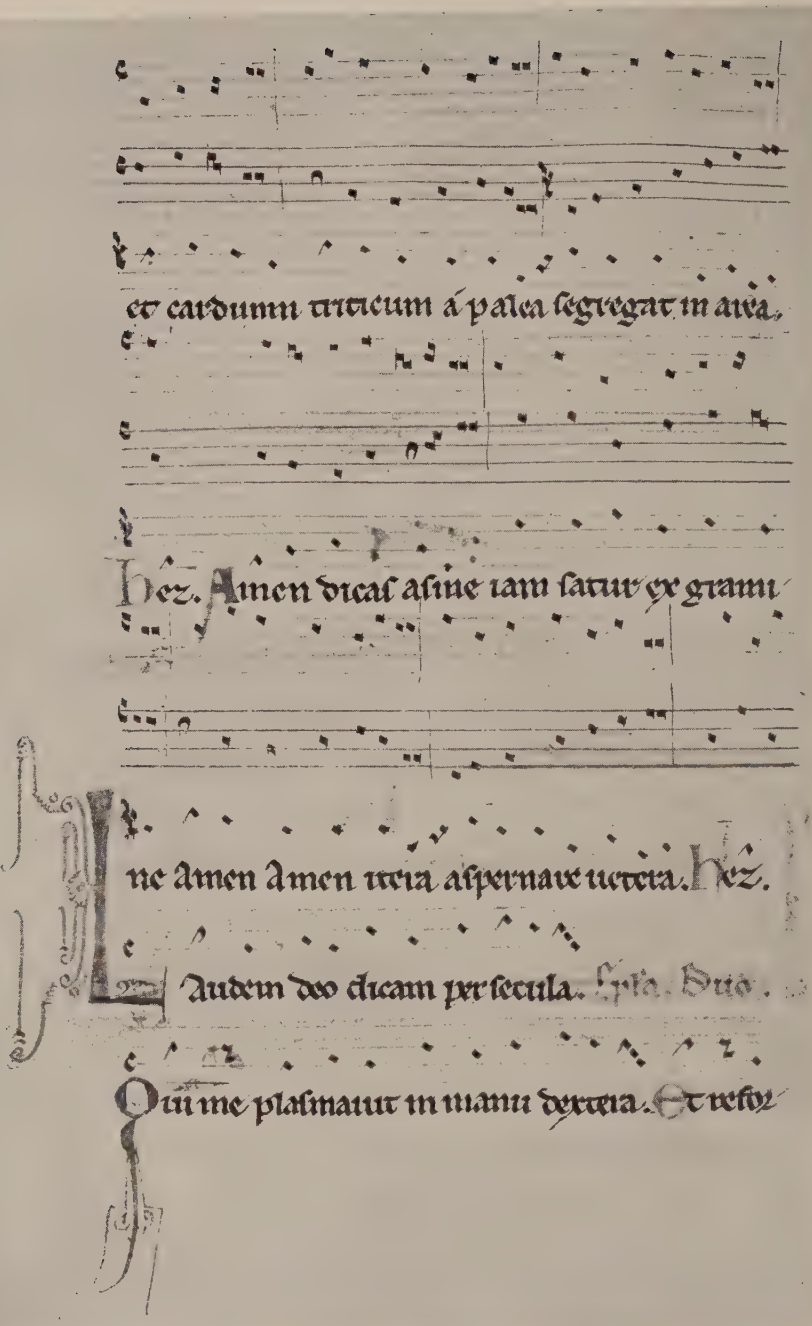
The voice part, or tenor as it was usually called, may have been written by a different scribe from the upper parts. Those include plicas, but no tailed notes: the tenor part has no plicas; and the ligatures in the tenor look less stocky and more free in outline than do those in the upper parts. The composer of these instrumental parts achieved an agreeable and varied composition.

As we have seen, the relations of the tenor to this two-part composition were displeasing to some one. In the thirteenth century, a tenor was sometimes altered or even a new one substituted.[2] In this case some scribe apparently started to do just that. Whether he had the Sens version in mind (as I have suggested), we cannot know. Other variants may well have been current and even on record, for instance in that lost twelfth century Beauvais manuscript. However that may be, this scribe, who bungled his penmanship (as any one can see), may well have bungled his musical work as well. He certainly left it incomplete. As to the MS. as a three-part composition, judgment must therefore be withheld and the composition regarded as a specimen of music in process of change.

Professor Jean B. Beck, as well as Pierre Aubry under his inspiration, and other investigators, has recently done so much work on the 'measured music' of the thirteenth century that this manuscript must at least be considered in that relation. In contrast with plain chant, measured music marks the beginnings of our modern time system. In plain chant, the notes are all of equal time value. In measured music, different forms of note (for instance tailed notes and square notes) have different time values. In early specimens of measured music, such differences are apparently often suggested rather than clearly denoted. The specimen here reproduced shows no regular use of different note forms to indicate different time durations. Does that

[1] See rubrics, Villetard, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–226. The rubrics do not, however, specify the organ at this point.

[2] Pierre Aubry, *Cent Motets du* XIIIe *siecle* (Paris, 1908), III, 31



et cardunni triticum á palea segregat in area.

Hez. Amen dicas asine iam satur ex grami

ne amen amen itera aspernare uetera. Hez.

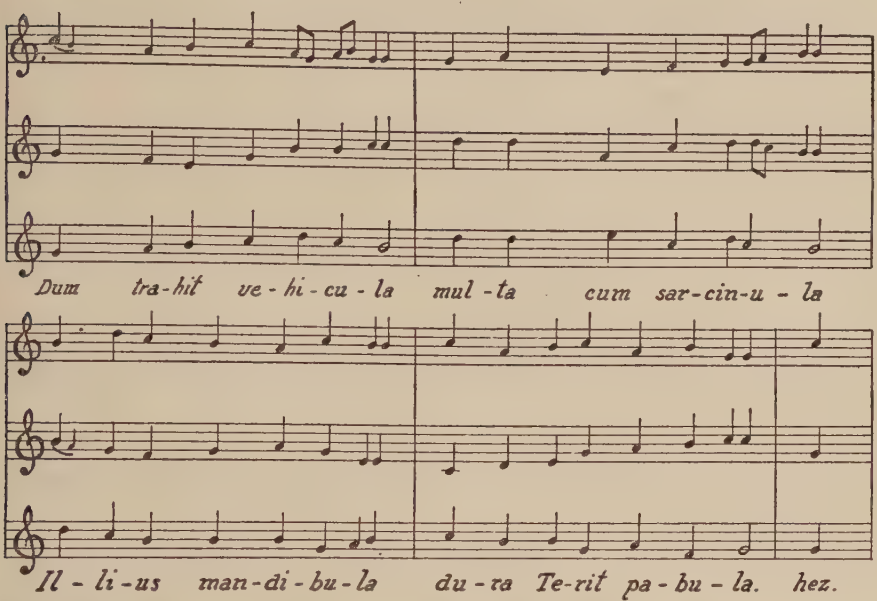
Laudem deo dicam per secula. Epla. Duo.

Qui me plasmauit in manu dextera. Et refor

Plate IV

mean that it is not measured music, or should this specimen perhaps be classed as a specimen from that 'old period of measured music in which no special signs stand for differences of duration'?[1]

Let us look at the facts. The notation is more primitive than that of known measured music such as Jean de Lescurel's,[2] or that of the *Bamberg*[3] *MS.* motets, or even of less advanced types.[4] It therefore



appears reasonable to put rhythmic preconceptions aside for a moment, and look at the notes themselves. The notation is simple. We find, besides the ordinary square note, only the tailed note, the ligature,[5] and the plica.[6] As the tailed notes, which appear only in the voice part, correspond to square notes in the other parts, and since they occur irregularly,[7] they seem to indicate emphasis rather than duration. The ligatures in the tenor correspond to two square notes

[1] *Cent Motets,* p. 144.

[2] Le Roman de Fauvel, *Reproductions photographiques* (Paris, 1907).

[3] Cent Motets.

[4] See Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig, 1913), I, part III.

[5] Two notes tied together.

[6] A special form indicating a note trailing off into the adjacent note. At a later period it had definite time values.

[7] Compare, for instance, *Dum trahit* and *cum aristis.*

in the upper parts; while the ligatures in the upper parts correspond to single square notes in the voice part. The plicas, which occur in the upper parts only, correspond to single square notes in the tenor. Square notes therefore seem to be the unit of measure. By taking each tailed note and plica as equal to one square note, this three-part version of the *Orientis Partibus* can be logically performed. I suggest this interpretation as probably consistent with the date. It results in a transcription practically in 4/4 time.

Bibliographical Summary and Notes

Manuscripts. Three known Beauvais MSS include the *Orientis Partibus*,— (1) Louvet's lost twelfth-century MS. (2) the thirteenth century *Edgerton 2615*, which Chambers identifies with MS. *No. 76* in the Beauvais 1464 catalogue, (3) the complete donkey Mass of the Church of St Stephen which Foy de Saint Hilaire says was burned before 1697. The additional verses, printed by the later Ducange editors in 1733, were apparently not in (1), are not in (2), and if they were in the burned MS. (3), the Ducange editors were too late to find them there, though they might have seen a copy. Charvet (p. 96) says that they took these verses from MS. *No. 76*. But if *No. 76* = *Edgerton 2615*, Charvet must be mistaken. One of these verses, as we have seen, occurs in the Sens MS.

The *Hin ham* refrains to the *Kyrie*, etc., and the *Ite Messa est, hin ham*, are mentioned by Foy de Saint-Hilaire (p. 312) in connection with the St Stephen's Church complete donkey Mass (3); but this does not exclude their possible presence in the Louvet MS. (1) from which Grenier apparently quotes them. As to pudding and sausage censing, Dom Grenier (p. 363, note 1) quotes it from Ducange (*sub voce* Kalendae) whose editors say they found it, not even in a rubric of their vague MS. 500 years old, but 'alibi.' Foy de Saint-Hilaire (p. 311) quotes it from the twelfth century *Tablet* (or description of the ceremonial). If this *Tablet*, or the Louvet MS., or copies of either or both of them, can be found, some of these questions can be cleared up.

The editor of the Troussures letters mentions a MS. of probable use to future students (pp. 313–314, note 3) as follows: 'Another MS. in the Troussures Library gives curious details in folio 20 as to the Ass celebration, — *Histoire des Évèques de Beauvais*, by Augustin Le Cat, canon of Beauvais in 1670, 72 folios with coats of arms in color.' Two other MSS are frequently referred to, — Dom Grenier's *B.N. Picardie, 14* and *158*. As to MS. *Picardie 158*, see Villetard, (p. 219 note 1, and 232). *Picardie* 14 contains an eighteenth century account of ceremonies at Amiens.

Books. The best work on the celebration of the Ass and connected subjects

is E. K. Chambers' 'The Feast of Fools', in *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, Chaps. XIII, XIV, and II, Appendix L. Instead of printing the music of *Orientis Partibus* from the Sens MS. or from *Edgerton 2615*, Chambers printed it twice (cover of I and I, 262) from Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, XX, 257, with a B flat, thus changing the mode in which it was written. Chambers includes an excellent bibliography, (I, 274). He was unable to consult Bourquelot's study in the *Bulletin de la Societe Archéologique de Sens* (1854), which, however, was reprinted: Félix Bourquelot, *L'Office de la Fête des Fous de Sens*, (Sens, 1856). Bourquelot (p. 76) perhaps originated the misstatement that the melody of *Orientis Partibus* is the same at Sens and at Beauvais. He prints (pp. 90–103) considerable extracts from the text of *Edgerton 2615*. Chambers was also unable to consult Louvet, a copy of whose *Histoire* (full title, *supra* p. 534) is accessible in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Chambers mentions, but could not find, E. Charvet on the Beavais Theatre.[1] Charvet apparently was the first to call attention to Foy de Saint-Hilaire's important letter, which he studied in MS. It has since been published (title *supra* p. 534). Another important work published since Chambers's study is Villetard's *Office de Pierre de Corbeil* (title, *supra* p. 537. This work includes an important bibliographical section (pp. 34–37), also an admirable introduction, complete text and music of the Mass attributed to Pierre de Corbeil, a photographic reproduction (text and music) of the *Orientis Partibus*, and (Appendix II) an important synopsis of the Beauvais Office with text of its rubrics. Villetard has also published the interesting *Alleluia*, Latin and Greek words and music, from *Edgerton 2615* (fol. 45) in *Rossegna Gregoriana* (Roma, 1906), No. 1.

English authors writing on the Feast of the Fools are: Francis Douce, in *Archaeologia* XV (1806), 265; Sharon Turner, *History of England* (London, 1815), II, 368; John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (London, 1813), I, 107, Note C; 117. These writers contribute almost nothing to our knowledge of the Feast of Fools in England. E. K. Chambers (I, 321–323) gives a few facts and references. Perhaps he will some time tell us more.

Questions. The Bourges verion of *Orientis Partibus*, words and music, remains to be authenticated, also three of the Ducange stanzas. May not other French cities, where the Ass is known to have been honored, yield further versions? For instance Autun, where the congregation sang, 'He, sire ané, hé, hé' (Leber, *Collection de Pièces relatifs à l'Histoire de France* [Paris, 1838], IX, 243). Félix Clément, *Histoire Générale de la Musique*, (Paris, 1878), pp. 174–184, who considers the symbolism of the Ass, also describes (p. 181) a January 17 celebration in Madrid, in which an ass is escorted in procession through the 'rue de Hortaleza' by men and women singing Latin hymns. I have not been able to verify this assertion. Was the *Orientis Partibus* sung in Madrid?

[1] *Recherches sur les Anciens Théâtres de Beauvais*, Beauvais, 1881.

OMAN'S MURET

By HOFFMAN NICKERSON

ALL students of mediaeval warfare owe a debt to Sir Charles Oman.[1] In the first place, with the exception of a brief sketch of not much more than two hundred pages by the present writer,[2] he has given us the only inclusive survey of the art of war in the Middle Ages. In the second, his writing is both graceful and lively — in these days a rare merit deserving of warm praise. Unfortunately, however, his merits are balanced by grave short-comings. Some of these relate to general scholarship. He is so strangely old-fashioned as to write of the Dark Ages as if the great Fustel de Coulanges had never lived. Thus he justifies the employment of barbarians in the armies of the later Roman Empire solely on the ground of their greater mobility,[3] not appreciating that they were cheaper to hire than civilized men and also — given their personal loyalty — more apt to be faithful to their original employer in the recurrent outbreaks of civil war. These matters, belonging as they do to general scholarship, may here be lightly passed over.

Confining ourselves to the technique of the military art, we find his work diminished in value by demerits both general and particular. He is possessed of a grossly unmilitary mind; he is capable of saying that the crusading armies which marched upwards of two thousand miles from northern Gaul to Palestine including nearly five hundred miles of desert in Asia Minor, and reconquered the Holy Land from Islam had '. . . little or no organization'![4] I have written in another place[5] and I repeat here that one would like to see him try to take a war-strength militia company or even a respectable troop of boy scouts out for a few days' peace-time hike without organization and

[1] *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1924). The map and page references in the notes are from this edition, not the 1-vol. edition of 1898.

[2] Hoffman Nickerson, 'Warfare in the Roman Empire, the Dark and Middle Ages,' in Spaulding, Nickerson, and Wright: *Warfare* (New York, 1925), pp. 191–411.

[3] Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 11–12.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 251.

[5] Hoffman Nickerson, 'Mechanization and Military History,' in *Army Ordnance* (Washington, July, 1929).

plenty of it. Further, he fails to appreciate some of the chief problems with which his subject confronts him. Thus he does not see that the loss by infantry of offensive power and the ability to maneuvre balances, if indeed it does not cause, the rise of cavalry. He has not a syllable on the influence upon mediaeval tactics of Vegetius and what we may call the Vegetian school; which deficiency in turn leads him astray in his accounts of individual actions, such as that of Stamford Bridge in 1066.[1] He says nothing of the tactical effect of the added weight of plate armor in stiffening late mediaeval cavalry tactics.

Worse still, he does not seem to appreciate the importance of ground. This would be bad enough in dealing with battles of any period, no matter how well documented. Granted the short-comings of most mediaeval chroniclers, it is doubly essential. Down to the sixteenth century, most historians were priests. In their accounts of battles, they are often lacking in precision, leaving out much that the military student wants to know. They never give a map, and seldom a direct statement as to distance, range, or degree of slope. Accordingly, the reconstruction of a mediaeval battle presents difficulties soluble only by interpreting the documents in the light of thorough study of the terrain. But Oman, in his account of Hastings,[2] gives no contour map, and not even an adequate description of the strongly marked T-shaped ridge involved, although the steepness of its slopes governed the course of the action. So too, in reading his account of Lewes,[3] no one would suspect the existence of the abrupt hog-back which is the chief feature of that field.

I have preferred to discuss Muret rather than Hastings or Lewes in part because of its enormous political importance, greater even than Hastings, equal with Châlons or the defeat of Abdurrahman, and exceeded — if at all — only by the three Mohammedan sieges of Constantinople. Had it not been for Muret, the vile Albigensian fanaticism would have destroyed the moral unity of Europe soon after the year 1200. Further, a different result at Muret might well have produced a great Provençal-speaking state on both sides of the Py-

[1] Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 150–151.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 152–165.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 424–430.

renees, hindering if not preventing the national formation of both France and Spain.

Besides its political importance, Muret is of high tactical interest. Thanks to an extremely bold and skillful maneuvre, aided by good fortune and a bad enemy command, a smaller force surprises, defeats, and destroys a far larger one. And this although the victors are peculiarly weak in infantry. In studying such an action, one must begin by establishing the respective positions of the combatants and the exact nature of the maneuvre. In this regard, Oman's errors are multiform. He misplaces the besieger's camp and therefore misunderstands the final phase of the battle. He hopelessly misrepresents de Montfort's surprise attack. Finally, he also misdirects the decisive charge which decided the event. And all these errors, originally found in his one-volume edition of 1898 (although Delpech had already published his *Tactique au XIIIe Siecle*),[1] are repeated in his two-volume edition of 1924, regardless of the intervening work of Dieulafoy, Devoluy, and Anglade, whose conclusions the present writer has confirmed by careful study of the terrain.[2]

Briefly, the matter stands thus: in 1886, twelve years before Oman's original one-volume edition, Delpech had already located the besieger's camp and had worked out de Montfort's surprise attack, not perfectly indeed, but nevertheless logically and with some approach to correctness. In 1899, Dieulafoy published his monograph which solved for the first time all the major difficulties connected with the edition. In 1907, Devoluy, an engineer-officer of the French regular army, substantially followed Dieulafoy; and in 1913, Professor Anglade also followed Dieulafoy, at the same time reprinting several of the primary sources.

The uncontested features of the action are as follows: Simon de Montfort, father of that Simon who led in the Barons' war against Henry III of England, had entered Languedoc with the large crusading army of 1208. That army marched against the Provençal nobles who, although not heretics themselves, were nevertheless pro-

[1] H. Delpech, *La Tactique au XIIIe Siecle* (Paris, 1886).

[2] M. Dieulafoy, *La Bataille de Muret* (Paris, 1899); Devoluy, in *Vivo Provençe*, No. 33 (Sept. 7, 1907); J. Anglade, *La Bataille de Muret* (Paris, 1913).

tecting the Albigensian heresy which was useful to them because its protest seemed to justify their greed for the property of the Church, locally far gone in corruption. De Montfort, an ambitious and sincerely fanatical man, had remained in the country as the heir of the Crusade, administering and even extending its conquests. His troops were few but of excellent quality. As a commander he far excelled his

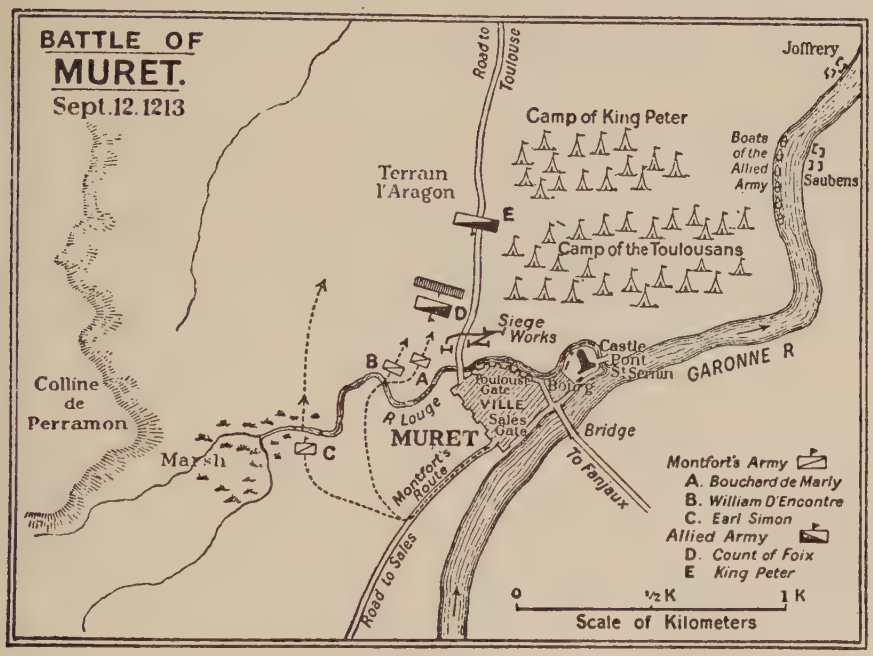


PLATE I
OMAN'S MAP OF MURET

opponents, and from time to time he was temporarily reënforced somewhat by parties of 'French' (i.e. north-French) Crusaders. Based on the stronghold of Carcasssonne, the centre of communication between the Mediterranean and the Garonne country, he had by 1213 so reduced the vast territories of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse that the latter effectively held only Toulouse itself and Montauban. De Montfort's method was the time-honored one of mediaeval conquerors from William the Norman dealing with London in 1066 down to Henry IV of France before Paris. It may be

described as distant envelopment or strategic siege. Unable through the financial limitations of the time to support an army capable of investing a first-class mediaeval city, an invader would work around it, devastating the fields and hampering its communications. Usually he would try to peg down the surrounding districts by garrisoning the many small but strong fortresses typical of the time. The late summer of 1213 found de Montfort's strategic siege of Toulouse well advanced. Far to the southwest, he may have had a small post on the upper Garonne in St Gaudens which he had occupied in the high tide of his successes of the previous autumn.[1] Certainly he had a handful of men in Pujols not quite nine miles southeast of Toulouse. Muret, on the left or western bank of the Garonne about ten miles southwest of Toulouse, was held for him by a garrison of thirty knights (representing a minimum of ninety horsemen, for no mediaeval knight took the field without at least two armed and mounted attendants, i.e., a squire and a 'serviens,' a word which we must translate sometimes as 'sergeant', sometimes 'groom')[2] and seven hundred ill-armed infantry.

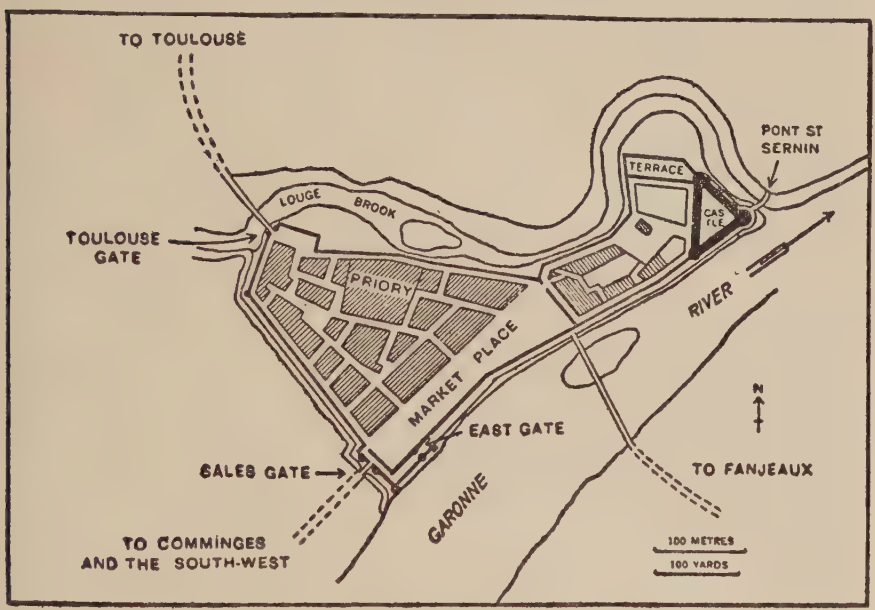
At this juncture, he was confronted by a new and formidable enemy, King Pedro II of Aragon, who marched with a numerous army, and was joined in Toulouse by Raymond and by the Counts of Foix and Comminges. Since the local nobles, despite their losses, were still in far greater force than de Montfort, the addition of Pedro gave them an overwhelming superiority of numbers. Their obvious move was to disengage Toulouse by breaking the strategic siege maintained against that considerable town by de Montfort's tiny garrisons. Accordingly, they destroyed the little crusading force in Pujols and sat down before Muret.

De Montfort was at Fanjeaux. As usual, he was weak in numbers; he could collect only eight hundred horse, of whom however the high proportion of two hundred and seventy were knights. With his little troop he nevertheless pushed on vigorously to throw himself into Muret. Muret stood on a long and narrow triangle of land of which

[1] A. Luchaire, *Innocent III, La Croisade des Albigeois* (Paris, 1911), p. 181.

[2] Both primary and secondary sources agree as to de Montfort's numbers. Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 396–419) discusses the personnel of mediaeval cavalry, and especially the vexed question of 'sergeants' at length and conclusively.

the sides along the Garonne and a brook called the Louge, were about 400 yards long and the base somewhat over 200 yards. At the apex of the triangle, the mouth of the Louge was overlooked by a small but strong castle. Near this stronghold was the older town, tolerably fortified. The newer suburb which had grown up to the westward was fortified but weakly. A new wooden bridge not ten years old spanned



TOWN OF MURET 1213

PLATE II*

the Garonne, giving access to a long narrow passage or roadway between the walls and the river from the castle to the southern corner of the suburb. Such is the height of the promontory on which the place stands that the town could not be entered directly from the bridge. To reach it, a traveller from the east would cross the bridge, turn to the left along this passage, and enter by the Sales gate near the southern corner. The Toulouse gate was near the north-western corner.

The banks of the Garonne are high and steep, as are those of the Louge in many places. In general, the river plain is flat. About five-

* Plates II–IV are from the author's study *Warfare, loc. cit.*

eighths of a mile up the Louge west of the town is a patch of marshy ground known as Rudelle. West of this swamp, the gentle slopes of the Perramon ridge, the only high ground in the neighborhood, rise to a level of some forty-five feet above the plain. In the latter, about three-quarters of a mile north of the town, lies a slight depression, still a little swampy, whose name 'Les Pesquies,' (i.e., the *piscina*, 'fishpond' or 'tank' of standing water) implies that it was once even wetter. From this marshy area the tiny Pesquies brooklet flows east to the Garonne through a ravine of the same name of which the banks are high and steep.

As de Montfort approached, the southern allies had just stormed the western suburb and might therefore have held the bridge against him, or at least have barricaded the passage leading from the bridgehead to the Sales gate. Pedro, however, preferred to let the crusaders enter, hoping thus to end the war at one blow.[1] Accordingly, the southerners withdrew from the suburb and the crusaders came in; their small numbers were clearly seen and counted as they did so.

After his junction with the garrison, de Montfort could now muster nine hundred horse, including (as will be recalled) the high proportion of three hundred knights. He was doubly compelled to immediate attack by the fact that the place was ill-provisioned, and he further suffered from a political necessity for prompt victory; his new conquests were held only by the terror of his name, so that a check or even a postponed decision would submerge him and his tiny forces under a general insurrection.[2] Beside his own brain, his chief

[1] P. Meyer, *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois* (Paris, 1875), ll. 2956–2961. Oman may have used the earlier edition of 1837 instead of Meyer's edition of 1875, but in any case the variations he gives do not affect the sense.

[2] *Chronicle* of William of Puy Laurens, in Bouquet, *Histoire de France*, XIX, 208; 'Comes Simon, praesumens quod, si forte castrum adversariis resignaret, tota terra insurgeret contra eum et aliis adhaereret, et essent novissima graviora prioribus, . . . satius duxit una die periculum experiri, quam languida prolixitate adversarium adaugere audaciam.' Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 186) correctly interprets the passage. Oman (I, 451), perhaps through overlooking the latter part of William's sentence, misinterprets Simon's intention by making it primarily defensive and only secondarily offensive: 'He could at least make Muret too strong to fall into the king's hands and hold him in check till there should be time to summon succours from northern France. Perhaps too the enemy might commit some fault which would make it possible to deal a sudden blow at him.' This misses William's point, fully confirmed by the logic of the situa-

asset was the quality and the superb morale of his cavalry, experienced and courageous fighters full of their religion and zealous for martyrdom. He had the further advantage, as Foch recently remarked of Napoleon, of opposing not a unified enemy but a coalition. Indeed, in the southern camp, divergent political interests and personal friction were equally present. Nevertheless, the southern numbers were so enormous (the careful Delpech, who has compared them with the contingents furnished by the same districts on other occasions, puts them at 40,000 infantry and a minimum of 4,000 horse)[1] that de Montfort's position was plainly desperate.

One of the most astonishing victories of military history followed. De Montfort successfully tempted the southerners to attack the point he desired. They did so with part of their great numbers and, failing, withdrew only slightly and put themselves off their guard. By a sudden unexpected rush, he surprised and scattered his late assailants and turned upon the next body of their large but ill-knit force. Pedro was killed, and his immediate followers were killed or routed by a happy combination of front and flank charges; the remaining enemy horse fled, and de Montfort pursued them. Returning from pursuit, he achieved his third successful surprise of the day, this time against the southern foot, whom he found in a fool's paradise because of their belief that the cavalry fight had gone in favor of their side.

Having thus framed the picture, it remains to go over the successive phases of the action, so that the reader may judge whether they could have occurred according to Oman's version, and showing, on the other hand, the formidable converging probabilities — amounting, it is submitted, to moral certainty — in favor of the improve-

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tion, as to de Montfort's position. On a far greater scale, compare the political necessity of Napoleon in 1815.

[1] Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 194–204) reinforces his calculation from his equally detailed study of the numbers present at Bouvines (I, 4–37). One of his cogent points is that the Aragonese royal towns had sent 10,000 communal-militia infantry three hundred miles from northern to southern Spain for Las Navas de Tolosa the year before. Considering the importance of Toulouse, and the short distance, it seems conservative to calculate that that city and Montauban sent 20,000 to Muret. Then there were the southern feudal infantry. Oman (I, 463) says: 'There may possibly have been ten or fifteen thousand foot . . . ,' including both communal and feudal infantry.

ments upon Delpech made by Dieulafoy and concurred in by Devoluy and Anglade. Oman puts the besieger's camp east (his site might be more accurately described as northeast) from Muret, on the left bank of the Garonne and close to the left bank of the Louge, near the latter's mouth. He admits that the Perramon ridge west of the town is the traditional site, and he further admits that one of our best authorities, William of Puy-Laurens, says that the camp was west of the town ('cum castra essent ab occidente').[1] But this statement he considers a mere slip of the pen, on the supposition that Puy-Laurens really meant to write east and wrote west by mistake. Oman goes on to give five reasons for this guess:

(1) The Toulousans had a flotilla moored at the back of their camp, close to the tents (*Chanson de la Croisade*, lines 3077–3079).

(2) But the flotilla must have been down-stream from the bridge, as it could not have got past the bridge to the point of the river nearest to Perramon.

(3) The Toulousans could see from their lines the action of individuals on the castle-plateau, especially a misadventure of Count Simon with his horse (Peter of Vaux de Cernay, p. 86). This would have been quite incredible if they had been encamped a mile away.

(4) They could count the Crusaders passing the bridge on their arrival — a thing impossible from any point save one just below and opposite the castle (*Chanson*, line 2989).

(5) The *Philippeis* especially notes that the position of the Toulousans was along the Garonne. 'Stabat adhuc Tholosana phalanx prope fluminis undas, millia dena quater in papilionibus altis,' book v, line 810.[2]

Now a slip of the pen is always possible; one easily remembers historians of great learning and insight who are congenitally inaccurate in such matters. Nevertheless, such a guess is always under a heavy burden of proof, and requires strong evidence to support it, for, if people habitually or even one-third of the time wrote east when they mean west, north when they mean south, etc., all scholarship and much of human intercourse would become impossible. There could be, for instance, no such thing as staff work in the leading of armies. In the present case, none of the five supporting arguments have

[1] William of Puy Laurens, *loc. cit.*

[2] Oman, *op. cit.*, I, 457 and note 1; I, 465.

weight. (1) The *Chanson* does not say that the Toulousan boats were moored at the back of the camp close to the tents. It says that when they saw de Montfort returning victorious from the cavalry fight 'the Toulousans who had remained in their tents . . . despaired; and Dalmatz de Creixeill threw himself into the water . . . , and the Toulousans both great and small ran to the water.'[1] Now we know from several primary authorities that the Toulousans, although they did indeed remain in their tents during the cavalry fight, believed that phase of the action to have been a victory for their side[2] and, so believing, were attacked by the returning de Montfort, not in their camp, but on their unprotected rear, as they in turn were attacking the town.[3] In such a situation, men flee in all directions; those making

[1] Meyer, *op. cit.*, ll. 3077–3079:

'E l'ome de Toloza c'als traps remazutz
Estero tuit essemps malament desperdutz;
En Dalmatz de Creixell es per aiga embatutz.'

Also ll. 3085–3086:

'E·l pobles de Toloza, e·lo grans e·l menutz,
S'en son trastuit essems ves l'aiga corregutz.'

[2] William of Puy Laurens, *loc. cit.*, p. 209: 'Populus autem Tolosanus, de castris ubi erant vallati curribus et aliis impedimentis, adhuc cui cessissent victoria ignorabant.'

Chronicle of Peter de Vaux Cernay, in Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XIX, 87: 'Dum haec agerentur, cives Tolosani qui remanserant in exercitu infiniti et ad pugnam parati . . . responderunt quod rex Aragonensis vicerat omnes nostros.'

Mandement des Evêques (a circular letter or communiqué issued the day after the battle by the seven bishops with de Montfort), Bouquet, *op. cit.*, p. 89:'. . . qui de strage residui, adhuc intra sua tentoria morabantur . . . In sua perseverantes malicia, et se, qui iam victi erant, vicisse Christi populum autumantes.'

[3] Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'Cives Tolosani . . . in expugnando castro totis viribus laborabant.' 'Castro' must here mean the town of Muret. *Chronicle* of Baldwin of Avesnes, *Bib. Nat. MS. 17264*, fol. 363: 'En son retour [Montfort] trouva ceux de Thoulouse qui avaient assailli Muriaux.' *Philippeis* (*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, XVII, 815): 'Quos [Tholosanos] cum vidisset Bernardus . . . Expectare quasi bellum renovare volentes.' Bernardus is Bernard, bishop of Beziers, who was one of the bishops with de Montfort, all of whom remained in Muret during the fight. In that it confirms Peter de Vaux Cernay and Baldwin this source may here perhaps have some small weight.

Oman (I, 464) is here hopelessly confused. Overriding the authorities just quoted, or ignorant of them, he has stretched the undisputed fact that the Toulousan foot remained in their camp during the cavalry fight into the altogether different statement that they continued to do so after the horsemen, hidden in their heavy dust clouds, had vanished northward toward Toulouse. As if this were not enough, he also distorts the incident of Dalmatz de Creixell into the statement that '. . . a fugitive, who had thrown himself into the Garonne, swam to the camp and told them that their friends were defeated . . .' In the first place, I can find absolutely nothing to indicate that Dalmatz warned the camp. The *Chanson de la Croisade* (Meyer, *op. cit.*, ll. 3079–3083) merely has him dive in and cry woe. We have previously (l.

for the camp and the back-country would either escape, or would at most be killed or captured one by one. Those who made for the river would be massacred in a heap on the bank or drowned. It is further probable that de Montfort and the Crusaders would direct most of their effort against fugitives obviously trapped by the river rather than against those who had a better chance of escaping. Accordingly, it was the massacre by the river which struck contemporaries and has been recorded in the Chanson. The remaining four arguments need little refutation. (2) Is irrelevant, as the position of the Toulousan boats is undisputed. (3) The raised terrace, which Oman calls the castle plateau, was west of the castle and plainly visible to those on the left flank of the southern detachment supporting the assailants of the Toulouse gate; the present writer has failed to find justification for Oman's statement that those who mocked de Montfort did so 'from their lines.'[1] (4) The Crusaders entering across the bridge could have been counted as easily from the bank up-stream as from down-stream; more easily, in fact, for fire from the high donjon of the castle would keep back those on the bank down-stream, whereas the lower fortifications of the western part of the town were in the power of the besiegers as the Crusaders approached. (5) On such a point the *Philippeis* can hardly be taken seriously. Anglade gives it no historical value as to Muret, a matter on which the reader will judge for

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3078) been told that the Toulousans despaired, and subsequently (ll. 3085 ss.) that they ran for the water. But that Dalmatz dived in above (i.e., south of) Muret and swam down with the current some three-eighths of a mile seems not only improbable in itself but also ruled out by Oman's theory of the battle (see his map). On the other hand, that Dalmatz, fleeing in terror from de Montfort's advancing horse, should dive in below the town and then swim up-stream against the rapid Garonne at such amazing speed as to outstrip de Montfort's cavalry, and then haul out at the camp and warn his friends, is flatly impossible. For that matter, no syllable of the *Chanson* suggests that Dalmatz ever reached shore; for all the poem says, he may have been drowned.

[1] For the raised terrace or castle plateau, see Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 182, n. 2) citing the procès-verbal of the castle's demolition in 1623. See also Dieulafoy (*op. cit.*, p. 12) citing a plan showing foundations still existent in 1811.

As for the Toulousans who mocked de Montfort being 'within their lines,' the passage from Peter de Vaux Cernay to which Oman refers says merely 'quos videntes Tolosani' without a word about lines. See also Dieulafoy (*op. cit.*, p. 24) who interprets the same passage by adding the words: certain Toulousans 'who from the other side of the Louge brook were observing the movements of the besieged,' again without a word as to lines. See also Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 162), equally silent on the point.

himself when he learns that it has Pedro wounded in single combat by de Montfort, who would have saved his life 'for it is not permitted to a count to kill a king.' But a Crusader, 'who alone had nearly killed two hundred enemies,' attacks the king, and before killing him,

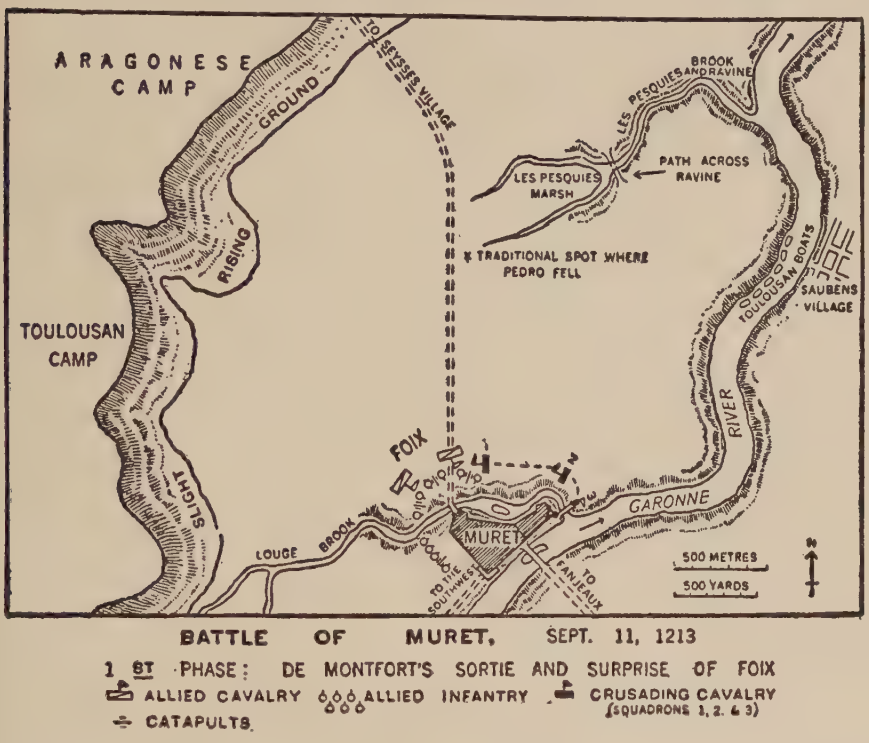

PLATE III

makes him a long speech in no less than thirty verses of classic reminiscences![1]

We shall see in a moment that the westward position of the camp agrees with that version of de Montfort's maneuvre which alone seems to fit all the known facts. Meanwhile there is another argument, drawn from a passage in Puy-Laurens which Oman mentions but fails to appreciate. William of Puy-Laurens was chaplain to

[1] Anglade (*op. cit.*, p. 29) attributes the poem to Guillaume le Breton, and endorses its editor's characterization of the interminable speech mentioned in the text as: '. . . ineptus et intempestivus sermo tam prolixus in eo temporis puncto.'

Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, son and heir to de Montfort's contemporary Raymond VI, and the younger Raymond was present at Muret at the age of sixteen. Too young to fight, the young man, boy-like, wanted to watch the battle, and in after years told his chaplain how, in order to do so, he 'was led out of the camp to an eminence whence he could see what took place (eductus fuit de castris . . . ad locum eminentem unde commissionem videre poterat).'[1] Now there is no eminence anywhere near Muret except the Perramon ridge; it must therefore have been from there that young Raymond saw the fight. But mark now how the incident bears out William of Puy-Laurens' original statement that the camp itself was west of the town, i.e., on the ridge. If we assume the camp there, the incident is as clear and simple as can be. Since the camp was not as yet directly menaced by de Montfort's attack, the young Raymond's tutors had only to ride with him just outside its barricades to the brow of the ridge. On the other hand, if we follow Oman and assume the camp east of the town and beside the Garonne, we are in difficulties at once. In that case the young nobleman must have been hustled westward out of camp for over a mile, and thus directly across the front of de Montfort's rapid advance. William's text suggests nothing of the sort. Moreover, the idea is improbable in itself; for, if whoever was in charge of the young man had thought the camp already threatened, then he would have been hurried not westward but northward, not across de Montfort's front but away from it, or else he might have been put in a boat on the Garonne. If, on the other hand, his tutor thought the camp in no danger, the boy could have been allowed to see from the top of one of the wagons with which it was barricaded. The whole incident therefore tells in favor of William's correctness in putting the camp west of the town and therefore on the ridge.

Turning now to de Montfort's maneuvre, Oman makes him go out by the Sales gate and follow the road leading up-stream along the left bank of the Garonne, thus putting the southerners, and especially such of them who had just been or were still attacking the Toulouse

[1] William of Puy-Laurens, *loc. cit.*, 209. Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 189–190) discusses this passage at some length. See also I, 226–227, 227, n. 1.

gate, off their guard by making them believe that he was fleeing from the town. After they were thus lulled into a false security, Oman makes de Montfort wheel suddenly to the right and attack them, charging across the Louge west of the town.[1]

In the first place, such a movement could not possibly have seemed a retreat. Oman's map, with the camp to the eastward and only the

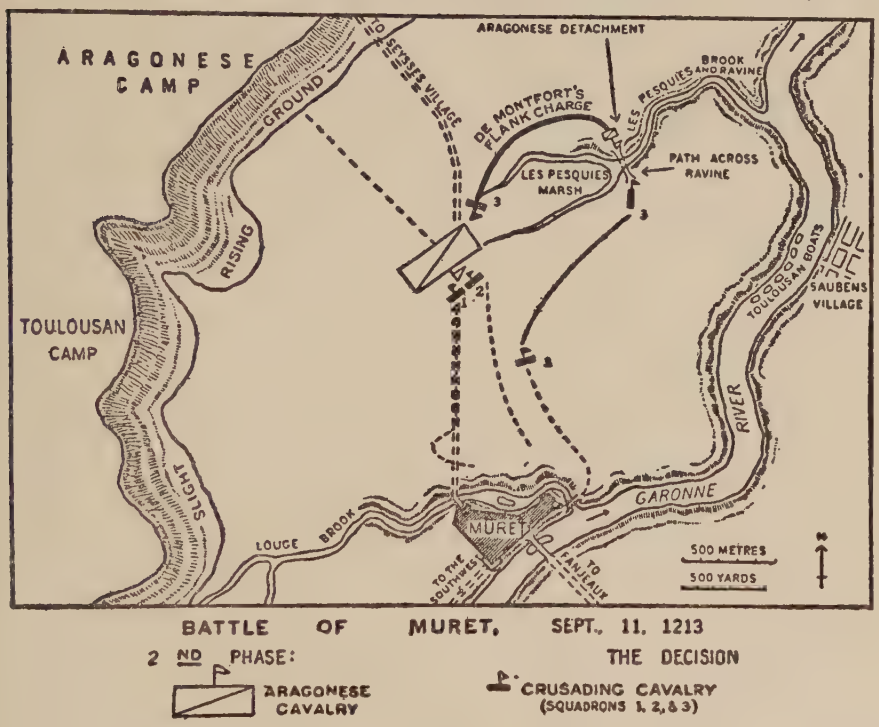

PLATE IV

immediate tactical situation shown, does indeed make it look like one, but the strategics of the situation demolish the idea because de Montfort's line of retreat lay not south-westerly up the left or western bank of the Garonne, but across that unfordable river and eastward towards his base at Carcassonne. We have seen that he may have had a little garrison in St Gaudens, nearly forty miles up the river,[2] but even so, such a move would have carried him further and

[1] Oman I, 460 n. 2 qualifies Dieulafoy's version of de Montfort's route as 'impossible.' We shall see in a moment how solid is Dieulafoy's foundation and how slender Oman's.

[2] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

further away from the centre of his power and would have involved him in the precipitous Pyrenean foothills where he would have been easily destroyed.[1] Accordingly, such a movement, taking place at less than three hundred yards from his nearest opponents, could not have lulled the southerners into security. On the contrary, it would have seemed the beginning of an attack by de Montfort, whose extreme boldness was well known. To feign a retreat, he would have had to convince the foe that he was making for the Garonne bridge leading to the eastward road towards his Fanjeaux-Carcassonne base. In the second place, even had de Montfort intended so foolish a move as a feigned retreat southwest would have been, it is doubtful whether he could have executed it, because the southwest gate as well as the Toulouse gate was probably beset by the southerners. The latter were in great force, and it is reasonable to believe that they would have widely enveloped the weakly defended Toulouse gate salient which they proposed to attack. Indeed, we have already seen that those on the left flank of the attack could see and mock de Montfort on the castle terrace, over three hundred yards east of the Toulouse gate.[2] Whatever may be its probative value the *Chanson* distinctly says that the southerners attacked 'the gates,'[3] and this must mean that the Sales gate was at least approached. Now we know from William of Puy-Laurens that de Montfort did not go out directly against the southerners for fear of exposing his horses to the fire of the Toulousan infantry during his deployment ('. . . ne directe contra exercitum prosilirent, ne imbri iaculorum populi Tolosani exponerent equos suos'). Finally, in the passage which Oman takes to be a mere slip, William says not only that the southern camp was to the westward but also that the crusaders went out by the east gate ('Exierunt per portam quae respicit orientem . . .').[4]

[1] The cliffs and canyons of this foothill country will be vividly remembered by anyone who has seen them.

[2] Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 86. Cf. also Plate II.

[3] The *Chanson* (*ed. cit.*, l. 3023): 'Entro sus a las portas s'en van esperonar.' Delpech (*op. cit.*, I 213, n. 1) justly remarks that, after l. 3023, which treats of the preliminary deployment, the *Chanson* invariably uses *porta* in the singular when treating of the actual assault which the wide deployment was intended to support.

[4] William of Puy Laurens (*loc. cit.*, p. 208). The passage fragmentarily quoted in the text, is: 'Inciditque eis concilium ne directe contra exercitum prosilirent, ne imbri iaculorum populi

Considering now the version of de Montfort's maneuvre proposed by Dieulafoy and built upon the strong foundation laid by Delpech and followed by Devoluy and Anglade, we find it probable, consistent, and in agreement with the primary sources.[1] Dieulafoy differs both from Delpech and Oman in that he assumes an outwork surrounding the southern corner of Muret, and further assumes a bridge over the Louge near its mouth where the Pont St Sernin now stands. Thus the passageway already mentioned as leading to the Garonne bridge would, near its southwestern end, enter the outwork through a new gate facing east, through which traffic must pass before entering the Sales gate. At its northeastern end, the passageway would connect with the predecessor of the existing Pont St Sernin, which would be commanded by the high castle donjon. Both conjectures are probable in themselves. The recent building of the Garonne bridge would naturally have brought about the construction of such an outwork, barbican or chatelet, an extremely common element of mediaeval fortification. Further, Dieulafoy tells us that thirty years ago the traces of this construction were still visible, and from a man of his calibre such a statement carries conviction.[2] In turn, the existence of the castle bridge in 1213 accords with the prevailing habit of mediaeval engineers to preserve direct communication between a citadel and the open country, so that a besieger who took the lower wards could not use them to hem in completely the defenders of the part still holding out. The same principle is seen at work in the siting of

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Tolosani exponerent equos suos, et exierunt per portam quae respicit orientem cum castra essent ab occidente,' etc.

[1] Anglade, *op. cit.*, 42–5. For Devoluy's article, see *Vivo Prouvènço*, no. 33, Sept. 7, 1907, cited. Delpech (*op. cit.*, I, 218–224), as we shall see in a moment when discussing Dieulafoy's account, erred through failing to assume the existence of the outwork surrounding the south or southwest corner of Muret and the Pont St Sernin over the Louge near its mouth. Nevertheless, he saw clearly that a feigned retreat must have seemed directed towards the Garonne bridge. Briefly, his version is that the Crusaders' column turned to the left on passing the Sales gate, left again around the southern corner of the town, and so reached the quai or passage leading toward the Garonne bridge. There he makes them go right about or left about by squads, as a modern soldier would say, and return suddenly to the charge. The conception is imperfect since it fails to appreciate the length of such a column, and it seems unlikely that such a movement would lull any enemy, however careless, into security. Nevertheless, it has some logical basis, which can hardly be said for Oman's version of this phase of the action.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 14–16, also p. 22, n. 5, and pp. 25–26. The traces of the outwork are mentioned on p. 15.

castles with reference to cities; thus, in Paris, both the mediaeval Louvre and the late-mediaeval Bastille were astride of the city wall, as the Tower of London was astride that of mediaeval London. For that matter, anyone who has hunted rabbits knows how seldom their burrows have only one hole. Oman passes over Dieulafoy's outwork in silence. As to Dieulafoy's Pont St Sernin, Oman says only that no

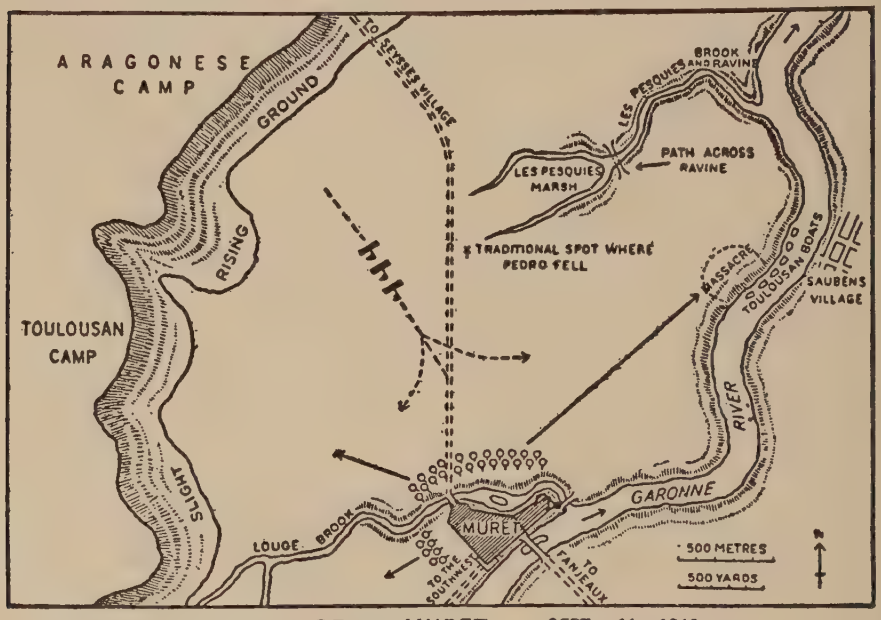


PLATE V

contemporary document proves its existence in 1213![1] Of course such an argument proves nothing. It is on a par with the baseless and absurd contention that a considerable Roman town like London must have disappeared during the Dark Ages and then have been quietly rebuilt on the same site merely because no Dark Age document proves its continued existence. Of course, if there were a document saying that the bridge did not exist in 1213 but was built later, that

[1] Oman I, 465.

would be a different matter; but apparently there is no such document, and we have seen that its existence explains difficulties otherwise found in the contemporary accounts.

What then did de Montfort actually do? A considerable southern detachment involved itself in the attack on the Toulouse gate or, repulsed, slightly withdrew, disarmed themselves, and set to eating and drinking; for our purpose the difference is not material. The crusading leader quietly assembled his cavalry, which he had divided into three squadrons. The care taken to preserve silence (vouched for by the prose version of the *Chanson*[1]), proves that a surprise attack and not a feigned flight was intended, for in the latter case noise would have been desirable in order to attract hostile attention to the false movement. William of Puy-Laurens does not say that they were seen; his language 'ut nescientibus propositum eorum, fugere niterentur,'[2] seems rather to mean 'to anyone ignorant of their design who had seen them they would have seemed to be fleeing.' Passing through the Sales gate and then the east gate of the outwork, they followed throughout its length the passageway along the bank of the Garonne and under the south wall of Muret. Continuing straight on past the Garonne bridge, they reached and crossed the Louge by the Pont St Sernin and found themselves upon low land defiladed from hostile view by a little slope which was itself commanded by the great height of the donjon. That they crossed the Louge before coming to the charge is directly stated by William of Puy-Laurens, 'They crossed a certain small river and returned into the plain towards the [hostile] army.' ('rivum quemdan transeuntes, in planitiem versus exercitum redierunt'),[3] and implied by the other chroniclers, none of whom mention the break in the charge which would necessarily have resulted from the attempt to cross the steep banks of the Louge immediately west of the town. Having then deployed unobserved and in shelter, de Montfort's first squadron suddenly charged the left flank of the unsuspecting southern detachment, which had been at-

[1] Bouquet, *op. cit.*, XIX, 152 (called by Oman 'The Anonymous Chronicle of the Albigensian War'): '. . . lodit conte de Montfort . . . faict armar totas sas gens sans far degun bruict,' etc.

[2] William of Puy-Laurens, *loc. cit.*, p. 208.

[3] *Ibid.*

tacking the Toulouse gate. This detachment, completely surprised, was scattered in a few moments. The first crusading squadron, now joined by the second, next charged down upon a second body of southerners, including Pedro himself and his Aragonese cavalry, hastily formed on the plain a few hundred yards to the north. Although outnumbered by their new enemies, the two crusading squadrons charged so fiercely as to plunge deeply into the ill-arrayed Aragonese mass.[1]

Regarding this phase of the battle, the younger Raymond told William of Puy-Laurens in a vivid phrase that the sound of the blows struck was like that of a multitude of axmen hewing down a forest.[2] Pedro was killed by a group of crusaders who had banded themselves together beforehand to do so, but his large military household (*Meinie* or *Maynade*) continued fighting desperately over his corpse until de Montfort decided this the decisive phase of the action by means of a flank charge.

The flank charge brings us to the third and last of the disputed points of the battle. Oman and even the painstaking Delpech maintain that de Montfort, with his third squadron, circled widely to the west, crossing the marsh of Rudelle near the headwaters of the Louge at the foot of the Perramon ridge, and struck the right flank of Pedro's detachment.[3] Dieulafoy holds that not the marsh of Rudelle, but the ravine and the brook of Les Pesquies, was the obstacle crossed, that de Montfort's movement was from his right and against the southern left. Again, the question must be decided from the exact language of the chroniclers together with examination of the ground.

For this movement, our chief authority is Peter de Vaux Cernay,

[1] For the disorder of the Aragonese see *Chronicle* of Jaime of Aragon (ed. Aguilo, reprinted by Anglade), p. 18: 'de la part del Rey no saberen rengar la batayla ni anar justats, e ferien cada un rich hom per si, e ferien coutra justa d'armes.' That is, 'on the king's side they knew not how to set the battle in array nor how to combine their efforts, and every noble (i.e. rich man) did as he liked, and they disregarded proper military methods.'

For the depth to which the first two crusading squadrons penetrated the Aragonese, see Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'Videns comes noster duas acies suas in medios hostes immensas, et quasi non comparere.'

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 209: . . . 'armorum collisio et sonus ictuum ad locum ubi erat ipse qui hoc dicebat, aere ferebatur, ac si multae secures nemora detruncaret.'

[3] Delpech, *op. cit.*, I, 228–230. Oman, I, 463.

de Montfort's chaplain, who saw the battle. He says that his patron 'rushed from or by the left upon the enemy' ('Irruit a sinistra in hostes'),[1] which Oman and Delpech take to mean a movement from his own left upon the enemy's right whereas Dieulafoy[2] says that 'a sinistra' should be taken of the enemy's left like the phrase 'a tergo.' Philologically, Dieulafoy seems correct; the reader is fully capable of judging whether so familiar a Latin phrase as 'vis a tergo' means that one is pushing backward with one's own buttocks against an opponent or rather that one is operating forwards, with hand, foot, or weapon as the case may be, against the hinder portions of the said opponent! Furthermore this conclusion is strongly reënforced by study of the terrain. Oman's map, seemingly based on ll. 3057 and 3058 of the *Chanson*, makes the third crusading squadron cross marsh near the upper Louge. Unfortunately this involves another error, for the lines in question:

'Tuit s'en van a las tendas per mejas las palutz,
Senheiras desplegadas els penos destendutz.'

('They all went towards the tents through the midst of the marches, banners displayed and pennons floating') refer not to de Montfort and his third squadron, but to the first squadron which de Montfort did not personally accompany, for just previously, in line 3055, the *Chanson* has already told us that all the banners were with the first squadron:

'E totas las senheiras el primer cap anar,'

which Oman himself quotes in this text[3] in its proper context, i.e., as referring to the first two squadrons. Then he says that these squadrons crossed the Louge 'at a point where the passage of the marsh was feasible,'[4] and, further on, that the third squadron was much delayed by 'a difficult piece of the marsh.'[5] Now there is still marsh at Rudelle and at Les Pesquies. There is none anywhere near the point

[1] Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

[2] Oman, I, 463. Delpech, *op. cit.*, I, 228–229, also p. 188. Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, p. 28, and especially p. 28, n. 6.

[3] Oman, I, 461 n. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 461.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 463.

where Oman makes the first two squadrons cross, and the steep banks of the Louge in that neighborhood make it most improbable that there ever was. Nor, as we shall see in a moment, does any chronicler speak of march in connection with de Montfort's flank charge, where both Oman's map and his text emphasize its existence.

Sparing the reader further comment on this sort of thing, let us return to what de Montfort actually did. His first and second squadrons crossed part of Les Pesquies marsh. As to the third squadron, Peter de Vaux Cernay's language fits Les Pesquies ravine better than Rudelle. That chronicler says nothing of mud as an obstacle, as would have been the case at Rudelle, and does say that de Montfort in mounting against opposition the slope of the ditch or ravine (*fossatum*) which confronted him, received so heavy a downward blow that his left stirrup leather broke. Such a mishap does not imply the crossing of a mere shallow drainage channel, as would have been the case at Rudelle, where a deep ditch would have been useless for drainage because of the slight fall of the Louge. It rather implies the mounting of a steep bank of some height so that the rider strains downwards and backwards against his stirrups.[1]

The obstacle once crossed, de Montfort unhorsed the leader of its covering detachment by a blow of the fist to the jaw.[2] At this point, although Oman does not mention the blow, I digress for an instant to note that Peter de Vaux Cernay's account has been attacked as improbable on the ground that the commander of so important a unit as this detachment would have been equipped with a helmet covering the entire face. The fact is, however, that the Great Seals both of Pedro and Raymond of Toulouse reproduced by Anglade both show the older type of helmet furnished with a nose guard but not covering the cheeks or jaw.[3]

The covering detachment dispersed, and after de Montfort's flank charge had next broken the considerable body which had been under

[1] Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87: 'invenit . . . in fossato modicissimam semitam . . . ipsi eum cum gladiis suis tanto nisu . . . pupugerunt quod . . . ruptus est ei staphus sinister.'

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87: 'vir . . . nobilis dictum militem cum puguo cecidit subtus mentum, et de equo cadere fecit.'

[3] Anglade, *op. cit.*, Frontispiece and p. 20.

Pedro's immediate command, the remainder of the southern cavalry took to flight, ignominiously led by Raymond and pursued by de Montfort, who nevertheless kept his third squadron well in hand in case of a rally. Meanwhile, the horsemen had stirred up such clouds of dust that the Toulousan militia infantry who had, up to this point, remained in their camp, mistakenly believed de Montfort and not their friends to be fleeing. Accordingly, they sallied out and once more attacked the town ('Cives Tolosani . . . in expugnando castro totis viribus laborabant,' says Peter de Vaux Cernay; 'castro' obviously meaning Muret).[1] They were then surprised and massacred by de Montfort and his crusaders returning from pursuit — which final phase of the action has been already discussed in this paper because of its intimate connection with the disputed site of the southern camp.

It would be a mistake to write of Muret at all without at least a word on the vast sequel of that astonishing battle. No second rally of the southern nobles was forthcoming; when Aragon was at last able to act again, her effort was directed, not northward, but south and east against the Mohammedan. Meanwhile de Montfort, although unable with his small resources to hold down the metropolis of Toulouse (before which town he was killed in 1218) nevertheless succeeded in maintaining himself so long and so successfully in Languedoc that his work could not be undone. Even after his death, the southerners failed to expel his weak son Amaury, who in 1224 resigned his claims to the Capetian House of France. In 1229, Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, the same who had been at Muret as a boy, surrendered most of his lands to King Louis VIII, and in 1271, the Crown peaceably took the remainder as heir to Raymond VII's childless daughter Jeanne, who had been married to a prince of the Blood Royal. In Languedoc, the Albigensian heresy had long since been stamped out, and the moral unity of western Europe under the Papacy had been reëstablished to last until Luther's time. Incidentally, the House of France was firmly established in the south and the national unity assured.

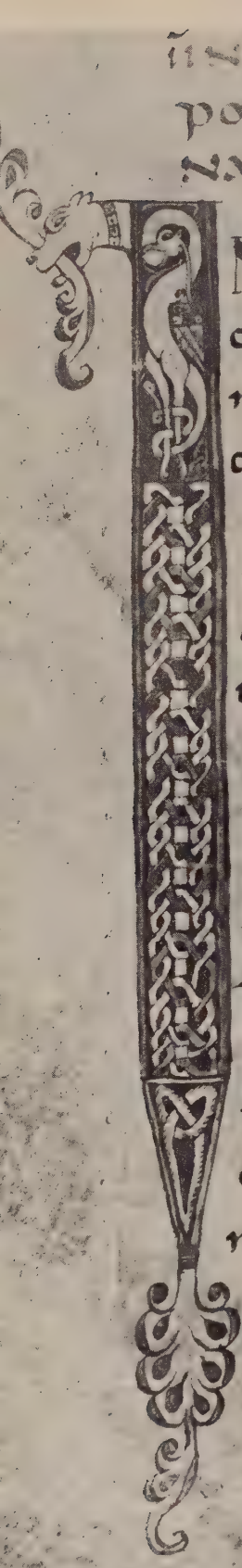
[1] Peter de Vaux Cernay, *loc. cit.*, p. 87.

Such are the strange recurrences of human history that the military technique of the Dark and Middle Ages, besides its historic interest, has recently achieved an immediate practical interest as well. As in the Dark Ages, infantry today seems to have lost its offensive power and to fill the vacuum there has appeared a mechanical substitute not altogether unlike the armored horseman, to wit, the tank. The analogy between the two has become commonplace; Liddell Hart perhaps develops it further than any other author in his *Remaking Of Modern Armies*. It is true that he might have done better to emphasize less the mediaeval knight and to have laid more stress upon the armored Byzantine horse-archer, who could act by fire like the tank, but that is by the way. His use of the mediaeval analogy is nevertheless both interesting and useful, and had he not been led astray by Oman — for instance as to the battle of Adrianople[1] — it would have been better still. It is therefore doubly to be desired that the study of the cavalry era in warfare may be placed upon a firmer footing.

[1] Oman, I, 13–14, Liddell Hart, *The Remarking of Modern Armies* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1928), pp. 38–40, 47, 58.

New York.

ĩnitio continu uocem. deinde
populi gratias agentes. ex ip
na prophetae; a itergo redem



INTE DNE SPERA
dar in aeternum; Inte pater spes
mihi tamquam ceteris hominibus
dunt; Uel uox prophetae ex persona
idest qui recte confiteor fidem tri
in me; Non confundar in aeternu
ditur. Non confundentur Nequ
iustitia libera me. et eripe me de fou
quia nisi a dõ iustificemur. per nos
Unde scriptum est; qui se iustifi
et paulus, de quibusdam dicit. su
iustitiam iustitiae autem dĩ non su
tuam; Uox ecclesiae ad xpm; p
gitur; Inclinat xps aurem qu
inclinauit ds aurem suam quando
diuit in mundo. et in tantum incli
ra scribere; ad caelere ut eripias
pies me; uel scam ecclesiã libere de

DODALDUS CLERC ET SCRIBE DE SAINT-MARTIN DE TOURS

Par A. WILMART, O.S.B.

LE CATALOGUE officiel des manuscrits conservés à Chartres indique brièvement, sous le n° 3, un exemplaire des 'traités de saint Jérôme sur les *Psaumes*', qui provient de l'ancien Chapitre et remonte au IXe siècle.[1] M. le Chanoine Delaporte mentionne de nouveau ce volume dans son récent catalogue des manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres. Je transcris cette notice:[2]

'Lettres noires ornées de palmettes et d'entrelacs; quelques-unes sont rehaussées de rouge. Les plus intéressantes sont celles des des fol. 59^v^ (serpent luttant contre un oiseau [Pl. II]) et 194 (oiseau).'

La *Planche* qui vient d'être annoncée[3] suffit, fort heureusement, à nous donner une idée exacte de la décoration; et quant à l'écriture, dont elle présente en même temps une douzaine de lignes, reproduites en 'grandeur naturelle,' nous avons là, au moins, un spécimen qui peut servir de point de comparaison.

Le style graphique, soigné, est nettement carolingien et de la première époque. Les seuls détails que le facsimilé mette en évidence sont: le *N* oncial très large, employé une fois dans le passage, concurrémment avec la forme minuscule habituelle (*n*); puis, les traits des lettres *r* et *s* (ſ), sensiblement pareils à ceux de l'écriture de Tours, c'est à dire élancés et quelque peu prolongés. Pour le reste, l'aspect général n'est pas — et j'ose dire — n'est pas *encore* celui de style 'régulier,'[4] ou réformé, de Tours, dont l'équilibre et la clarté sont les notes caractéristiques, fixé déjà à peu près, autant qu'on puisse voir, durant les premières années du gouvernement de l'abbé Fridugise (807–834), sinon même un peu plus tôt, sous l'influence d'Alcuin (†804). A supposer que nous soyons à Tours — simple hypothèse présentement — le copiste demeure fidèle aux habitudes du style que M. le Professeur Rand appelle le style 'embelli.'[5] Mais ceci

[1] *Catalogue général des départments*, XI (1890), p. 1, sq.

[2] *Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres* (Paris, 1929), p. 2.

[3] Cette planche est est placée, dans le livre, entre les pages 12 et 13.

[4] Cf. E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 49 sq.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 45 sq.

(qu'on veuille bien le noter) ne marque pas une date; car les deux styles paraissent avoir coexisté pendant un certain temps, quinze ou vingt années. Je ne veux pas insister davantage, pour le moment, sur le côté paléographique, m'en tenant à l'impression que laisse la photographie publiée par M. Delaporte, après avoir constaté que mes notes personnelles concernant le manuscrit, prises il y a dix ans, ne touchaient guère qu'aux questions d'ordre littéraire, la date du travail étant par ailleurs garantie, comme on le verra plus loin. Mais ce qui suit va préciser la position à souhait.

Le lettrine du fol. 59^{v} est en effet beaucoup plus remarquable et significative que le texte écrit. Elle illustre, matériellement, le début du *Psaume* XXXVIII: 'Dixi: custodiam vias meas . . .'[1] Le grand *D* initial est composé, à gauche, d'une simple bande d'entrelacs dont les extrémités sont garnies de palmettes; à droite, dans la courbe, du motif signalé par M. Delaporte. Cette courbe, élégamment tracée, encadre exactement, dans une nouvelle bordure d'entrelacs, le corps d'un grand rapace, duquel un reptile s'est emparé. Le scribe s'est évidemment amusé et a donné carrière à sa fantaisie, — ce qu'il convient de souligner; cet art est encore vivant et libre, non point stylisé ou mécanique. La présence du reptile n'était en effet nullement nécessaire; pour former la panse du *D*, l'oiseau eût suffi, si l'artiste n'avait pas été, pour ainsi dire, emporté par sa verve. La scène est incontestablement réussie, dans sa brièveté. Le reptile, tête en bas, maintient l'oiseau courbé, serrant d'une part dans sa machoîre la patte gauche, raidie, de sa victime et, d'autre part, l'étranglant dans une boucle de son propre corps, enroulé d'un bout à l'autre sur lui-même en forme de tresse, de telle façon que la proie se trouve ligottée et paralysée, la patte droite encore libre, mais sans force, prenant appui sur la gorge du bourreau.

Sans hésitation possible de la part de l'observateur, cette petite composition originale est de l'espèce que j'ai eu occasion de décrire naguère,[2] à la suite du Dr Wilhelm Köhler,[1] d'après plusieurs ou-

[1] Cf. *Ps.* Jérôme, *P. L.*, XXVI, 941 A (*al.* 997 D).

[2] *Revue Bénédictine*, janvier 1930, p. 43 sq. Je laisse de côté, provisoirement, le manuscrit *1451* de la Bibliothèque Nationale, puisqu'on aime mieux, maintenant, le tenir pour suspect. Mais pour mon compte, après l'avoir revu, j'estime, en raison de sa lettrine initiale, qu'il doit

PLATE II
CHARTRES, *MS. 3*, Fol. 59^{v}
(*Photo Delaporte*)

vrages certainement tourangeaux, et qu'on est fondé à rapporter, approximativement, au temps d'Alcuin ou au début de l'abbatiat de Fridugise. Mais il faudra dire, je crois, comparaison faite, que la lettrine du manuscrit de Chartres peut passer pour l'une des meilleures du cycle.

Avec un instinct très sûr, le Dr Köhler avait rapproché, en raison des procédés et des thèmes décoratifs très particuliers que j'ai énoncés (entrelacs, palmettes, corps de bêtes isolées ou en lutte, plus ou moins fantastiques), cinq ou six manuscrits notables, entre autres les *Evangiles* dits des Jacobins (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Lat. 17227*), les *Evangiles* dits de Nevers (Londres, Br. Mus., *Harl. 2790*) et la célèbre *Bible* du Chapitre de Monza.

A ce groupe, je proposai d'adjoindre un exemplaire du *Psautier* hébraïque de saint Jérôme, qui se trouve également au British Museum dans le fonds Harley (*n° 2793*), et dont l'on n'avait pas encore fait cas; une lettrine, qui a des traits communs avec celle de Chartres, suffisait à démontrer la parenté.

Depuis lors, ont paru successivement le *Survey*, ou statistique détailleé, de M. Rand et l'étude définitive de M. Köhler sur 'l'école de Tours,'[2] magnifiques ouvrages complémentaires, consacrés le premier plutôt à la paléographie, le second plutôt à la décoration, illustrés l'un et l'autre par un choix de reproductions aussi abondant qu'on le pouvait désirer. Pratiquement, les deux auteurs sont d'accord sur les débuts du *scriptorium* carolingien et ses premières manifestations tout au commencement du IXe siècle. Pour mon compte, je préfèrerais étendre un peu la limite au delà du décès d'Alcuin, jusque vers l'année 810. Quoi qu'il en soit, voici la liste, telle que l'établit M. Köhler, des monuments décorés suivant le type défini plus haut; mais j'aime mieux lui donner une forme alphabétique, et j'ajoute un témoin que M. Rand est seul à produire.

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appartenir au groupe indiqué. Son style *graphique* ne suffirait pas sans doute à désigner Tours comme lieu d'origine; mais il ne contrarie pas non plus l'hypothèse. A cet égard, le manuscrit de Chartres que nous étudions n'est pas dans une situation beaucoup plus favorable; si la souscription faisait défaut, une critique trop prudente l'écarterait donc de même. Il est des cas où un peu de hardiesse convient; en voici un, croirais-je.

[1] *Degering-Festgabe*, p. 172 sq.

[1] *Die Karolingische Miniaturen. Die Schule von Tours. Die Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1930).

La série *K* rappelle donc tant les notices[1] que les planches du recueil de M. Köhler; la série *R* comporte également le numéro d'ordre des notices rédigées par M. Rand[2] et celui des planches qu'il a publiées de son côté, pour faire connaître spécialement l'écriture.

Gand, Univ. *102* (Jérôme, *in Esaiam*)	*K* n. 11 (pl. XI)	*R* n. 24
Leyde, Univ. *Voss. 73* (Nonius Marcellus)	*K* n. 8 (pl. VII)	*R* n. 26 (pl. XXXVIII–XXXIX)
Londres, B. M. *Harl. 2790* (*Evangiles* de Nevers)	*K* n. 5 (pl. V–VI)	*R* n. 27 (pl. XL–XLI)
Londres B. M. *Harl 2793* (*Psautier* hébraïque)	*K* n. 7 (pl. VII)	*R* n. 28 (pl. XLI–XLII)
Londres, B. M. *Harl. 2805* (*Ancien Testament*)[3]	*K* n. 13 (pl. XIII)	*R* n. 49 (pl. LX)
Monza, Chap. *G. I.* (*Bible*)	*K* n. 10 (pl. VIII–X)	*R* n. 29
Paris, B. N. *Lat. 260* (*Evangiles* de S. Martial)	*K* n. 4 (pl. III–VI)	*R* n. 36 (pl. L–LI)
Paris, B. N. *Lat. 4333 B* (*Règles monastiques*)	*K* n. 3 (pl. III)	*R* n. 19 (pl. XXXI)
Paris, B. N. *Lat. 11514* (*Ancien Testament*)	*K* n. 12 (pl. XII)	*R* n. 57 (pl. LXIX)
Paris, B. N. *Lat. 17227* (*Evangiles* des Jacobins)	*K* n. 9 (pl. VIII)	*R* n. 30 (pl. XLIII–XLIV)
Saint-Gall, Stiftsbibl. *75* (*Bible*)	*K* n. 1 (pl. I–III)	*R* n. 33
Troyes, Bibl. Mun. *1742* (*De virtut.* d'Alcuin, *Preces*)	*K* n. 6 (pl. VII)	*R* n. 38 (pl. LIV)
Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. *518* (*Martinellus*)		*R* n. 46 (pl. LVIII)

En examinant, voire rapidement, les planches des deux recueils, on ne saurait manquer d'apercevoir la cohésion du groupe; et si l'on

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 364 sq.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 1, 102 sq. Les manuscrits rapportés par M. Rand à la période alcuinienne (ou période IV) sont désignés par des chiffres allant de 23 à 69. Il y a, d'ailleurs, des subdivisions: 24–34 (style 'embelli'), 35–38 (style 'embelli' et style 'régulier'), 39–46 (témoins incertains du style 'embelli'), 47–63 (style 'régulier'), 64–69 (témoins 'tardifs' du style 'régulier').

[3] Cet ouvrage représente plutôt un style de transition; d'où la juste place qu'il recoît dans la nomenclature de M. Köhler. Néanmoins, il mérite d'être inclus dans la série, ayant encore certains éléments décoratifs qui sont propres à tout le groupe.

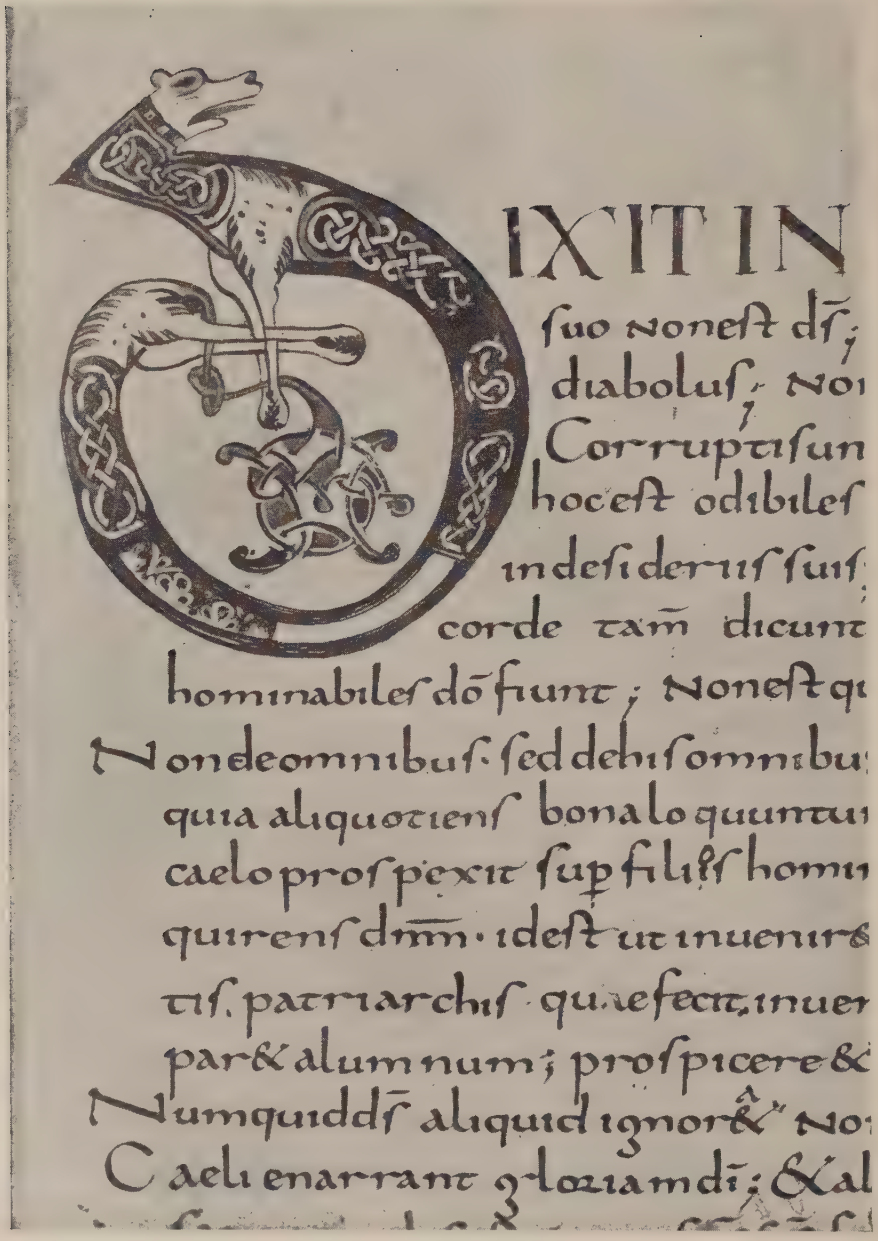

PLATE III
CHARTRES, *MS. 3*, Fol. 79

jette ensuite les yeux sur la curieuse lettrine dont j'ai fait la description, il apparaîtra non moins clairement que le manuscrit de Chartres doit prendre place dans la liste. La difficulté est ailleurs, moins grave pourtant ici que dans le cas de la majorité des manuscrits tourangeaux. M. Rand l'a loyalement indiquée dans son étude.[1] Ces ouvrages, qu'il s'agit de dater, nous sont parvenus, sauf de très rares exceptions, sans données extrinsèques et, principalement, sans signature. Nous en ignorons les auteurs; par suite, il est malaisé de marquer des dates.

M. Rand suppose que l'absence de la signature, à la fin des manuscrits, s'explique par le chapitre LVII de la *Règle* de Saint Benoît relatif aux *artifices* du monastère, et qu'on eût enfreint la *Règle* en se désignant soi-même à la postérité. Cette explication me semble cherchée de trop loin, quoiqu'elle puisse contenir une âme de vérité. Les moines étaient, sans doute, élevés dans un certain esprit d'humilité, de pauvreté et d'obéissance, qui les devait retenir de se mettre en scène et de revendiquer expressément le propriété de leurs travaux. Mais tel n'est pas le sens coutumier des souscriptions littéraires. Diverses nous sont parvenus, apposées par des moines, à diverses époques; le plus souvent, elles expriment une action de grâces ou formulent une demande de prières. En tout cas, le chapitre cité de la *Règle* bénédictine ne vise pas directement la copie des manuscrits; et enfin, les *Fratres de Turonis* paraissent avoir été une communauté de clercs, plutôt que de moines.

Ceci dit en passant, pour répondre à la question ouverte par M. Rand, — c'est un fait que nous avons fort peu de signatures proprement dites sur les ouvrages provenant de Tours. M. Rand en a relevé quatre, plus ou moins explicites. Il se trouve, précisément, que trois de ces signatures sont fournies par des manuscrits du groupe circonscrit tout à l'heure.[2] *Adalbaldus*, *Amalricus*, et *Gedeon* sont les copistes respectifs des *Evangiles* des Jacobins, de la *Bible* de Monza, et des *Evangiles* de Nevers.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 20, sq.; et cf. p. 243, pour les noms des scribes.

[2] La quatrième est celle d'*Audradus*, sur le manuscrit de Chartres *n° 24* (dans le *Survey*, n° 74) M. Köhler veut croire qu'Audrade a signé en qualité de propriétaire. C'est un pis-aller que personne autre, j'aime à croire, n'admettra. A ce compte, pourquoi Gédéon n'aurait-il pas signé aussi comme propriétaire? — A propos d'Audrade, l'on n'a pas saisi exactement la

La connaissance de ces noms est fort importante, parce que, grâce au rôle des 'frères de Tours' conservé parmil es *Confraternitates* de Saint-Gall, la discussion des dates devient possible. Non pas qu'on prétende arriver à une précision absolue; les rencontres de cette sorte sont rares. Du moins est-on fondé, après examen, à tracer certaines limites vraisemblables.

Le rôle, qui comprend 219 noms, a été rédigé au temps de l'abbé Fridugise. M. Rand estime que cette rédaction peut être attribué à l'année 820 environ, et, de plus, qu'elle correspond à l'ordre de préséance gardé dans la communauté. Nous voudrions que les deux points fussent assurés; mais les faits ne s'accordent pas très bien avec cette double position. A mon avis, ou bien les parties du rôle authentique ont été dissociées, puis interverties, à Saint-Gall, ou bien le rôle tel quel, censé normal, correspond au début du régime de Fridugise (807–810).

Je ne veux pas m'occuper des copistes, désormais célèbres, du Tite-Live, dont les noms, sauvés par hasard, sont répartis entre les n°s 42 et 77 du rôle. C'est assez d'examiner la situation des scribes-dessinateurs du groupe qu'on peut appeler décoratif. On sait que le rôle mentionne deux *Adalbaldus* (n°s 58 et 152) et deux *Amalricus* (n°s 172 et 212). Il faudrait donc faire un choix. En revanche, la place de Gédéon (n° 190) est incontestée. Mais voici maintenant notre chance à propos du nouveau manuscrit de Chartres. Nous connaissons aussi son copiste, et le numéro d'ordre de celui-ci se présente dans les mêmes parages, tout juste comme il convenait.

Le volume devint la propriété de l'Eglise de Chartres, passé le milieu du IXe siècle. On en a pour garant des formules de donation, répétées uniformément (fol. 11^{v}, 27^{v}, 51^{v}, 67^{v}, 78^{v}, 93^{v}): 'Optulit hunc librum Richulfus per manus Gisleberti episcopi Sanctae Mariae Carnotensis ecclesiae.'

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nuance du raisonnement que j'ai esquissé dans SPECULUM I (1926), p. 277 sq. [prière de tenir compte des corrections indiquées dans le n° d'Octobre.] J'ai voulu dire simplement qu'Audrade avait dû apprendre tout de suite et, semble-t-il, sans effort le style 'régulier.' Il y a un autre point à considérer. A mesure qu'on étudie les manuscrits de Tours copiés à cette époque, l'on vient à penser que presque toute la communauté de Saint-Martin s'employait aux travaux d'écriture, et que les membres n'eurent aucune difficulté à acquérir une véritable maîtrise en cet art.

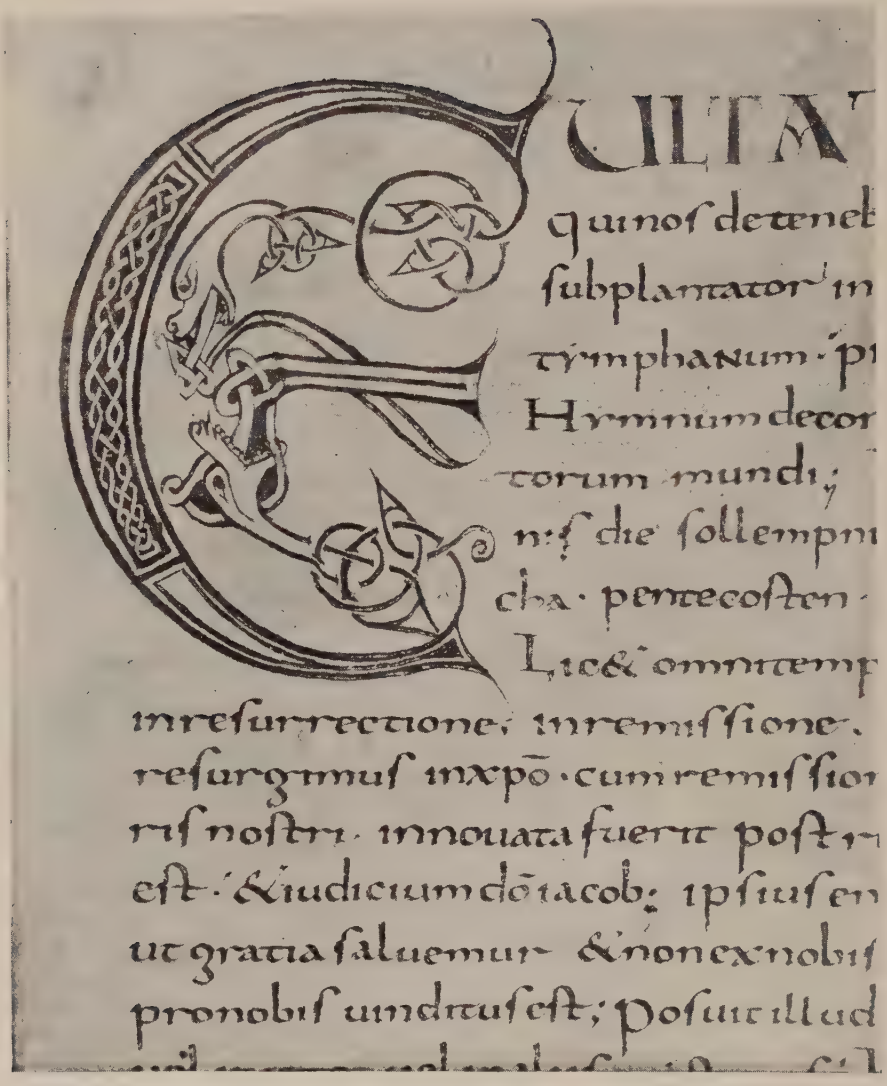
ULTA
quinos detenet
ſubplantator in
tríphanum · pi
Hrmnum decor
corum mundi ;
ni ſ die ſollempni
cha · pentecoſten ·
Lic & omni tempo
in reſurrectione : in remiſſione .
reſurgimuſ in xpō · cum remiſſio
ris noſtri · innouata fuerit poſtri
eſt · & iudicium dō iacob : ipſius en
ut gratia ſaluemur · & non ex nobiſ
pro nobiſ um dtuſ eſt ; poſuit illud

Plate IV
Chartres, *MS. 3*, Fol. 123

Un archevêque de Rouen porta ce nom de Riculfe entre les années 872 et 876;[1] on ne saurait prétendre qu'il soit en cause. Mais Gilbert, évêque de Chartres, est un personnage historique; sa présence est attestée à divers conciles, de 859 à 878.[2] Ce qu'il importe beaucoup plus de relever, c'est cette souscription qui fait suite à l'*explicit* du texte (fol. 236), tout l'ouvrage étant en effet d'une seule main: 'Qui legis ora pro scriptore Dodaldo clerico si dominum habeas protectorem amen.'

Or, *Dodaldus* est bien l'un des *Fratres de Turonis* énumérés sur la liste sangallienne, et il y porte le n° 161. Nous pouvons donc reprendre maintenant la succession la plus probable des écrivains qui nous intéressent:

n° 152: Adalbaldus: *Evangiles* des Jacobins;
n° 161: Dodaldus: *Ps.-Jérôme* sur les *Psaumes;*
n° 175: Amalricus: *Bible* de Monza;
n° 190: Gedeon: *Evangiles* de Nevers.

Etant donné que le dernier nom du rôle porte le n° 219, il semble désormais difficile d'admettre que ces quatre copistes appartiennent à la portion la plus jeune de la communauté vers 820. Dès lors, suivant la solution que j'ai déjà énoncée, cette partie de la liste a pu être déplacée; sinon, la liste entière doit remonter à l'année 807 environ, nos copistes, selon la plus grande vraisemblance, ayant produit vers cette date, ou même un peu plus tôt, les manuscrits désignés.

Une fois établi que le *Ps.-Jérôme* de Chartres,—c'est à dire, suivant son titre traditionnel:[3] *Tractatus psalmorum sancti Hieronimi praesbiteri numero cl,*—provient de Tours, il y a peut-être lieu de rappeler un détail littéraire assez suggestif. Je me suis convaincu, il y a déjà longtemps, que ce commentaire renfermait des restes, assez étendus, du propre commentaire de Grégoire de Tours sur les *Psaumes*, par ailleurs perdu presqu'entièrement. Nous possédons d'autres manuscrits du même apocryphe qui datent du IXe siècle. Il se pourrait, néanmoins, que l'ouvrage de *Dodaldus*, représentant la tradition tourangelle, méritât plus de considération que les autres exemplaires.

[1] Cf. L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, II, (Paris, 1910), p. 211.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 430.
[3] Conservé par l'*explicit* qui précède la souscription (fol. 236).

* * *

Après avoir écrit ces pages, j'ai eu l'heureuse fortune de pouvoir étudier à loisir le manuscrit de Chartres.[1] Je rangerai sous quatres chefs ce qu'il me semble utile de faire remarquer, laissant à M. le Prof. E. K. Rand le soin de compléter cette brève notice autant qu'il jugera bon.

Composition matérielle. — L'ouvrage est d'un très grand format (380 x 280); écrit à longues lignes, il en présente 37 constamment par page. Il se compose de 30 cahiers. Le premier est mutilé; il était déjà tel au XVIIe siècle, quand le Chapitre fit relier le volume de nouveau[2] et qu'on inscrivit en haut du premier feuillet actuel:[3] *Manuscriptum octavi Saeculi. N° 12.* Mais il est aisé de déterminer les éléments disparus; le cahier doit être reconstitué de la façon suivante:

x x 1 x | x 2 3 4

Sa signature n'est plus visible. Mais on a toute la succession des autres, exception faite du dernier cahier, et l'on est ainsi certain que l'ouvrage est intact pour l'ensemble; car aucun autre feuillet ne manque à l'appel. Les cahiers 2 à 23 sont marqués d'une lettre majuscule au milieu de la marge inférieure de leur dernière page, soit la série B–Z.[4] L'alphabet épuisé, les derniers cahiers (24–30) ont été dénombrés: Q I–[Q VII]; mais la partie inférieure du feuillet final (fol. 236) a été coupée, si bien que la marque attendue (Q VII) fait défaut.[5]

Le réglage des cahiers a été accompli de la manière la plus simple, si je ne me trompe. Dodaldus paraît avoir conduit son poinçon sur quatre feuillets ensemble,[6] puis avoir replié ceux-ci indifféremment,

[1] J'en dois rendre grâces surtout à M. le Chanoine Delaporte, qui m'a épargné de longues formalités.

[2] C'est une simple reliure couverte de parchemin, et portant sur les plats et au dos, plusieurs fois reproduite, l'image de la Sainte Tunique.

[3] Plus tard, le manuscrit reçut le n° 20, marqué sur le plat antérieur. Au dos, on voit encore une autre cote: 14.

[4] Compris la lettre *K*. Les lettres sont inscrites à l'encre noire, sauf la lettre *H* (cahier 8) notée en rouge. La lettre *M* a été grattée, mais on en aperçoit la trace.

[5] Il est possible qu'elle n'ait jamais été exprimée; le texte écrit finit au *recto;* le *verso* avait été laissé en blanc et suffisait à distinguer le cahier; des mains postérieures l'ont couvert d'essais de plume et d'additions qui n'offrent aucun intérêt.

[6] Je n'ose rien affirmer; il faudrait fair l'expérience soi-même, sur le même parchemin, avec um poinçon affilé. Il est possible que deux feuillets seulement aient été réglés en même temps. S'il en fut ainsi, le scribe, après avoir préparé deux groupes de feuillets, a pris soin de placer à l'extérieur du cahier les deux feuillets pénétrés par le poinçon, à l'intérieur les deux feuillets

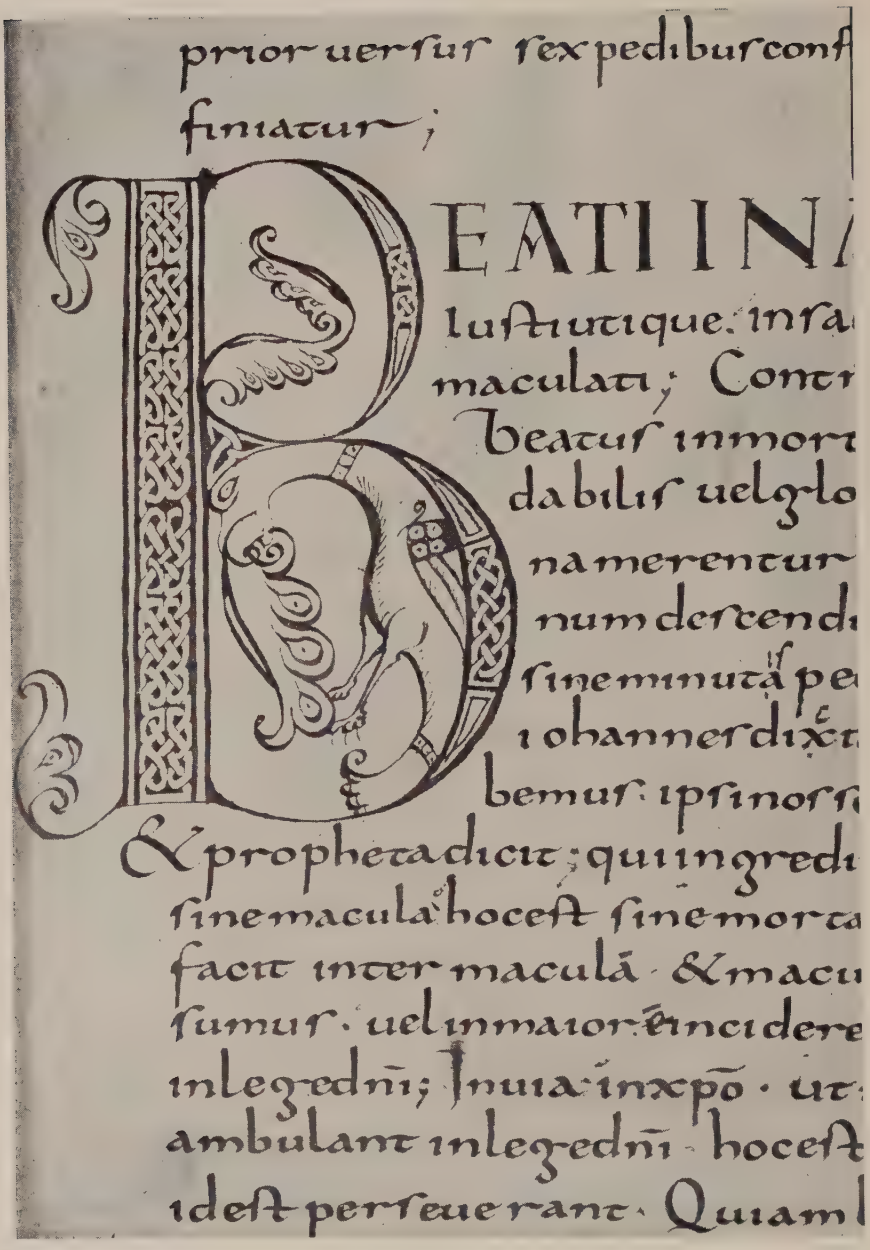

Plate V
Chartres, *MS. 3*, Fol. 194

soit dans un sens soit dans l'autre, de telle façon que l'on observe, selon le cas, les deux figures suivantes:

< < < < | > > > >
> > > > | < < < <

Contenu littéraire. — J'ai relevé déjà l'*explicit* qui définit le commentaire. Le texte est bien, d'un bout à l'autre, celui du *Pseudo-Jérôme* sur les *Psaumes;* une nouvelle édition est souhaitable, comme j'ai pu m'en rendre compte par maints détails.

Les portions absentes, par suite des lacunes du premier cahier, sont:

1. *Ps.* I–*Ps.* II, v. 5, jusqu'aux mots: '[in] discipulum. Iram autem pacientibus videri . . .' (fol. 1)[1]

2. *Ps.* IV (aussitôt après le titre)[2]–*Ps.* V, 11, jusqu'aux mots: 'a cogitationibus suis et impietates impietatibus . . .' (fol. 2)[3]

Paléographie. — L'écriture, assez épaisse, médiocrement élégante,[4] mais claire et large, est remarquablement égale, depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin.[5] Dodaldus devait être un copiste patient et fidèle. De notre point de vue, l'aspect général est un peu déconcertant. Je suis obligé de redire, avec plus de force, ma première impression: si l'on n'avait le double témoignage de la décoration et de la souscription, l'on ne s'orienterait que très vaguement vers Tours; peut-être même hésiterait-on beaucoup à donner ce terme comme possible. Ceci doit nous rendre prudents pour d'autres cas.[6] L'absence d'archaïsmes n'est pas moins notable, au début du IXe siècle et dans le milieu de Tours, tel que nous le connaissons; c'est une autre invitation à être circonspect en matière de paléographie. D'après nos cri-

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touchés superficiellement. L'important est de constater qu'il a fait le pli dans un sens ou dans l'autre, sans se soucier de la différence du résultat. On a donc les deux dispositions que j'indique: convexe+concave, concave+convexe.

[1] *P. L.* XXVI, 826 A 11.

[2] . . . laus Christi: *ibid.*, 828 B 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 332 A 12.

[4] Par rapport, du moins, au style 'régulier' de Tours, et si l'on prend l'ensemble du manuscrit. L'œuvre était longue; le copiste, d'ordinaire, n'a pas 'fignolé' son travail. Il y a pourtant quelques pages d'une très belle calligraphie, vraisemblablement exécutées lors d'une reprise, avant que la main n'ait repris sa routine; je citerai par exemple fol. 55^v^–56, assez proches du style 'régulier.'

[5] J'aurais voulu reproduire la souscription, qui donne le nom de Dodaldus; mais, tracée en rouge, elle a pâli et n'apparaît pas assez nettement.

[6] Par exemple, pour celui du manuscrit *1451* de la Bibliothèque Nationale; voir ci-dessus.

tères actuels, voici une transcription que, de moi-même, et tout examiné, j'aurais proposé de dater vers 840–850. Il doit donc être bien entendu que nos dates les plus étudiées ne sont fréquemment qu'approximatives et provisoires, sujettes à revision, lorsque le cas n'est pas très net et plus ou moins déterminé par ailleurs.

Le copiste emploie exclusivement l'*a* minuscule tiré de l'alphabet oncial — sauf, très rarement, dans le groupe à ligature *ra* (alors *a* prend la forme semionciale). En revanche, il use très fréquemment du *N* oncial. Les seuls archaïsmes qu'on ait à noter, et qui, de fait, ne se présentent pas souvent, sont les groupes liés dont *r* est le premier élément: *ra, re.*[1] Pour le reste, Dodaldus lie *rt, st, &, li, ti,* mais presque jamais *ct.*[2] Le signe de l'interrogation paraît bien avoir été fait déjà de première main.[3] Malheureusement, quant à la ponctuation, tout le texte fut revisé au XIe siècle. Le même reviseur a corrigé en même temps beaucoup d'autres détails; ce qui rend l'observation assez délicate. Tel est surtout le cas du symbole syllabique de *tur.* Après avoir étudié tout le manuscrit, il n'y a pour moi aucun doute que Dodaldus a écrit sans cesse t̓. Les faits sont trop nombreux, et certains trop nets,[4] pour qu'on puisse admettre l'intervention d'un reviseur qui eût complété l'abréviation faite au moyen de l'apostrophe t̓.

Il est donc fort important de constater qu'un ouvrage du commencement du IXe siècle à Tours, exécuté par un scribe exercé, présente déjà l'abréviation t̋, et elle seule.[5]

Aussi bien, Dodaldus écrit, d'autre part: *eĩ, mañ, psalm̃, sum̃.*[6]

[1] J'ai noté deux fois l'*i* souscrit, en fin de ligne: *meminimus* (fol. 202).

[2] Le reviseur de XIe siècle a très souvent ajouté le trait de liaison audessus de ce groupe.

[3] Par exemple, fol. 4, 31^v^, 50^v^, 191^v^.

[4] J'ai relevé, un peu au hasard et sans chercher du tout à être complet: haben$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 1), rapia$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 17), dici$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 52, 71^v^ 122, 130, 210^v^, 231^v^,), largia$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 54), intellegun$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 54^v^), cognosce$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 54^v^), audi$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 72^v^), damnan$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 86), loqui$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 87, 141), reficieban$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 103), corregi$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 155), vendi$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 166), igi$\overset{2}{7}$ (fol. 223^v^). Et, néanmoins, il faut observer que Dodaldus use assez peu des abréviations, et comme avec méfiance; en quoi il était bien dans l'esprit de l'école de Tours, qui finira, dans le style 'régulier,' à n'abréger que les *Sacra,* avec *-bus* (*b;*) et *que* (*q·*), suivant la tradition des anciens manuscrits onciaux.

[5] Assez souvent, Dodaldus a employé la forme active des verbes: laetat, depraecant, confitebat, compungit, meret, ortat, operat, dicit, habet (fol. 16, 19^v^, 30^v^, 43^v^, 45, 79, 131^v^); le reviseur a rétabli régulièrement la forme passive ou déponente, au moyen d'un signe, parfois mal fait:^v^. Au premier abord, on pourrait croire que Dodaldus a marqué l'apostrophe, et que le réviseur a augmenté celle-ci d'un trait; mail il n'en est pas ainsi.

[6] On trouve même une fois, dans un titre oncial: *dom̓* (fol. 183^v^).

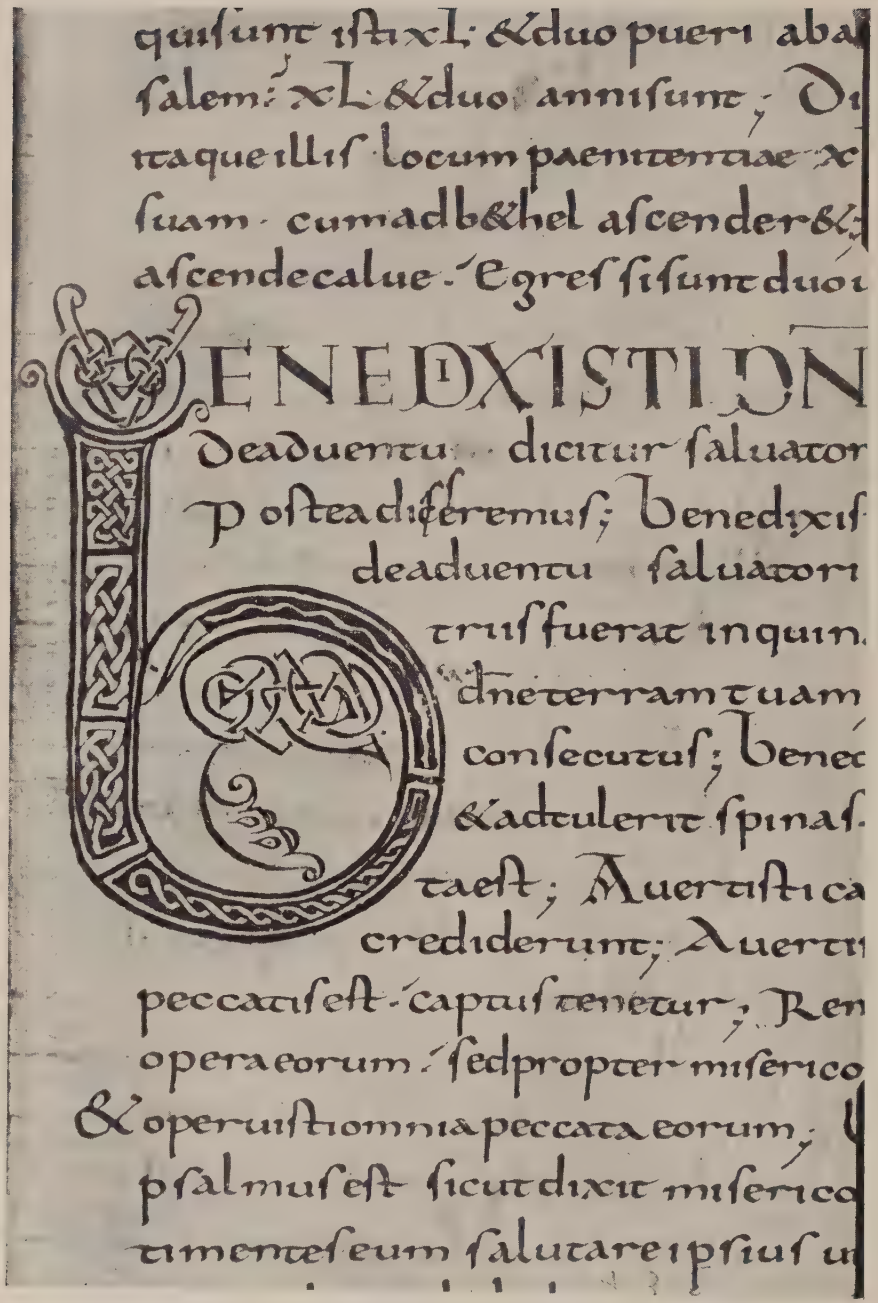


PLATE VI
CHARTRES, *MS. 3*, Fol. 132

Les autres abréviations employées dans le manuscrit de Chartres — avec beaucoup de discrétion, en général — sont les suivantes:

1. autē
   ē (=est), idē, eē, ēēnt
   m̄t (=meus, fol. 38)
   N̄, n̄, nō (=non)
   nr̄ī, nr̄m (exceptionnellement n̄t(fol. 92ᵛ, 214ᵛ, 226ᵛ).
   om̄ſ, om̄a; omp̄ſ, et omn̄p̄ſ
   p̣ (=per; rare)
   p̣ (=post; exceptionnel, fol. 235ᵛ)
   p̄ (=prae)
   p̣ (=pro; rare)
   p̣p̄r (=propter)
   q; (=que)
   qd̄ (=quod)
   qnm̄ (=quoniam, très fréquent), qm̄ (exceptionnel, fol. 34ᵛ)
   sic̣ (=sicut; exceptionel, fol. 202)
   s̄ (=sunt)

2. -en: lum̄
   -er: qualit̄
   -is: nob̄, vob̄
   -it: dic̄, duc̄, dix̄
   -unt: nolue r̄ (fol. 1) exposue r̄ (fol. 16)
   -us: montib[9]

Au sujet des *Sacra*, il n'y a presque rien à signaler.[2]

Décoration. — Le texte de la copie est éclairé par les titres des psaumes notés en onciales rouges, mais surtout par les initiales. Chaque psaume, en principe, comporte une initiale développée. Il n'est pas rare que Dodaldus se soit contenté d'un simple tracé rapide, en particulier vers la fin de son travail.[3] Mais, plus souvent, il a

[1] Voir ci-dessus les autres formes de *-us*.

[2] J'ai noté outre les *Sacra* usuels: aplſ, ecclſ (corrigé *ecclesia* par le réviseur) fr̄ſ, irl, fclm, xp̄ıane. Iesus est écrit ihſ.

[3] Je puis donner un tableau complet de ces initiales ébauchées. (Les chiffres romains désignent les psaumes, les chiffres arabes renvoient aux feuillets).

A — CXVIII (195, 203)
B — XXXIII (47ᵛ), CXXVII (207)
C — IX (6), XV (15), CVI (170ᵛ), CXVIII (202), CXXXV (215), CXLIX (234ᵛ)
D — VI (2ᵛ), VII (3ᵛ), LIX (88: D+S), LXIX (104: D+S)
E — XVI (16ᵛ), LVIII (86ᵛ), LXIII (91ᵛ), CXXXII (209ᵛ)
I — XLII (65), LXV (93ᵛ), LXX (104), LXXX (122), LXXXV (134), CXIII (186), CXVIII (200, 201ᵛ), CXXV (206)
L — CXII (185ᵛ), CXVI (192), CXVIII (195ᵛ), CXX (203ᵛ), CXXI (204), CXXXIV (214), CXLVI (228), CXLVII (230)
M — CXVIII (196ᵛ), CXXXI (208ᵛ), CXXXVIII (217ᵛ)
N — XCI (145ᵛ), CXXIII (205)
P — VII (3ᵛ), CXVIII (197, 202ᵛ), CXLIII (222)
Q — XLI (63ᵛ), XC (143ᵛ), CXXIV (205)
R — CXVIII (194ᵛ)
S — XI (10)
V — CXVIII (196)

composé des lettrines proprement dites, plus ou moins parfaites et complexes.

Outre le sujet du fol. 59^{v}, on a quatre compositions qui valent d'être étudiées. Leur parenté avec le groupe décoratif mis en valeur par le Dr W. Köhler est tout à fait évidente. Je me borne à les signaler, puisque, grâce à MM. Delaporte et Rand, qui ont assumé les frais, on va les trouver reproduites.

Fol. 40^{v} (*Ps.* XXX), grand *I* rehaussé de rouge: le haut est orné, à gauche, d'une tête de chien tenant une palmette; de plus, inscrit dans la partie supérieure, on aperçoit une sorte de grand oiseau fantastique (autruche?), dont les pattes sont enroulées dans une longue queue; le rapprochement avec les figures analogues de la Bible de Monza est frappant.[1]

Fol. 79 (*Ps.* LII), grand *D* de forme onciale: le trait supérieur se compose de l'avant-train d'un chien; l'extrémité de la courbe intérieure offre une tête de canard, qui enserre les deux jambes du chien; le tout est encore rehaussé de rouge.

Fol. 123 (*Ps.* LXXX), grand *E*(*x*) noir à l'intérieur duquel deux têtes d'animal sont affrontées, dévorant des bandes d'entrelacs.

Fol. 194 (*Ps.* CXVIII), grand *B*, semblable à celui du *Psautier* hébraïque de Londres; dans la boucle supérieure, simple palmette; dans la boucle inférieure, un rapace qui avale une palmette.

Au fol. 160^{v} (*Ps.* CI), il y a encore un grand *D* développé, où apparaissent des têtes de chien; mais il n'y a pas de scène, à proprement parler; seulement, avec ce motif, un assemblage de palmettes, d'entrelacs et de spirales brisées.

Dans les autres lettrines, l'artiste se contente, en effet, de quelques motifs, isolés ou associés diversement: l'entrelacs ou chaîne de nœuds, les palmettes, le trait en zigzag (ou dentelé). Ces motifs stylisés sont les plus fréquents; mais il y en a trois autres qui reviennent parfois: la tresse ou torsade, les marteaux et les spirales brisées.

Quelquefois, assez rarement, Dodaldus a rehaussé de rouge son travail.[2]

[1] La tête de chien revient encore comme motif dans un très beau *D* de fol. 160^{v}; voir aussi la courbe supérieure du grand *B* (fol. 146) que nous reproduisons pour donner quelque idée des lettrines ordinaires.

[2] Je noterai d'un astérisque les lettres ainsi traitées (*).

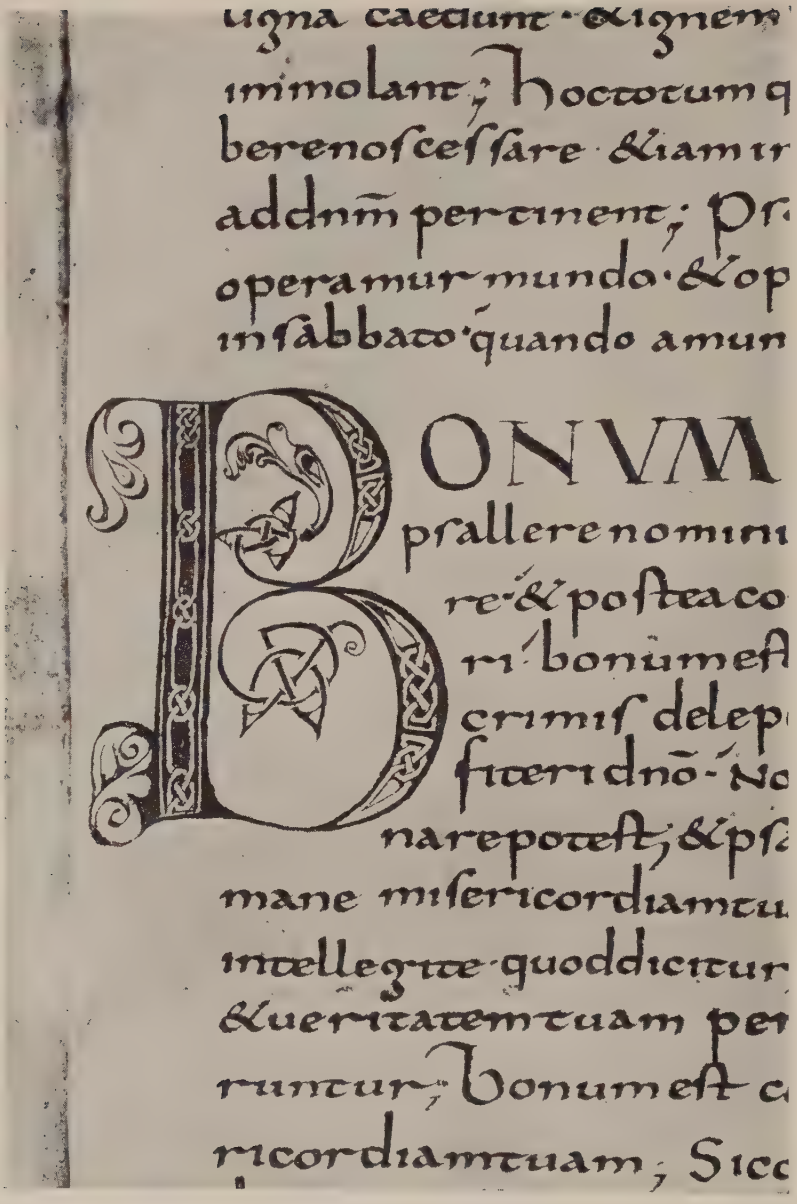


PLATE VII
CHARTRES, *MS. 3*, Fol. 146v
(*Photo Delaporte*)

Je vais donner, suivant l'ordre de l'alphabet, la liste complète de ces lettrines, avec leurs références. On verra que la lettre *D* est, de beaucoup, l'image la plus répandue, celle qui a excité l'ingéniosité de Dodaldus.

A — XXIV (321*), XXVII (36^{v}), XXVIII (37^{v}*), XLVIII (72^{v}), LXXVII (114^{v}), CXIX (203), CXXII (204^{v})

B — XXXI (43^{v}), XL (62^{v}), LXXXIV (132), XCI (146), CII (162), CIII (163), CXI (183^{v}), CXVIII (194), CXLVII (222)

C — XVIII (23^{v}), LXXIV (111^{v}), XCV (152), XCVII (156), CIV (165), CV (167^{v}), CX (183^{v}), CXV (190), CXVII (192^{v}), CXXXVII (217)

D — III (1^{v}), VIII (5), XIII (11^{v}), XIV (13), XVII (18^{v}), XX (25^{v}), XXI (27), XXII (29^{v}), XXIII (30^{v}*), XXVI (34^{v}*), XXXV (53), XXXVII (57^{v}), XXXVIII (59^{v}), LII (79*), LXXXVII (137^{v}), LXXXIX (141), XCII (148^{v}), XCVI (154^{v}), XCVIII (157^{v}), CI (160^{v}*), CIX (183^{v}), CXIV (188), CXXX (208), CXL (218^{v}), CXLII (221)

D avec un *S* intérieur (=*deus*) — XLIII (65), XLV (69^{v}), XLIX (74), LIII (79^{v}), LXII (91), LXVI (95), LXXI (105^{v}), LXXVIII (120), LXXXI (125), LXXXII (127), XCIII (149), CVIII (176)

E — XIX (25), XXIX (39), XXXII (45), XXXIX (60^{v}), XLIV (67^{v}), LIV (80^{v}), LX (89), LXVII (97^{v}), LXXX (123), CXXXIX (218), CXLIV (225)

F — LXXXVI (134^{v})

I — X (9), XXV (33^{v}*), XXX (40^{v}*), XXXIV (50)

M — XLVII (71^{v}: *M*+*A*), L (75^{v}), LV (82^{v}), LVI (84*), LXXXVIII (138^{v}), C (159^{v})

N — LXI (90, LXXV (109^{v}), CXXVI (206^{v})

O — XLVI (70^{v})

P — CVI (173*)

Q — LI (77^{v}), LXXII (106^{v}), LXXIX (121), LXXXVIII (129)

S — LVII (85*), LXVIII (101^{v}), CXXXVI (216)

T — XV (14^{v}), LXIV (92^{v})

U — XII (11), LXXIII (108), LXXVI (111^{v}), XCIV (151^{v}: *U*+*E*), CXLI (220^{v})

Au total, avec cette centaine de figures, l'on a le moyen de se représenter assez exactement les conceptions artistiques d'un scribe de Saint-Martin de Tours vers le début du IXe siècle.

* * *

Ces pages étaient déjà envoyées à l'impression, quand le dernier fascicule de *The New Palaeographical Society* nous vint entre les mains (*Series* II, *parts* XII, XIII, *1930*). La planche 189 reproduit, dans la grandeur de l'original, le fol. 79^{r}, qui donne le début du *Psaume* LII, et le titre du fol. 78^{v} en lettres onciales. On a donc là une

image exacte, et d'ailleurs fort belle, du manuscrit de Chartres. Les éditeurs, n'ayant pas aperçu la portée de la souscription qui livre le nom du copiste, ont attribué l'ouvrage à la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, suivant la mention de l'évêque de Chartres, Gilbert. Ce jugement nous semble intéressant à relever; il montre, d'une part, une fois de plus, que la paléographie est encore une science assez incertaine, mais, d'autre part, sans doute, que l'écriture du manuscrit en question n'en impose pas, même à l'examen, par son antiquité. Le nom du copiste à part, c'est l'illustration qui aurait dû garantir de l'erreur. On ne s'attachera donc jamais avec trop de soin à l'étude du style décoratif, quand celui-ci fournit matière à l'observation. A toute époque, le traitement des lettres initiales devrait permettre de contrôler et, au besoin, de rectifier l'appréciation, forcément un peu subjective, des éléments graphiques. Ceci prouve la nécessité de travaux comme ceux du Professeur Rand et du Dr Köhler sur l'école de Tours.

Palazzo S. Calisto,
Trastevere, Roma (14)

A SUPPLEMENT ON DODALDUS

Dom Wilmart, in his article on the manuscript of Dodaldus (*Chartres 3*), presents with his customary cogency new data for determining the history of the script of St Martin's of Tours under the régime of Alcuin and his immediate successors. When, about the beginning of the past year, the recent volume on the illuminated manuscripts of Chartres[1] reached me, I was attracted by the facsimile of *MS. 3*, which seemed altogether in the manner of the group of Alcuinian books first treated by Köhler.[2] On noting that the scribe's name was Dodaldus — information that had long been accessible in the *Catalogues des Départements*[3] — I turned to the *Libri Confraternitatum* of St Gall and naturally was pleased to find Dodaldus's name in the list of the brethren of St Martin's, being No. 190 in the list. A visit to Chartres made in the third week of last July allowed me to verify my impressions by as careful a study of the book as my time allowed. I wondered who would get ahead of me in calling attention to this find —

> Who but must weep if such a man there be?
> Who would not smile if Dom Wilmart were he?

I have little to add from my notes to the admirable account of *Chartres 3* given by my friend. I will present these first, and then turn to certain general issues suggested by Dom Wilmart's article with regard to the St Gall lists of the monks of St Martin's and to the chronological order of the books in Köhler's group.[4]

Chartres 3 is in some ways a peculiar book. Dom Wilmart admits that a first glance at its script would suggest a date of about 840–850 and a scriptorium by no means certainly that of St Martin's of Tours. It is apparently the presence of the name Dodaldus and the results of Köhler's investigations that for Dom Wilmart suffice to settle the case. From the details that follow some further bits of evidence may be gleaned.

Signatures. The practice of using letters of the alphabet for signatures is not that of the School of Tours after the 'Irish Period.' To the few exceptions noted,[5] the book of Chartres — if done at Tours — must now be added. The lettering is clearly contemporary. The red letter *H*[6] is by the same hand that added one of the red uncial headings on the same page (fol.

[1] Ives Delaporte, *Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres*, (11) Chartres, 1929, p. 2, pl. II.

[2] Above, p. 575, n. 1.

[3] Vol. XI (1893), p. 1.

[4] I will employ for this group the term used in *Survey* (see above, p. 573) p. 45, i.e., Embellished Merovingian (E.M.).

[5] *Survey*, p. 20.

[6] See above, p. 580.

60[v]). The majuscules employed for these signatures have the mixed and fanciful character appropriate for a book in the E.M. style.[1] After the scribe has exhausted the alphabet, he turns to the system generally practised at Tours — Q̄ followed by the numeral. (I–VI [VII]). The numeral I is decorated with a series of short lines above, below, and on either side, in the manner found in the earliest books of Tours but only rarely later.[2] The evidence of the signatures is therefore conflicting. It should be borne in mind that exceptions to the rule in a case like the present may have been determined by the usage observed by the scribe in the manuscript that he was copying.

The sudden appearance of the red *H* indicates an interesting division of labor in the making of the book. I cannot imagine that the rubricator put in the quire signatures as he went along, changing his ink or his pen when he came to the end of a gathering. It is more probable that a special scribe put in the signatures and that he omitted that of Quire VIII inadvertently. It was the rubricator, following him, who caught up the error and remedied it with red-inked pen *en passant*. Of course it may be that these several operations were performed by one and the same scribe — Dodaldus.

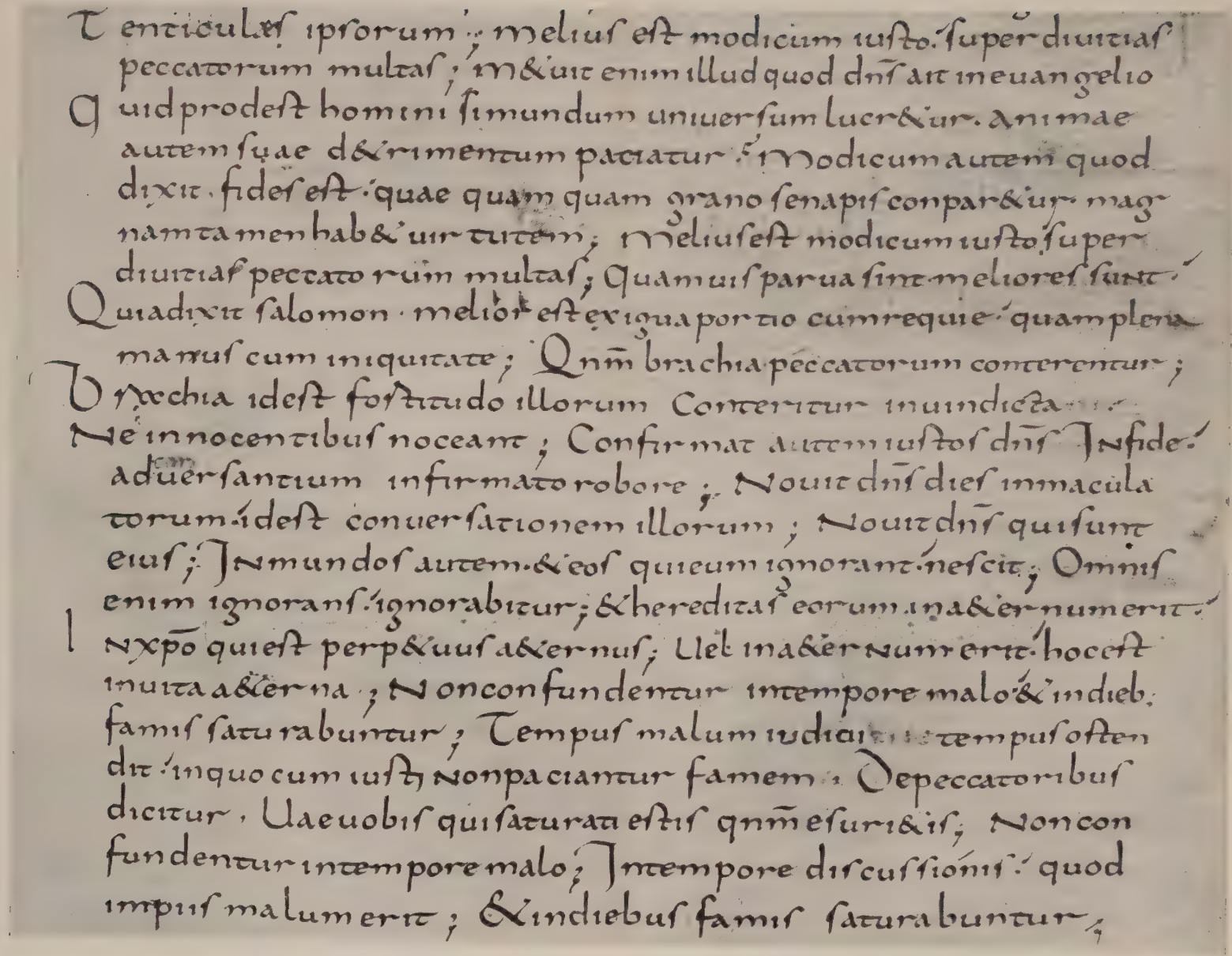
Ruling. This is clearly, to adopt my terminology, 4 (2) O.S.[3] After the ruling was finished, the leaves were folded, as Dom Wilmart makes clear, with the main ruling sometimes on the outer leaves of the gatherings, sometimes on the middle leaves within. In Quires II–XI and XIV, two, not four, leaves were ruled at a time. He suggests the further possibility[4] that in some cases that I should call 4 O.S., only two leaves were ruled at a time, the two now in the inside of the gathering being more faintly ruled than the two on the outside. I noted no such condition, perhaps because I have never seen it in other books. Possibly it does exist both here and elsewhere — though I cannot appreciate the motive that would lead to the practice. The matter deserves further investigation.

Contents. The complete *explicit* is:

. . . cū a&erno patre & spū scō · & in cuncta scła sclorum. am̄ EXPLIC̄ TRACTATUS PSALMORŪ SCĪ HIERONIMI[5] PRAESBITERI NUMERO · CL · QUI LEGIS ORE P[RO] SCRIPTORE DODALDO CLERICO SI DN̄M HABEAS P[RO]TECTORE̅ · AM̄

Since this *explicit* is in the same sort of red uncials as those used in the headings throughout the book, they are probably also by Dodaldus. Therefore, as already surmised, he may likewise have added the quire signatures,

[1] *Survey*, p. 46.
[2] *Survey*, pp. 19 f.
[3] *Survey*, p. 12.
[4] P. 580, n. 6.
[5] Not *Iheronomi* as stated in the *Catalogue*.



Tenticulas ipsorum; Melius est modicum iusto super diuitias
peccatorum multas; Meruit enim illud quod dns ait in euangelio
Quid prodest homini si mundum uniuersum lucretur. Animae
autem suae detrimentum paciatur? Modicum autem quod
dixit. fides est. quae quam quam grano senapis conparetur. mag
nam tamen habet uirtutem; Melius est modicum iusto super
diuitias peccatorum multas; Quamuis parua sint meliores sunt.
Quia dixit salomon. melior est exigua portio cum requie. quam plena
manus cum iniquitate; Qnm brachia peccatorum conterentur;
Brachia idest fortitudo illorum Conteritur in uindicta.
Ne innocentibus noceant; Confirmat autem iustos dns In fide.
aduersantium infirmato robore; Nouit dns dies immacula
torum. idest conuersationem illorum; Nouit dns qui sunt
eius; In mundos autem. et eos qui eum ignorant. nescit; Omnis
enim ignorans. ignorabitur; et hereditas eorum in aeternum erit.
In xpo qui est perpetuus aeternus; Uel in aeternum erit. hoc est
in uita aeterna; Non confundentur in tempore malo et in dieb.
famis saturabuntur; Tempus malum iudicii tempus osten
dit. in quo cum iusti non paciantur famem. De peccatoribus
dicitur. Uae uobis qui saturati estis qnm esurietis; Non con
fundentur in tempore malo; In tempore discussionis. quod
impiis malum erit; et in diebus famis saturabuntur;

Plate VIII
Chartres, *MS. 3*, Fol. 55v

supplying his own omission in Q. VIII. We may in fact guess — but only guess — that the ornamental initials are also by his hand.[1]

Script. Majuscules. The ornamental initials belong in the field of illumination. Dom Wilmart's data are a welcome addition to Köhler's masterly treatment in his article and his recent book.[2] For an authoritative estimate of illumination of our manuscript, we look to the latter scholar. It should be noted that animal forms are not the only important features so far as the School of Tours is concerned. Very prominent is the crude leaf, or palmette with 'eyes,' used to decorate the ends of shafts or circles or to hang from the mouth of a beast.[3] Examples of this crude leaf in 'Prealcuinian' or in 'Regular' books of Tours may be found in Köhler's book[4] or in mine.[5]

Less pretentious than the initials reproduced in the plates are numerous others described and listed by Dom Wilmart. They constitute a veritable font and richly deserve publication as a basis of comparison with those in other manuscripts. They contain the crude leaves in plenty.

We now descend to the ordinary majuscules. What are ordinary majuscules? It is hard to draw the line between art and palaeography — in fact impossible. To the scribe, every stroke that he drew was an act of artistic creation. A higher degree of proficiency was of course requisite for producing ornamental initials, but it took an artist also to make the simpler sort. Some of those in the present book are simple enough, containing merely the outline of the letters.

As to headings, we can see even though the beginning of the book has been lost, that the more important headings were in the mixed and fanciful sort of capitals that are characteristic of E.M.[6] Minor headings and the *explicit* are in red uncials, not particularly well made, likewise in keeping with the styles of E.M.[7]

One variety of majuscules remains, that which is used throughout the book for the beginnings of sentences. These initial letters are mixed capitals, uncials, semiuncials and enlarged minuscules. Plate V shows specimens of these varieties, including a semi-uncial *m*. Habits vary in the use of initials

[1] In *Harl. 2790* and *Chartres 24* the names Gedeon and Audradus are surely those of the artists who illuminated those books, since the names are inserted within the ornamentation. (See *Survey*, pp. 106, 134). Dom Wilmart is indubitably right in rejecting Köhler's suggestion that Audradus is the name of the owner of the book. (See above, p. 577, n. 2).

[2] See above, Notes 8 and 9. I will refer to the article as *Degeringer-Festgabe* and to the book as *Die Schule von Tours*.

[3] See Dom Wilmart's plates.

[4] Taf. I, 12, b. Some of the E.M. books contain, like *Chartres 3*, initials in which the leaf is the chief form of decoration; see Taf. I, 7; 11 h.

[5] E.g. *Survey* Plates XX; XXIV; XXV; LX; LXXXV; LXXXVI.

[6] See Plates I–IV and *Survey*, p. 46.

[7] *Ibid.*

in different periods in the script of Tours — a matter that deserves study. I took many notes but did not formulate results for presentation in *Survey*. In general, the Regular Style prefers uncials, with square capitals for the more important sentence-beginnings, or for initials that happen to come in the margin; the E. M. Style shows the same kind of mixture that we find in the book of Chartres.

Semiuncial is neglected, as it is in some of the books of this class.[1] The initial semiuncial *m* shows that the scribe was familiar with the variety, as a scribe of Tours was bound to be.[2]

The characteristics of the minuscule are well described by Dom Wilmart; they agree with those of the E. M. Style.[3] The reader may well feel with Dom Wilmart that the script at first sight seems only doubtfully that of Tours. Plate v should convince him that, as Dom Wilmart remarks, we have here a close approach to the Regular Style — in the general appearance, merely, for here as elsewhere certain of the ancient ligatures are retained and embellished, not discarded as they would be in the Regular Style. One might perhaps imagine, after looking at the facsimiles, that a different hand is here at work. But a study of the entire book convinced me, as it evidently convinced Dom Wilmart, that it is all the work of Dodaldus.

Abbreviations. From Dom Wilmart's careful list it is evident that our scribe adheres closely to what I call the 'Regular Abbreviations.'[4] Like most of the scribes of the E. M. Style, he intends to use even the ordinary varieties sparingly, though considerations of space, especially as the book draws to its close, force him to employ most of those in vogue at St Martin's. A desperate expedient in a crowded place is the use of two *i*-subscripts as well as the symbol for *us* in *meminimus* (fol. 202^{r}), which runs out into the margin. We may note that *uester* (urt̄,urm̄ , etc.) is abbreviated as well as *noster*, and that nt̄ (for *noster*), which Dom Wilmart notes as exceptional, is frequent in the books of Tours. Among the *nomina sacra*, dd̄ (*David*, fol. 109^{r}), though perhaps by a later hand, may be mentioned, as well as the liturgical qs̄ (*quaesumus*, fol. 120^{v}). The abbreviation irł (*Israhel*, instead of isrł) is a curiosity, and nō for *non* is most unusual in books of Tours. I failed to notice it, but it did not escape Dom Wilmart. In general, the tendency to avoid abbreviation and to use few if any symbols outside of those in the Regular List bespeaks a book of St. Martin's.

A symbol of special interest is $\overset{2}{\tau}$, for *tur*, which is certainly favored by Dodaldus. Though admitting the presence of that symbol in the Alcuinian

[1] *Survey*, p. 46.

[2] Plate v. For a semiuncial *m* as initial in an E. M. book (Paris, *B.N. lat. 260*), see *Survey*, Plate li, 1.

[3] *Survey*, pp. 45 f.

[4] *Survey*, pp. 27 f.

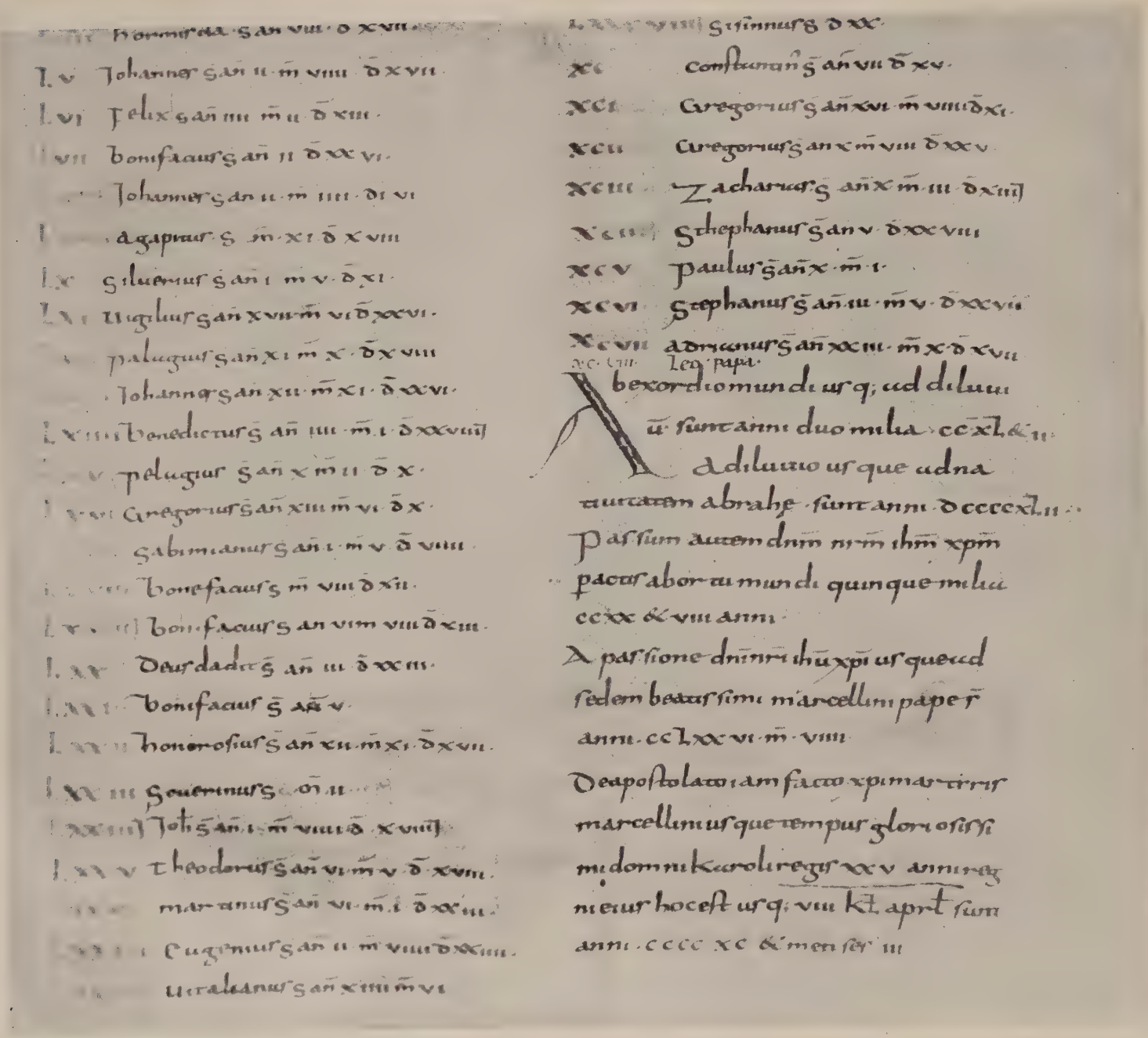


PLATE IX
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, *MS. Lat. 1451*, Fol. 7v

period or just before it,[1] I feel that a book in which it is so prominent as *Chartres 3* should be assigned not to the beginning of the century, where Dom Wilmart puts it, but rather to the Transitional Period in the vicinity of 820. More on this point later.

First let us briefly consider the case of a manuscript that in Köhler's first treatment of the subject seemed of crucial importance — Paris, *B.N. 1451*. It is carefully described by Maassen,[2] since it contains a collection of canons called by him, owing to the provenance of *B.N. 1451*, (Saint Maure-des-Fossés), *Collectio Mauri*. The book is apparently dated 796 A.D., and if so, is a palaeographical monument of the first importance. It was so regarded by Delisle,[3] by Prou,[4] by Köhler in his article,[5] and by Dom Wilmart.[6] Köhler was the first to claim the book for Tours, on the strength of the ornamentation. Prolonged study of the manuscript convinced me that it was not a product of St Martin's; my opinion was supported by Beeson and Lauer and finally by Köhler himself.[7] Dom Wilmart is reluctant to surrender Köhler's first estimate of this manuscript. He admits that the script does not look like that of Tours, but neither, he finds, does that of Chartres 3, which must be of that school owing both to the ornamentation and to the signature of Dodaldus. Decisive to my mind are the character of the abbreviations[8] and the form of the *g* in the different hands of the manuscript. A *g* in which the stroke from the cap descends nearly or altogether at right angles to the line of the text nowhere appears, to the best of my knowledge, in any of the certain books of Tours. The form of the letter in the manuscript of Chartres, while less perfect than that seen in some of the books of the E. M. Style, is clearly of the same type.[9] If ornamentation alone is a sufficient test, then another manuscript, to which in 1926 Köhler called my attention, *B.N. 4404*, *Breviarium Alarici*, deserves a place among the books of Tours. Both the crude leaf and the intertwining beasts may be seen in Plates LVII and LVIII of *Survey*,[10] and the script seems nearer to that of Tours

[1] *Survey*, p. 26.

[2] F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, I (1870), pp. 613–624.

[3] *Cabinet der Manuscrits*, III, 242, pl. XXI, 4.

[4] *Manuel de Paléographie*, 3d ed; Paris, 1910, p. 177, pl. VII, 1.

[5] *Degeringer Festgabe*, p. 180.

[6] 'Manuscrits de Tours copiés et décorés vers le temps d'Alcuin,' *Revue Bénédictine*, XLII (1930), 50.

[7] *Survey*, p. 116.

[8] See *Survey, ibid.*

[9] Compare, e.g., Plate V with *Survey*, Plate XXXVIII, the Leyden Nonius.

[10] The twisted animals in the arch pictured on Plate LVIII, 1 are much like those on Köhler's Taf. I, 1 (*St Gall 75*); 4 a, d, e; (*B. N. lat. 260*); 6 e (*Harl. 2790*). Notice in particular the treatment of the bird's tail, elongated into a kind of gourd.

than that of *B. N. 1451* does. And yet I know of none versed in manuscripts who has ascribed the book to Tours.[1] Both script and ornamentation suggest a thorough-going, if rather crude, imitation of the E. M. Style — and also imitative is the workmanship of *B. N. 1451*.

What of its date? On *fol.* 7[r] appears a catalogue of Popes ending with the name of Hadrian (No. XCVII); that of Leo III (795–816) is added by another hand between the lines.[2] There follows immediately a chronological note:

Ab exordio mundi usque ad diluuium sunt anni duo milia CCXL & II.
A diluuio usque ad natiuitatem Abrahae sunt anni DCCCCXLII.
⟨Ad⟩ passum autem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum peracti sunt[3] ab ortu mundi quinque milia CCXX & VIII anni.
A passione domini nostri Iesu Christi usque ad sedem beatissimi Marcellini pape sunt anni CCLXXVI, menses VIIII.
De apostolato (*sic*) iam facto Christi martyris Marcellini usque tempus glorioosissimi domni Karoli regis XXV anni regni eius, hoc est usque kal. april. sunt anni · CCCC · XC & menses III.

One line is left blank before the end of the page, and fol. 7[v] begins with the Athanasian Creed.

In my summary account of this manuscript,[4] I stated that the supposed evidence for the date, 796, is not at all conclusive. Such notes are sometimes reproduced blindly in later copies.[5] Such may have been the opinion of Maassen, who describes the contents of the manuscript carefully and prints the chronological note, yet calls the date of the book '*Saec. IX.*'[6] A new manuscript of the work was found in The Hague[7] by W. Levison,[8] who attributes it to the end of the eighth century. He does not declare it the source of *B.N. 1451* and of the third manuscript (*Vat. Reg. lat. 1127, saec. IX*) of these canons, but states that it is decidedly the best of the three and that they all are closely related. Here is a problem in manuscript affiliation for somebody to solve, of much importance for the history of the Script of Tours. In stating that *B.N. 1451* was written 'um 800,' Levison apparently indicates that the date 796 should not be taken too exactly.

That, at any rate, is the case. I would, however, retract the statement made in my book[9] that the date of *B.N. 1451* was 'considerably later than

[1] See *Survey*, p. 117, for the opinions of Krusch, Beeson, and Lauer.
[2] 'XC. VIII. Leo papa.' See Plate VI.
[3] *pactis, cod.* Evidently from *pacti s̄*.
[4] *Survey*, p. 116.
[5] As in the famous case of the Escorial Isidore (*T II 24*); See E. A. Lowe, 'Studia Palaeographica,' *Sitzungsber. der königl. bayer. Akademie* (Munich, 1910), p. 81.
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 613.
[7] *Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Fol. 4* (*Meermannianus 583, Claremontanus 583*).
[8] *Neues Archiv*, XXXVIII (1913), 513.
[9] *Survey*, p. 116.

796.' For although the chronological note, as I shall try to show, was copied bodily from an earlier book, the insertion of *xc.viii Leo papa* between the lines could hardly have been made at a time later than the papacy of Leo III (795–816), since otherwise the scribe would have continued with the names of Pope Leo's successors. He had over half of the interlinear space at his disposal and could have completed the list in the margin. It therefore follows that the manuscript was written at least before 816.

We may now examine the statement in the chronological note. On the death of Carloman, December 4, 771, Charlemagne became sole ruler of the kingdom over which they had jointly ruled.[1] The twenty-fifth year of his reign began December 4, 795. Pope Hadrian died on December 25, 795, and on the very day of his burial, December 26, Leo was elected to succeed him.[2] The original writer of the list of the Popes and of the chronological note might have penned that part of his work between December 4 and December 26, 795, or inasmuch as he did not live in the age of telegraph and daily papers, he might not have heard of the death of Pope Hadrian before the year 796 began. Furthermore, it might have taken him several days — or several weeks — to finish the remainder of his book.[3] The date of writing, therefore, had best be stated as 795–796.

This is not, I believe, the date at which *B. N. lat. 1451* was written. That the scribe was copying the note from an earlier source is manifest from the corruption of the text, as indicated in my transcription, and from the erroneous statement about the period intervening between the Passion of Our Lord and the accession of Pope Marcellinus and about that between the latter event and the twenty-fifth year of Charlemagne's reign.[4] Two hundred and seventy-six years and nine months before Marcellinus would give September 19 B.C. as the date for the Crucifixion. Four hundred and ninety years and three months after June 30, 296 bring us only to September 786. Even if the scribe intends to start with the death of St Marcellinus, April 26, 304, he reaches no further than July, 794. I conclude therefore that he copies his note from an earlier source and that he confuses the numerals in copying. This earlier source might perhaps be the *Meermannianus*.[5] On deciding that *B. N. 1451* could no longer be considered a product of the School of Tours, Köhler excluded it from consideration and thereby found his account of the E. M. Style deprived of its chronological starting-point;

[1] J. I. Mombert, *A History of Charles the Great* (New York, 1888), p. 82.

[2] H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1906), II, 6.

[3] Equivalent to at least 214 pages of the present manuscript, which is incomplete at the end.

[4] St Marcellinus was elevated to the Papacy on June 30, 296.

[5] Unfortunately, that manuscript, defective at the beginning, does not contain the section of the text where the note occurs. How about the Vatican manuscript?

his proof, therefore, reverts to internal considerations.[1] Something more, however, may be done with the chronological evidence contained in the Paris manuscript — in fact it is quite as valuable as before. We may not regard the book as typical of what was done at St Martin's in 796, but it shows us that before 816, and possibly as early as 796, the E.M. Style had become known, *outside St Martin's*. We must allow some time from the invention of the style to the achievement of so successful an imitation as lies before us in the present book. The date of the invention, therefore, was in all probability as early as the period of Alcuin's incumbency at St Martin's (796–804), and may indeed have preceded his arrival.[2]

How long did the E. M. Style continue? The asking of this question raises another, to which Dom Wilmart's articles have given a new prominence, namely the chronological evidence given by the list of the monks of Tours in *Liber Confraternitatum* of St Gall. The appearance of the name of Dodaldus as No. 161 in the list of 219 introduces a problem that Dom Wilmart is not slow to raise. It is a curious fact that although in general few names of scribes or artists have been found in the manuscripts of Tours, almost all that we have are identified either with the Vatican Livy or with writers of books in the E. M. Style.[3] Furthermore, just as the scribes of the Vatican Livy occupy neighboring positions in the list (nos. 42–77), so do those of the E. M. Style:

152. Adalbaldus (*B. N. 17227*)
161. Dodaldus (*Chartres, 3*)
175. Amatricus (*Monza, G. 1*)
190. Gedeon (*London, Harl. 2790*)

A natural conclusion would be that just as the earlier numbers represent an older group the later numbers represent a later group. But the E. M. group is 'Alcuinian.' Dom Wilmart, therefore, is inclined to believe either that the list was written earlier than I had placed it, say 807, or that this portion of the list was misplaced in the original form which the two St Gall lists were copied. Neither hypothesis attracts. The latter looks like a *Notbehelf* and the former is hard to explain in view of the facts that I formerly collected, and need not again discuss.[4]

[1] *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 46.

[2] Similar evidence is furnished by *Cambrai 295*, which was written about 816 or a bit before (*Survey*, p. 114, Plate LV). Nos. 39, 41, 42, 43 and 46 on my list also illustrate the presence of the E. M. style in other scriptoria.

[3] See *Survey*, pp. 20 f. I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dom Wilmart for correcting my remaks on the supposed humility of monkish scribes and artists. (*Survey*, p. 21). I should have merely laid emphasis on the fact — and it is a most important one — that some signatures are not by the scribes themselves but by the director of the scriptorium. This point deserves further investigation.

[4] See Rand and Howe, 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours,' *Memoirs of the American*

The problem may be readily solved if we assumed that the E. M. Style was not confined to the brief space of time occupied by Alcuin's incumbency at St Martin's. Dom Wilmart, in fact, would extend the lower limit to about 810.[1] Köhler notes a development in certain aspects of the ornamentation of these books, and ranges it in a period of about two decades.[2] In my book,[3] I waived an attempt to arrange the E. M. manuscripts in a chronological order, and indicated my opinion that they 'range from about the time that Alcuin came to Tours to about two decades after his death.' I will present in a moment a tentative chronology of the books and again affirm my belief that about two decades — more rather than less — constitute the period in which the E.M. Style was cultivated at Tours. I also would reaffirm my belief that the names in the St Gall lists are arranged in an approximately chronological order and that therefore Nos. 152–190 would include *ceteris paribus* the younger and more active members of St Martin's in 820, the approximate date of the list.

Now for the 'problems,' one by one. No. 152 is Adalbaldus, but is he the scribe of that name who wrote *B. N. 17227?* I formerly thought[4] that we should attribute that book to the earlier Adalbaldus (No. 58) and regard the later Adalbaldus (No. 152) as the writer of the Quedlinburg *Martinellus* and certain other manuscripts in the same style. I am now inclined to believe[5] that *B.N. 17227* and the Quedlinburg *Gospels* represent respectively an earlier and a later manner of the same scribe. In either case the Paris book offers no problem, since it belongs to the period of No. 58, i.e., that of the writers of the Vatican *Livy*. It might have been written at the end of Alcuin's régime or not long thereafter. Dom Wilmart assigns it approximately to the years 805–810;[6] with such a dating I should not quarrel. Köhler possibly would put the book a bit later than palaeographical considerations and the St Gall list would seem to me to warrant. It is No. 6 on his original list of six,[7] and No. 9 on his later list of eleven.[8]

The *Bible* of Monza by Amalricus is put late by both Dom Wilmart (in the same period as *B.N. 17227*, i.e., possibly as late as 810) and by Köhler

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Academy in Rome, I (1917), pp. 26–33. Note particularly the case of Hagano and Adiutor (p. 27). Unless we assume that the name of Hagano was accidentally omitted from the list sent to St Gall, the time of compiling it could not have been before 818.

[1] See above, p. 575.

[2] *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 47: 'in der Gesamtheit einer Zeitspanne von kaum viel mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten.'

[3] *Survey*, p. 48.

[4] *The Vatican Livy*, p. 33.

[5] *Survey*, p. 58.

[6] *Revue Bénédictine*, 1930, p. 54.

[7] *Degeringer Festgabe*, p. 175.

[8] *Die Schule von Tours*, pp. 71, 369.

(No. 5 in his first list, No. 10 in his second). On the basis of the St Gall list and the known facts in the career of Amalricus,[1] I argued[2] that the *Bible* of Monza might have been written as late as 820 or ten years or so before, though hardly during Alcuin's life-time. If we call the date approximately 810 all parties to this controversy would apparently be satisfied.

Gedeon, No. 190, is the maker of the beautiful *Gospels* of St Cyr of Nevers (*London*, Brit. Mus., *Harl. 2790*). Gedeon must have been young c. 820, when the list was prepared, and about that time this book might have been written. Both of my friends might be unwilling to put it as late as this. Dom Wilmart groups it with the two books just discussed, and it thus would be written c. 805–810. It stands No. 4 in Köhler's first list and No. 5 in his second; it is thus, in his estimation, an early book, done under Alcuin or shortly after his demise. It should be noted that one of the hands (B) cultivates the Regular Style; the only deviation is the occasional presence of an open *a*.[3] If all that remained of the manuscript were the stretch of parchment covered by this hand,[4] one would most naturally associate the minuscule with that of some of the hands of the Grandval *Bible*,[5] the Nancy *Gospels*,[6] or the Quedlinburg *Martinellus*.[7] These books, whatever their exact date, are typical of the work done in the latter part of the régime of Fridugisus (*ca.* 820–834)[8] or that of his successor Adalhardus (834–843).[9] Sir Edward Maunde Thompson associated the *Gospel* of Nevers with the Quedlinburg *Martinellus* and the *Gospels* of Lothair[10] and declared that 'the script of the three examples may be accepted as the purest form of the Carolingian minuscule of the ninth century'.[11] His date for the Gospel of Nevers, c. 840 A.D., is assuredly wrong, but not his feeling that for elegance of achievement the book deserves mention with the other two. I am speaking, of course, primarily, of the script, but, for all that I can see, there is nothing in the or-

[1] *The Vatican Livy*, p. 28.

[2] *Survey*, p. 107.

[3] *Survey*, p. 106.

[4] Plate XL. 1. It should be noted that the heading and the marginal initials are plainly of the E. M. Style. Either they were put in by another scribe, or the scribe of the text conforms that part of his work to the general style of the book. His *minuscule* — that is the point — is Regular and not E. M. Another specimen of this hand is shown in *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (1884), Plate 44.

[5] *Survey*, p. 135. There are better analogies than the minuscule shown on Plate XCIV. 1. See e.g. *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts*, Plate 42.

[6] Plate XCVIII.

[7] Plate CIX. 2.

[8] *Survey*, p. 53.

[9] *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 434.

[10] Done between 849 and 851. See *Die Schule von Tours*, p. 289.

[11] *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), p. 411.

namentation that prevents so late a date as 820, at which time the scribe Gedeon, by the evidence of the St Gall list, would have been in his youthful prime. If there are absolutely compelling reasons for putting the book in Alcuin's regime, then, instead of dating the whole list earlier or supposing that a part of it was transposed in copying, it is easier to assume the existence of an elder Gedeon, who had died at the time when the list was drawn up. A number of the names that it includes occur more than once. Thus among the scribes mentioned above, we note an earlier and a later Adalbaldus[1] and an earlier and a later Amalricus.[2] Taking merely the first forty names on the list, we find that Waltarius[3] and Erchanaldus[4] are later repeated, and that Lenthardus appears twice again.[5] It is therefore by no means impossible that there was an earlier Gedeon than No. 190.

In either event, here is one of the more elegant specimens of the Script of Tours done at a time done at a time when both the E. M. and the Regular varieties were practised at St Martin's. Whether that period be the regime of Alcuin or that of Fridugisus, important conclusions must be drawn from the fact. I would accept — at least until Köhler and Dom Wilmart have spoken again — the latter supposition, since it best accords with the evidence of the St Gall list.

The case of Dodaldus remains. He is a somewhat older contemporary (No. 161) of Gedeon (No. 190). The execution of the book is, in general, inferior to that of the *Gospels* of Nevers, though Dodaldus can write carefully when he wants to.[6] There is nothing to suggest in the one book the crude beginnings of an art and in the other its later perfection. Elaboration, simplicity, and hasty workmanship may all be found at any period in the history of any scriptorium. I am impressed by the general character of the script that the book of Dodaldus was written in the later, not the earlier part of the development of the E.M. Style, and that impression is supported by the use of the abbreviation $\dot{\text{t}}$ and by the place of Dodaldus's name on the List.

Finally, in view of Dom Wilmart's classification[7] and Köhler's latest statement[8] I would venture, after repeating these two lists, to offer a tentative chronological list of the books of the E.M. Style.

[1] Nos. 58 and 152.

[2] Nos. 172 and 212.

[3] Nos. 11 and 183.

[4] Nos. 32 and 181.

[5] Nos. 39, 52, 109.

[6] See Plate VIII.

[7] *Revue Bénédictine*, 1930, p. 54.

[8] *Die Schule von Tours*, pp. 71, 364 ff. I include only the books treated by Köhler in the first of his groups under the heading 'I. Abt Alkuin 796–804,' (p. 364). I gather, once more, that he would allow later dates for some of them.

Dom Wilmart	Köhler
1. (796 A.D.) *Paris B.N. lat. 1451*	1. *St Gall. 75.*
2. (c. 800) *London, Harley, 2793.*	2. *St Gall. 268.*
3. (c. 803–804) *Troyes, 1742.*	3. *Paris, B.N. lat. 4333 B*
4. (c. 805–810) *Leyden, Voss. L.F. 73.*	4. *Paris, B.N. lat. 260.*
5. (c. 805–810) *London, Harley 2790.*	5. *London, Harley 2790.*
6. (c. 805–810) *Paris, B.N. lat. 17227.*	6. *Troyes, 1742.*
7. (c. 805–810) *Monza, G. 1.*	7. *London, Harley 2793.*
	9. *Paris, B.N. lat. 17227.*
	10. *Monza, G. 1.*
	11. *Ghent, 102.*

Of the books on Köhler's list, I have not inspected Nos. 1 and 2 recently or adequately, and No. 11, have seen only in his photographs. I accept for the moment Köhler's verdict on No. 1 (*St Gall 75*), though I am dubious about it. From a study of his photographs during a memorable conference with him in 1927, I came to the opinion that No. 2 (*St Gall 268*) was not written at Tours. No. 11 (*Ghent 102*) is of special interest since it comes from Marmoutier; if it was written there, it is the only known product of that scriptorium in the E.M. Style.[1]

No. 3 on Köhler's list I should still assign to the Prealcuinian Period. Possibly this book and others that I have so assigned should be regarded as Alcuinian. After renewed consideration, I would, for the moment, leave them where they are. I will not here include what I listed as 'Uncertain Members of Group IVa.'[2] Of these Nos. 39 and 46 may perhaps be products of St Martin's. The others, in my opinion, were written at other centres under the influence of Tours, I append the numbers under which I have registered the manuscripts in *Survey*.

REGIME OF ALCUIN

1. (No. 33) *St Gall, 75.*
2. (No. 38) *Troyes, 1742.*
3. (No. 36) *Paris, B. N. lat 260.*
4. (No. 31) *Paris, B. N. lat 18312.*
5. (No. 37) *Rome, Vat. Pal. lat. 153.*
6. (No. 30) *Paris, B. N. lat. 17227.*

REGIME OF FRIDUGISUS

a) c. 810.

7. (No. 26) *Leyden, Voss. L. F. 73.*
8. (No. 29) *Monza, G. 1.*

b) c. 820

9. *Chartres, 3.*
10. (No. 28), *London, Harley 2793.*

[1] *Survey*, p. 48.

[2] *Survey*, pp. 114–117, Nos. 39–46.

11. (No. 27), *London, Harley 2790.*
12. (No. 24), *Ghent, 102* (Marmoutier?)
13. (No. 34), *Tours, 273* (St. Gatian?)
14. (No. 32), *Paris, Ste. Gen. 1260.*
15. (No. 35), *New York, Morgan, 191* (Hand L).[1]

This list I entrust to the kindly, or the destructive, breeze as a *ballon d'essai.* Its agreements, and its disagreements with those proposed by my friends will be patent to the reader. It is encouraging that scholars working independently on problems so delicate should so often coincide in their results. It is to be hoped that the points of difference are such that from further conflicts of opinion and further adjustments there may emerge an accepted history of the Script of Tours in Alcuin's time. Furthermore, as I tried to set forth in my book, the style of script called by Köhler Alcuinian tells only half the story.

[1] This hand, or one very like it wrote all of No. 32 and parts of two other MSS. Cf. *Survey,* p. 110. I no longer think that it wrote No. 320.

Further consideration of the problems raised by the manuscript of Chartres will be found in a review of Köhler's work in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* and in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review,* both shortly to appear.

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NOTES

FRAGMENTE VON METRISCHEN HEILIGENVITEN AUS DEM XIIten JAHRHUNDERT

(*VITAE S. THEODERICI ET S. THEODULPHI*)

Vor einiger Zeit las ich im *Catalogue général* XXXVIII (1904), 76ff. das Fragment des Gedichtes über S. Theodericus, das der Herausgeber des Katalogs, Henry Loriquet, aus der Handschrift Reims *79/81* (s. XII) mitteilte; die Verse stehen auf einem Pergament-Blatt, das auf der Innenseite des Vorderdeckels aufgeklebt ist. Es sind die Verse 44–111 des unten abgedruckten Fragmentes. Loriquet setzte hinzu: 'Si l'on décollait ce feuillet, on en trouverait sans doute autant sur le recto.' Da mich das Stück formal und inhaltlich interessierte, bat ich die Bibliotheksverwaltung, das Blatt abzulösen und mir eine Photographie zu beschaffen. Dieser Bitte wurde von dem Herrn Conservator der Reimser Stadtbibliothek in der liebenswürdigsten Weise entsprochen. Die iii Verse, die mir nun vorliegen, stellen den Anfang einer Vita S. Theoderici († 533) dar, die — soweit ich sehe — sonst nirgends erhalten ist und allein schon deshalb der Mitteilung wert erscheint.

Die *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. Juli I, S. 53 ff. (ed. noviss. cur. Joanne Carnandet) bieten zwei Prosa-Viten des Heiligen, die zweite, längere, offenbar nur eine Aufschwellung der ersten; beide wurden zuerst von Mabillon bekannt gemacht (*Annal. Bened.* I, 681 ff. u. *Acta SS. ord. Bened.* I, 614 ff.). Nach Ansicht des Herausgebers der *Acta SS.* hat die ältere kürzere *Vita* dem Verfasser der *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, Flodoardus († 971), als Quelle vorgelegen. Ich möchte die Frage der Quellenverhältnisse hier nicht näher untersuchen, sondern nur feststellen, dass der Herausgeber der *Historia*, J. Heller (*Mon. Germ. SS.* XIII [1881], 442, Anmerk. 3) die beiden Viten für jünger hält als Flodoardus und annimmt, sie hätten ihn, oder eher seine Quelle, nur erweitert.

Das Fragment der metrischen *Vita* schliesst sich am nächsten an die längere *Vita* (II) an; in beiden ist die Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Heiligen und seiner jungen Gattin in längerem Dialog ausgeführt; beide haben die Angabe des Heimatortes, die in der kürzeren *Vita* (I) fehlt, von Flodoardus aber auch überliefert wird: Alamannorum — corte, *Vita II* Alamandorum curte, *Vita metr.*: Alemandorum — curthe, das heutige Auménancourt a.d. Suippe, 3 Meilen von Reims. Im übrigen stimmen alle vier Quellen an vielen Stellen fast wörtlich überein. Die *Vita metr.* weicht aber auch in einigen Punkten von sämtlichen übrigen Texten ab, z.B. in der Angabe, dass der Heilige von vornehmer Abkunft gewesen sei (vv. 8–10), während sonst überliefert ist, der Vater sei ein *latro* gewesen; nur die *Vita*

II bietet den Namen des Vaters (Marcardus). V. 104 ff. fügt den verschiedenen Erklärungsversuchen für den Namen des Berges, auf dem das Kloster gegründet wird (Mons aureus, Mont d'Or) einen neuen hinzu: 'quasi mons, in quo tumulatur Aaron'; vgl. *Num.* xx, 25–30: Aaron wird auf dem Berge Hor bestattet. Solche Abweichungen von der sonstigen Ueberlieferung mögen auf Lokaltradition beruhen: die Handschrift gehörte S. Thierry in Reims, wo auch die Verse entstanden sein mögen.

Für die Abfassungszeit der *Vita metr.* ergeben sich aus dem Inhalt keine Anhaltspunkte. Die Schrift dürfte etwa der Zeit um 1200 angehören. Der Form nach könnte das Gedicht älter sein; indessen es früher als Anfang 12. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen, scheint mir nicht ratsam, da bis auf v.100 überall zweisilbiger Reim vorhanden ist, allerdings in 12 von den 111 Leoninern unrein: vv.16, 27, 40, 42, 45, 54, 55, 70, 80, 82, 105, 111, wovon vv. 40 und 105 ausscheiden, wenn man 'sancti: amanti' und 'tantus: sanctus' in jener Zeit auf französischem Boden als rein annimmt. Die Prosodie ist einwandfrei, mit Ausnahme von v. 43 *tĕtra;* aber der Vers weist Korrekturen auf und könnte korrupt sein. Nur bei dem Eigennamen 'Theodericus' wiederholt sich je einmal ein Reimwort; vv. 5 und 60 'amicus,' v.45 und 110 'pudicus,' aber in beiden Fällen einmal ein Nominativ, das andere Mal ein Genitiv. Im Vergleich zu manchen anderen kirchlichen Texten der Zeit wird man nicht umhin können, dem Dichter eine gewisse Fähigkeit zuzugestehen.

In dem folgenden Abdruck des Fragmentes ist die Orthographie der Handschrift beibehalten, nur ist *v* für *u* gesetzt. Von Interpunktionen verwendet die Handschrift nur den Punkt, bisweilen an falschen Stellen, bisweilen nur Reimpunkt; ich führe die Zeichen der Handschrift nicht an. L = Lesung Loriquets (*Cat. gén.* 38, 76 ff.), Fl. = Flodoardus (Text Hellers, *M. G. SS.* xiii, 442 ff.), *Vita II* = die jüngere, längere Prosavita (Text der *Acta SS.*). Das Stück trägt in der Hs. keine Ueberschrift, doch ist der Raum für eine solche vorhanden; ebenso fehlt die Initiale I; sie ist auch — soweit auf der Photographie erkennbar — nicht vorgezeichnet. Vorher geht in der Handschrift eine metrische *Vita S. Theodulfi* († Ende 6. Jhd.), ebenfalls in leoninischen Hexametern (s.u.). Mit Rücksicht auf die Abfassungszeit dieser zweiten *Vita* (s.u.) wird man geneigt sein, auch die *Vita S. Theoderici* etwa in die 2. Hälfte des 12. Jhds. zu setzen.

Vita Sancti Theoderici

Innocue menti deus offert vim documenti,
Qui facit insontes doctrine scandere montes.
Scribam, quid dederit; sua mens mea dogmata querit.

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v. 1 nocue Hs, Init. fehlt. — v. 2 dotrine Hs. — v. 3. mea mens sua? jedenfalls ist so verbinden! —

Illo lustretur, illius fonte rigetur.
En Theoderici, celorum regis amici,
Proposui vitam fari meritis redimitam.
Alemandorum curthe fuit orta suorum;
Clara propago nimis opibus fulgebat opimis.
Ad baratrum puerum non traxit gloria rerum,
Omnia calcavit, puer ocia sub pede stravit.
Ceu rosa florescit, que florem perdere nescit,
Christo fundatus virtutibus irradiatus
Enituit mundo, quem vicit fine secundo.
Magno doctore Christi flammatur amore
Pervigili cura bona doctus amare futura,
Presule Remigio; sursum consurgit ab imo,
Normam doctoris sequitur puer omnibus horis.
Mundi figmentum transire videns quasi ventum,
Hunc aspernatur, pia mens ab eo revocatur
Et velut errorem timet huius tangere florem.
Mente tenet stabili nisu servire virili
Rerum factori firmatus spe meliori.
Istius insigne nunc pandam carmine digne.
Cum puer hic oritur, fons perspicuus reperitur,
Miri candoris fons extitit atque saporis,
Quo lotis pannis pueri splendet tamen amnis.
Illius ruris cunctis fuit unda salubris;
Manat adhuc equidem fons hic preclarus ibidem.
A puero Christi virtus non defuit isti.
Etatis tenere flos non cadit ex muliere
Corpore virgo nitens, quod haberi mente renitens
Florescit castus, zabuli quem non gravat astus.
Nil agit incestum, fugit omne, quod est inhonestum,
Nil sequitur vile, nil fluxum, nil puerile.
Moribus intentum sacris hunc cura parentum
Alligat uxori; sic invidet hostis honori
Virginitatis; ei sperat diadema trophei

Zu vv. 5/6 vgl. Schluss des Prol. *Vita* II: 'Ibi siquidem credimus sanctissimi viri Theorderici annotata merita, cuius succincte conamur et aggredimur pudice litteris infantie commendare primordia.' — Zu vv. 7 ff. vgl. Flod.: 'quem non ex alto voluit adeo sanguine generari, qui sublimiter hunc in generatione iustorum decreverat nobilitare. Ortus autem pago Remensi, villa ut traditur Alamannorum-corte, patre latrone, veluti rosa spinarum procreatur horrore (v. 11 Ceu rosa florescit).' — *Vita II:* 'Patre itaque Marcardo et pago Remensi villaque Alamandorum curte oriundus atque secus pedes beatissimi Remigii educatus et adultus quantum in ipso fuit laudem ab hominibus non quesivit, tumoremque mortalis gloriae calcavit.' (vgl. v. 10: 'Omnia calcavit!'). — vv. 12 ff. fast ohne jede Anlehnung an den Wortlaut der Quellen. — Vor v. 23 § = Zeichen Hs. — zu vv. 24 ff. Flod.: 'Ad declarandam vero castitatis eius munditiam, pro infantilium eiusdem cunarum panniculi feruntur abluti, non sordium iactu non alicuius immunditiae puteus inquinamento, licet os eius extunc de more pateat astruitur infici' (ähnl. *Vita II*). Dass die Quelle nachher heilkräftig geworden sei, wird in den anderen Texten nicht erwähnt. —

Taliter auferre, victum prosternere terre.
Tristis et invitus compellitur esse maritus.
Sponsa viri sancti se iungi credit amanti
Carnis naturam, carnis vermes parituram.
Sed famulus domini sponsam vocat ore senili:
'Audi, cara comes, fit carni mors tetra fomes,
Ob corruptelam iustam non sperne querelam,
Compede carnali noli mecum copulari!
Rerum namque sator est virginitatis amator;
Hunc sequor, hunc novi, me vita celibe vovi
Christo servire, quo celica spero subire.
Si sponsus talis delectat spiritualis.
Consilio leto tu semper virgo maneto!
Hic tibi sidereis donabit inesse choreis.'
Coniunx astuta non est ad talia muta,
Respondet tristis sponso sermonibus istis:
'Heu, cur te duxi, infelix! cur tibi nupsi,
Qui spernis nuptam iusto tibi federe iunctam?
Deliras vere, qui despicis ex muliere
Natorum fieri genitor sponsusque videri.
Spernor cur a te, generosa nobilitate,
Que tibi lege pari possum satis assimilari?'
Hec Theodericus ait, integritatis amicus:
'Utere mortali, que non vis spirituali
Sponso coniungi nec celi lumine fungi!'
Abscessit iuvenis, domini constrictus habenis;
Mox Remis properat, quoniam sacris ibi sperat
Susanne monitis, prece consiliisque cupitis
A merore gravi relevari famine suavi.

Zu vv. 35 ff. Fl: 'Beatus itaque Theodericus ad annos usque pubertatis laudabiliter educatus, iuxta morem propagationis humanae, studio parentum coactus, sponsam coepit habere nomine tenus uxorem, ceu non habiturus' (ganz ähnlich *Vita II*). — Zu v. 42 ff. Fl: 'Alloquitur beatus Theodoricus sponsam et ad sponsi celestis hortatus amorem perpetuumque pro virginitate pollicetur honorem. Sed sponsa tabescens amore carnalis desiderii spernit salutaria monita sponsi et amaro animo respondit, dum se despectam videt.' (ähnl., nur etwas erweitert, in der *Vita II*, die aber dann mit direkter Rede einen Dialog beginnt, der bei Fl. fehlt.) — v. 43. carni] korr. a. carnis Hs. Ob das *f* in fomes nachgetragen ist, lässt sich auf der — sonst vorzüglichen — Photographie nicht erkennen. tetra] tua? — v. 45 vor noli] mecum durchstrichen Hs. — v. 47 vovi] novi *L* (Photographie deutlich uoui). — v. 54 duxi] t über d. Zeile, nupsi] t zugesetzt Hs. von späterer Hand.-Zu v. 58. *Vita II*: 'Cur despicis amantem, quam generositas non degenerat nec alieni dominii ulla servitus subiugat? Quis te alienavit, ut connubia respuas, procreare natos execres, pater filiorum vocari non adquiescas?' — zu vv. 61 ff. *Vita II:* 'Tu sponso utere terreno, quoniam mihi sedet animo . . .' — v. 63 abcessit, s über der Zeile v. and. Hd. Hs; desgl. contrictus Hs. — zu v. 64 Fl.: 'urbem Remensem propere petens' (*Vita II:* 'concite petit').
— Zu vv. 65 ff. Fl.: 'abbatissam quandam caelibis vitae cultricem nomine Susan-

Prudens matrona, celesti digna corona,
Virgineum cetum rexit pietate quietum,
Virginibus sacris hec virgo ministrat alacris,
Virtutis magne vulgatur fama Susanne;
Exemplis miris Susanna micat velut Yris.
Huic, quicquid fecit, Christi servus patefecit,
Plurima conquestus, quibus estuat, edidit estus;
Inquit: 'Ob uxorem cordis confundo decorem;
Integritas mentis meritum capit omnipotentis,
Perdere compellor decus hoc, a quo male vellor;
Muneribus latis est gratia virginitatis
Ante deum celebris semper manet absque tenebris.'
Talia dum memorat, virgo cum virgine plorat,
Solatur mater virgo sanctum sapienter,
Quem bene consultum, valido munimine fultum,
Remigii sanctis dimisit eum documentis.
Noverat antistes animos sustollere tristes,
Inquit: 'Nate, vaca celestibus et cito placa
Sponsam sermone, post mundi gaudia pone!
Es lucraturus, es celi regna daturus
Uxori!' Propere sponsam petit ille docere.
Ut Theoderici suscepit verba pudici,
Mutata mente lacrimatur sponsa repente,
Christi sacra sita promisit celibe vita
Semper servare, viciis animum revocare
Et sponsi more pro virginitatis amore
Spondens obscenum veneris non tangere cenum.
Coniunx carnalis fit femina spiritualis;
Primum tota caro modo fulget lumine claro,
Nil carnale gerit nec terre lubrica querit,
Amplecti rite cupiens sponsalia vite.
Gaudet eo multum sanctus, dum sumere cultum
Uxorem cernit divinum, que mala spernit.
Remensi quippe mons haud procul extat ab urbe,
Qui licet incultus, decor huic tamen arbore multus,
Silvula pulcra satis, vernantibus undique pratis.
Vena fluit fontis ditissima culmine montis;
Or appellatur, quasi mons, in quo tumulatur

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nam requirit (ähnl. *Vita II*) . . . puellari preerat congregationi . . .' — Zu vv. 79 ff. Fl.: 'flenti compatitur, lugentem consolatur (wörtlich auch *Vita II*). — vv. 74 ff. bei dieser und der folgenden Begegnung hat keine der übrigen Quellen direkte Reden. — v. 84. est cito L, in Kommata eingeschlossen; auch sonst ist bei L die Interpunktion nicht ganz durchsichtig. — Zu v. 88 ff. Fl: 'acquiescit sponsa demum, prudentissimi patris immo complectitur affamina, vitae celestis dulcedine emellita seseque pollicetur, si Christo mereatur adhaerere, incorruptam salva pudicitia permanere' (fast wörtl. *Vita II*) — v. 93 obcenum Hs. Zu vv. 100 ff. Fl.: 'Est silvula in monte sita [ohne Namen!] tribus a civitate milibus separata' (*Vita II:* cui vocabulum est Or; sonst ähnl.). v. 100 hau, t über der Zeile v. sp. Hd. Hs.; exstat Hs. —

Aaron, vir tantus in lege per omnia sanctus.
Sanctorum cetum disponit habere quietum
Remigius montem, nullo discrimine sontem;
Est aptus monachis sectantibus agmina pacis
Hic locus illustris, pecudum vacuus, quia lustris.
Huc Theodericus cum virgine virgo pudicus
Accelerat lete sic presule precipiente.
. . . . . .

Hiermit schliesst das Fragment. In den übrigen Quellen folgt überall die Erscheinung des Engels in Gestalt eines Adlers.

Zu vv. 110 ff. *Vita II:* 'Ad hunc ergo locum mittitur providendum pastor futurus cum sancta virgine Susanna beatus Theodericus, abstinens cum abstinente, virgo cum virgine' (die letzte Wendung auch v. 79!). Mit der *virgo* dürfte die *sponsa* gemeint sein, nicht die Susanna, wie die *Vita II* u. Fl. angibt. — Zu vv. 104 ff. vgl. die Vorbemerkung! —

Der auf dem Blatt vorausgehende Schluss der *Vita metrica S. Theodulfi* dürfte ebenfalls unbekannt sein; jedenfalls verzeichnet auch der Suppl. Band der *Bibl. hagiogr. lat.* keine metrische *Vita* des Heiligen. Das darin berichtete Wunder liest man weder bei Flodoardus noch in der *Vita* und den *Miracula* der *Acta SS.*1. Mai 3, S. 96 ff. Die Verstechnik ist, soweit sich das bei dem kurzen Bruchstück (22 vv.) sagen lässt, ungefähr die gleiche wie in der *Vita S. Thoderici;* die unreinen Reime sind hier zwar zahlreicher (11 von 22 gegen 14 von 111 der *Vita S. Theoderici*), aber die zweiten Silben assonieren auch hier; besonderen Hinweis verdient die gleiche Behandlung des Wortes *těter* (*Vita Theodulfi* v. 21 *tětro*, *Vita Theoderici* v. 13 *tětra*). Es liegt nahe, für beide den gleichen Verfasser anzunehmen, der vermutlich dem Kloster auf dem Mont d'Or angehörte. Die Erwähnung des Erzbischofs Samson (1140–61) in v. 16 ergibt, dass diese *Vita* erst in der 2. Hälfte des 12. Jhds. abgefasst ist. Ich lasse die erhaltenen Verse der *Vita* folgen, wenn auch der in dem Fragment geschilderte Vorgang nicht völlig klar ist, da der grössere Teil der Erzählung zu fehlen scheint. Vielleicht bringt der Zufall einmal weitere Blätter der interessanten Handschrift ans Licht.

. . . . . .

Christe, velis miseri bene, rex clemens, misereri!
Flagris parce, queso! prebe medicamina leso!
Tu donare vales medicinas spirituales;
Servus ero gratus monachorum morte levatus.
Sic sic lugentem misere veniamque precantem
Mox pietas Christi levat hunc a verbere tristi.
O quam devote, dum fungitur ille salute,
Nos adiit plorans, veniam miserabilis orans.
Christi natalis erat ipse dies specialis,

Festo sollempni coram populo venit omni.
Abbatis pedibus lacrimans provolvitur huius
Ecclesie, stringit vestigia, basia fingit;
Post pedibus nudis gressus petit ipse prioris,
Fratri Gualtero curvatur poplite flexo,
Expers pannorum stans in medio monachorum.
Presule Sansone nobiscum festa colente,
Illo presente persolvit rapta repente.
Insuper ecclesie se servum contulit ille,
Federe placavit nos tali, post remeavit.
Ob laudem Domini factum miserabile scripsi;
Qui me dente tetro lacerant pro paupere metro,
Racha cum fatue letale minatur eis ve!

Explicit feliciter vita Sancti Theodulfi.

V. 2 fagris Hs. —

V. 16 ff. von einem Besuch des Erzbischofs Samson v. Reims (de Mauvoisin 1140–1161) ist weder in *Gallia christiana* noch in G. Marlot, Bd. III, 277 ff. die Rede. — V. 22, *Matth.* V, 22.

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AN UNRECORDED *EPITAPHIUM CEADWALLAE*

In the second volume of his edition of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores* (Rome, 1888), John Bapt. de Rossi included several versions of the *Epitaphium Ceadwallae Regis Saxonum*.[1] He, to use his own words, gave also a *sincera lectio* of that *Epitaphium*, which he edited ' . . . post recensita eius <i.e. Epitaphii> exemplaria vetera e syllogis epigraphicis et anthologiis. . . .[2] The following note of de Rossi must be quoted here (*op. cit.*, II, 70): 'Epitaphium Ceadwallae regis, positum in basilica Vaticana a. 689, unus ad hunc diem Beda integrum cum subiectis temporum notis tradiderat in *Hist. Ecc.* v. 7: carmen sine temporum notis ex Beda repetivit Paulus Diaconus, *De Gestis Langob.* vi, 15.

The text of the *temporum notae*, referred to above, runs as follows:[3]

HIC DEPOSITVS EST CEADVAL QVI ET PETRVS REX SAXONVM SVB DIE XII KL. MAIARVM INDICT. II VIXIT ANNOS PLM XXX IMPERANTE DN IVSTINIANO PIISSIMO AVG ANNO EIVS CONSVLATVS IIII PONTIFICANTE APOSTOLICO VIRO DOMNO SERGIO PP ANNO II.

While collating various MSS of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, I noticed in the MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds Latin 6040*, on the last folio (59^{v})[4] another *Epitaphium Ceadwallae*, which was unknown to de Rossi. It might not be amiss to give a transcript of it:

Epitaphium Ceduualli regis Anglorum in ecclesia sancti Petri in Roma.

(C) Ulmen opes sobolem pollentia regna triumphos
Exuvias proceres moenia castra Lares
Quaeque patrum virtus et quae congesserat ipse
Ceadwal armipotens liquit amore Dei
Ut Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes
Cuius fonte meras sumeret almus aquas
Splendiferumque iubar radianti carperet haustu
Ex quo mirificus fulgor ubique fluit
Perspiciensque alacer recidivae praemia vitae
Barbaricam rabiem nomen et inde suum

[1] See II, 60, 70, 111, 112, 267, 287; for other more recent *sincerae lectiones*, see F. Bücheler and E. Riese, *Anthologia Latina* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), II, 2, 660–661, and E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), I, 14–15.

[2] II, 228.

[3] I quote from de Rossi's *recensio*.

[4] The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale limits itself to the following statement (Pars Tertia, Tomus Quartus, p. 195): 'Is codex saeculo decimo quarto exaratus videtur.' A careful examination, however, of this MS. convinced me that Rev. Acton Griscom is justified in assigning it to the twelfth century. See Acton Griscom, *Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, (New York: Longmans Green, 1929), pp. 564, 573. Griscom's statement, however (p. 564), that in this MS. ' . . . pages are lacking betw. ff. 24 and 25, the end of Book IV and almost all of Book V,' requires a correction. This MS. is merely badly bound.

Conversus convertit ovans Petrumque vocari
Sergius antistes iussit ut ipse pater
Fonte renascentis quem Christi gratia purgans
Protinus albatum vexit in arce poli
Mira fides regis clementia maxima Christi
Cuius consilium nullus adire potest
Hospes enim veniens subpremo ex orbe Britanni
Per varias gentes per freta perque vias
Urbem Romuleam vidit templumque verendum
Aspexit Petri mistica dona gerens
Candidus inter oves Christi sotiabilis ivit
Corpore nam tumulum mente superna tenet
Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides
Omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur.

In margine manu non prima: de quo <*Ceadwala rege*> supra scribitur in penultima columpna in fine (*i.e. Fol 59r supradicti MS. 6040*)=Galfredus Monemutensis, *Historia Regum Britanniae* xii, 17–18.‖I. *Litt. init. supplevi ex recensione de Rossi.*‖ 3–4. *Inter hos versus vestigium versus alius videri potest, manu non prima scripti, radendo ita deleti, ut legi non possit.*‖13. quem] quęm *MS.*‖17. Hospes] *superscr.* vel Sospes, *manu prima. De Rossi legit* Sospes, *Baedam, ut videtur, secutus, alii* Hospes.‖24. Quem] Quęm *MS.* 25–26. *Hi versus alia manu scripti sunt.*

The last two lines, inasmuch as they are written in different ink and in different handwriting, do not need to be considered here, especially since .25 is a repetition of .24, and .26 is not metrical. This *carmen*, however, contains three readings, which are not found anywhere else. They are: *Splendiferumque* (.7); *mirificus* (.8) and *ivit* (.21). It is further seen that the text as given here, lacks the *temporum notae;* it is therefore a *carmen sine temporum notis.*

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REVIEWS

M. Asin Palacios, trans., Algazel's *El Justo Medio en la Creencia.* Valencia: Instituto de Don Juan, 1929. Paper. Pp. 555.

Father Asin, who is one of the most renowned Arabian scholars in the world, has contributed greatly to the vulgarization of Arabic studies and has shown keen discernment in his investigations of original Arabian texts. Were we to present a bibliography of the principal works of Father Asin, and were we to add that this learned professor of the Universidad Central of Madrid is the teacher and guiding light of almost all the contemporary Arabian scholars in Spain, a faint idea might be given of his extraordinary ability. His translation of two years ago, *The Dogmatic Theology of Algazel,* which was published with the generous help of the great *Hispanista,* Mr Huntington, has filled a sorely-felt need in the history of scholastic theology and philosophy. Up till that time, as Father Asin himself affirms in the introduction to his translation, the history of scholastic theology still remained unexplored. As a matter of fact, up until two years ago it was generally believed that by studying the sources of scholastic philosophy it would be possible to clear up the origins of theology. Both studies, it was thought, had the same metaphysical foundations. But today, the historian of dogmatic theology can hardly satisfy himself with such a solution. There are certain very important points in the history of scholastic theology that should be cleared up, for example, the breach, or better, the loss, of continuity in the dogmatic-theological culture between the eleventh century, that is to say, from Abelard, St Anselm, and Peter Lombard, to the thirteenth century, the glorious epoch of Scholasticism, which boasts of such men as Albertus Magnus, St Thomas and Duns Scotus.

According to Father Asin, this sudden progress of dogmatic theology in the thirteenth century might be attributed not only to the merely philosophical works of the Mussulmen, but also to some strictly dogmatic treatises of these same people. It was in 1904 that Father Asin first voiced this opinion in his treatise *El Averroismo de Santo Tomas de Aquino* and he tried to demonstrate that Averroes in one of his shorter works wished to harmonize reason and faith by means of a synthetic study which was to be strictly theological. This doctrine of Averroes was adopted by Raymond Martin, a scholastic and orientalist, colleague of the Angelic Doctor. The method which Averroes used in his demonstration is identical with that employed by St Thomas. Likewise, the topics presented, namely, the Existence and Unity of God, the Divine Attributes, etc., are the same in both authors. Even to the theological difficulties, the Simplicity of the Divine Essence and the Multiplicity of its Attributes, the Divine Presence and

Premotion and Free Will, the Absolute Unity of the Divine Wisdom and the Multiplicity of Created Objects . . . all these difficulties are both proposed and solved in similar form.

To prove this hypothesis, it is an absolute necessity that a comparative study be made in the scholastic dogmatic theology of the thirteenth century, especially the theology of St Thomas and Duns Scotus, and the dogmatic theology of some Mussulmen who, like Averroes and others, wrote dogmatic treatises. And that is the reason why Father Asin now offers us a Spanish translation, with valuable notes, of the *Compendium* or *Summula* of the dogmatic theology of Algazel under the title *Ictisad o el Justo Medio en la Creencia.* Algazel is, without doubt, the greatest of the Mussulmen theologians and has rendered incalculable services to theological science, important among which is his systematizing of the dogma and moral of Islam. In this systematization, his criterion is so impartial that his work might be termed the Syllabus of Arabian Orthodoxy. The importance of this work is based on the fact that Algazel, always following the middle path between the various Arabian theological schools, some of which are guilty of radical extremism, gives us to understand the general points of the Arabian dogmatic belief. The criterion which Algazel uses is that of the *axaries* school which always had as its norm the harmonization of the Islamic dogmas with the principles of philosophy, avoiding on all occasions the abuse of the perapetetic rationalists (*falasifa*) and the excess of the traditionalists (*Haxuies*), who followed a too literal interpretation of the texts. That St Thomas was acquainted with this school of the *axaries* to which Algazel belonged is perfectly clear from the various citations that the Angelic Doctor makes of the opinions of that school, cf. *Summa* c. g. I. III. c.65. ad finem.

The *Ictisad* is, therefore, of prime importance for a complete knowledge of the history of dogmatic theology. And this translation of the learned Arabian scholar, Father Asin, together with the translation and commentary of the *Fixal* of Abebhazam to which he is now putting the finishing touches, will go a long way in clearing up the important question of the Arabian influence in the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages.

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Oscar Carghill, *Drama and Liturgy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. ix+151. $2.50.

No type of mediaeval literature has been the subject of more critical and comprehensive study during the past thirty years than the religious drama of Western Europe. Concerning its ultimate origin and its historical con-

tinuity there has been practically unanimous agreement among scholars in this field. The liturgy of the Church is its generally accepted source and inspiration.[1] Because of that fact, a study which runs counter to this view at once challenges our interest and claims our attention. Especially is this true when, as in the present case, the author issues his challenge with the following introductory and concluding statements:

'The purpose of this study is to direct attention to the inadequacy of the so-called 'liturgical theory' to account completely for the origin of the mystery plays.' (p. 1).

'*That there is any generic connection between the drama and the liturgy has been most strenuously denied. The mystery plays apparently did not originate in the Easter ritual; the seed of the drama was not the St Gall* Quem Quaeritis *trope.*' (p. 140)

An expansion of these statements to include the thesis of each chapter epitomizes in sequence the gist of the book: The tropes are lyrical; the religious rites and ceremonies are undramatic; the tropes and religious ceremonies hence could not be the basis for drama. Minstrels and not churchmen were the creators of religious drama. Cyclic mystery plays did not develop from the liturgy. M. Sepet in 1867 presented in *Les Prophètes du Christ* a theory of the evolution of drama from liturgy to cycles that has since been followed and that 'has not been examined critically from that day to this.' There is no connection, Dr Carghill continues, between the *Jeu d'Adam*, which he thinks concerns itself in part with prophets of the judgment day, and the earlier religious drama. The evidence tends to show that the Towneley cycle is not the result of a development and that the plays are the work of a single compiler, who, according to Dr Carghill, may very likely have been Gilbert Pilkington. Finally, he concludes, the religious plays in their origin 'were the work of professional entertainers of the day, the minstrels, who were hired by the monks to entertain, to instruct, and to draw to the shrines the populace.' And 'no contention has been raised that in later times the playwrights did not occasionally go to the liturgy, as they may have gone to any other easily available source, to borrow a word, a phrase, or a theme.'

Since Dr Carghill limits his exposition of the 'liturgical theory' to his chapter (V) on Sepet (1867), and a passage from Brooke's *Tudor Drama* (p. 2), and since he dismisses the vast body of later studies as 'work on the details that has been done by eminent scholars,' attention must be directed at once to some of at least the most significant 'work on details.' Though Dr Carghill's *Drama and Liturgy* purports to be a study of mediaeval religious drama from the point of view of its origin and its complete cyclic product,

[1] For a recent brief exposition of the generally accepted origin of the Easter play, the earliest religious drama, see Karl Young, 'The Home of the Easter Play,' Speculum, I, 71–73.

he fails even to mention such recognized scholars in this field as Heinrich Anz, Wilhelm Meyer, John M. Manly, Karl Young, Neil C. Brooks, or Hardin Craig.[1] For the purposes of his study all contributions from the time of Milchsack and Lange to that of the latest doctoral dissertation on mediaeval religious drama is of no consequence. In fact, he states at the out-

[1] Though he makes fugitive reference to a number of studies, the following are some relevant contributions not mentioned: P. S. Allen, 'The Mediaeval Mimus,' *MP.*, VII (1910), 329–344; *ibid.*, VIII (1910), 17–60; cf. P. S. Allen and H. M. Jones, *The Romanesque Lyric* (Chapel Hill, 1928), chapter xiii, 'Romanesque Mimes, Monks, and Minstrels;' H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905); H. Brinkmann, *Zum Ursprung des liturgischen Spieles* (Bonn, 1929); N. C. Brooks, 'The Lamentation of Mary in the Frankfort Group of Passion Plays,' *JEGP*, III (1900–01), 415–430; 'Neue lateinische Osterfeiern,' *ZtfdA*, L (1908), 287–312; 'Some new Texts of Liturgical Easter Plays,' *JEGP*, VIII (1909), 463–488; 'Liturgical Easter Plays from Rheinau Manuscripts,' *JEGP*, X (1911), 191–196; 'Osterfeiern aus Bamburger und Wolfbüttler Handschriften,' *ZtfdA*, LV (1914), 52–61; N. C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, Univ. of Ill. Studies in Lang. and Lit., VII, No. 2 (1921); 'Eine Liturgisch-Dramatische Himmelfahrtsfeier,' *ZtfdA*, LXII (1925), 91–96; 'A Rheinau Easter Play,' *JEGP*, XXVI, (1927), 226–236; 'The Sepulchrum Christi and its Ceremonies,' *JEGP*, XXVII (1926), 147–161; F. W. Cady, 'Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mysteries,' *JEGP*, X, (191), 572–584; 'The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Mysteries,' *ibid.*, XI, (1912), 1–19; 'The Passion Group in Towneley,' *MP.*, X (1913), 587–600; 'Towneley, York, and True-Coventry,' *SP.*, XXVI, (1929), 386–400; Millicent Carey, 'The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle,' *Hesperia*, XI, (1930), 1–254; Grace Clark, 'The Passion Plays and the Gospel of Nichodemus,' *PMLA.*, XLIII, (1928), 153–161; G. R. Coffman, 'A Note Concerning the Cult of St Nicholas at Hildesheim,' *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), 269–275; 'A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama,' *MP.*, XXII (1925), 239–271; H. Craig, 'On the Origin of the Old Testament Plays,' *MP.*, X (1913), 473–487; W. A. Craigie, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays,' *The Furnivall Miscellany* (Oxford, 1901), 52–61; M. H. Dodds, 'The Problem of the Ludus Coventriea,' *MLR.*, IX (1914), 79–90; Frances A. Foster, 'The Northern Passion and the Drama,' in *The Northern Passion*, *EETS.*, OS., No. 147 (1916), Part II, 81–101; Grace Frank, 'Revisions in the English Mystery Plays,' *MP.*, XV (1918), 565–572; 'Vernacular Sources for an Old French Passion Play,' *MLN.*, XXXV (1920), 257–268; 'The Palatine Passion and the Development of the Passion Play,' *PMLA.*, XXVIII (1920), 464–483; 'On the Relations between the York and the Towneley Plays,' *PMLA.*, XLIV (1929), 313–319; Adeline Jenney, 'A Further Word on the Origin of the Old Testament Plays,' *MP.*, XIII (1914), 59–64; G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letterature Bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1912); Marie C. Lyle, 'The Original Identify of the York and Towneley Cycles—A Rejoinder,' *PMLA.*, XLIV (1929), 319–328; J.M. Manly, 'Literary Forms and a New Theory of the Origin of Species,' *MP.*, IV (1905), 473–487; W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin, 1901); G. Milchsack, *Die Oster und Passionspiele* (Wolfenbüttel, 1880); M. J. Rudwin, *A Historical and Bibliographical Survey of the German Religious Drama* (Pittsburgh, 1924), *passim;* A Schönbach, *Ueber den Marienklagen* (Graz, 1874); J. Schwietering, 'Ueber den liturgischen Ursprung des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Spiels,' *ZtfdA.*, LXII (1925), 1–20; E. L. Swenson, *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of the Ludus Coventriae*, Univ. of Minn. Studies in Lang. and Lit., No. 1 (1914); G. C. Taylor, 'Relations of Lyric and Drama in Mediaeval England,' *MP.*, IV (1907), 1–38; *ibid.*, V (1907), 605–637; P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant Liturgique* (Tournai, 1904) (cited by Carghill in translation; *A Handbook of Plainsong*); E. Wechssler, *Die Romanischen Marienklagen* (Halle, 1893);

set that the enthusiastic acceptance of Sepet's theory and its apparent sufficiency have long deterred scholars from a minute examination of its merit. Sepet himself, despite his half-century of numerous studies in mediaeval life and culture, mediaeval literature in general, and mediaeval drama in particular, is cavalierly dismissed as a dilettante.[1] As an illustration of men 'better versed in the Middle Ages' he cites Thomas Warton; and he makes the basis of his study this eighteenth century antiquarian's unsupported and discredited theory of the origin of religious drama through the contamination and influence of the minstrels (Carghill, p. 4).

Dr Carghill's sins of omission call for illustrative comment. If he had taken cognizance of Professor Manly's *Literary Forms* (*cit. supra*), he could not without most damaging restrictions have devoted the entire book in general and chapter v in particular to attacking the theory of the origin and development of mediaeval religious drama as a continuous, undifferentiated 'evolutionary' process. The exposition of this fallacy is the basis of that article. Even more to the point is the fact that the weight of Dr Manly's authority and influence as a teacher of mediaeval drama for over thirty years has been in opposition to the whole outworn theory of evolution as applied to literature. Professor Young's cogent, critical, detailed analyses in brief studies and in monographs should have prevented his falling into such confusion as one finds in chapters II and III between *dramatic observances* or *liturgical dramatic associations* on the one hand and actual *drama* on the other (*cit. supra.* see also Brooks). Nor need he have concerned himself in chapter II with proving that tropes are lyrical. Some of Young's

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Karl Young, 'A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen,' *MP.*, VI (1908), 201–227; 'Some Texts of Liturgical Plays,' *PMLA.*, XXIV (1909), 294–331; *The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts. and Letters, XVI, Part 2 (1909), 889–947; 'Observations on the Origin of the Mediaeval Passion Play,' *PMLA.*, XXV (1910), 309–354; 'Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin,' *PMLA.*, XXVI (1911), 181–234; 'A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren,' *MLN.*, XXVI (1911), 33–37; *Officium Pastorum*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XVII, Part 2 (1912), 299–396; 'La Procession des Trois at Besançon,' *The Romanic Review*, IV (1913), 76–83; 'On the Origin of the Easter Play,' *PMLA.*, XXIX (1914), 1–58; 'The Poema Biblicum of Onulphus,' *PMLA.*, XXX (1915), 25–41; 'The Officium Stellae from Bilsen,' in collaboration with G. Cohen, *Romania*, XXIV (1916–17), 357–372; 'A New Version of the Peregrinus,' *PMLA.*, XXXIV (1919), 114–129; *Ordo Rachelis*, Univ. of Wis. Studies in Lang. and Lit., No. 4 (1919); *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, *ibid.*, No. 10 (1920), 1–130; *Ordo Prophetarum*, Trans. Wis. Acad. of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XX (1922), 1–82; 'Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play,' *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), 254–268; 'The Home of the Easter Play,' SPECULUM, I (1926), 71–86; 'Dramatic Ceremonies of the Feast of the Purification,' SPECULUM, V (1930), 97–102.

[1] For brief biography of Marius Sepet (1845–1925) see *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (Madrid, 1927), Toma LV, 376. Of his writings there listed, about one-half a column in length, practically all are on mediaeval subjects.

studies are an exposition of this fact; and of the further fact that a few of these antiphonal lyrics by the creative act of individuals became brief operatic dramas. Specifically, if he had recalled Young's *Ordo Prophetarum* (*cit. supra*), he would not have stated that 'in 1867 Sepet produced an explanation that was outwardly so satisfactory that it has not been examined critically from that day to this' (p. 62). There Young throughout eighty-two pages analyzes the Pseudo-Augustinian Sermon in relation to the liturgy and concludes that Sepet's theory as to origins of the Prophet Play is confirmed. Nor would he have devoted several pages trying to prove that a *lectio* from the Pseudo Augustinian Sermon was of the thirteenth century. Young (*Ordo*, p. 4, note 1) finds the same *lectio*, in a Compiègne MS. of the eleventh century, just where Dr Carghill wants it (Bibl. Nat. *MS. latin 16189*). As a closing word to this study, Young calls Sepet's theory as to later expansion and development of these plays outside of the liturgy, *conjecture*. Pursuant upon this, one must mention another oversight of Dr Carghill's. Professor Craig (*cit. supra*), in a study cited by Young in his last footnote to *Ordo*, holds that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the book of Genesis and those relating to the fall of Lucifer and the angels, did not originate from the Prophet play but from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epic and homiletic material derived from the lessons and accompanying ritual of the Church. These lessons and responsories he finds in the Lenten and pre-Lenten season. Miss Adeline Jenney (*cit. supra*) supports Craig's theory by further study of the ritual of Septuagesima and Lent. Wilhelm Meyer (*cit. supra* pp. 53-56) much earlier (1901) in satiric vein had expressed strong disagreement with Sepet relative to the later development of the Processus Prophetarum. Further, Professor Allen's able discussion of mimes, monks, and minstrels (*cit. supra*) might well cause Dr Carghill to question the acceptance of the view that the 'minstrel was descended from the mimus.' Of immediate pertinence with reference to Carghill's contention in chapter III that 'the tropes were in many cases as closely imitated from the verse of minstrels as caution and the music of the church would permit' is the following:

> 'I find no surer indication that it is not mimus or scop, but monk, to whom we owe the re-creation of realistic art in the ninth and tenth centuries, than that it is just the monks and their work which furnished the bases of the mediaeval renaissance of which we shall hear in a later chapter.'
>
> (*Romanesque Lyric*, p. 266)

On the basis of evidence known to all mediaevalists may we not give over for once and all the idea that monks *per se* guarded and protected the liturgy of the Church; and that literature with secular or pagan elements, *per se*, is not written by monks? or if so written, inspired only by bacchanalian mimes or minstrels?

The limitations of space permit calling attention here to only some of the more obvious matters in detail. On page 13, as proof of the restricted extra-liturgical development he speaks of the comparative scarcity of surviving MSS. of tropes, stating that only 225 of the Easter (*Visitatio*) trope survive. This was the number known in 1887, when Carl Lange published his study, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*. In 1921 Professor Brooks (*cit. supra*) was able to include about 300 for examination. Through the researches of Mr Young, continued over a quarter of a century, there are now available some 416 texts of the *Visitatio*, plus some thirty examples of the *Quem Quaeritis* Introit tropes. 'A rather large survival!' a friend remarked to me recently. On pages 20–21, in an attempt to prove that the St Gall *Quem Quaeritis* trope (St Gall *MS. 484;* facsimile in Gautier, *Les Tropes*, p. 216) is undramatic, Dr Carghill is in error in two respects. In a word, he is trying to show that the response to the query, 'Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicolae?,' was sung by the leader of the choir and was not choral (i.e., did not represent in the singing the three Marys at the tomb). He assumes that the abbreviation Iī means *Introit* and that the *R* preceding 'Jesum Nazerenum crucifixum, O Caelicolae,' means a liturgical responsory and was hence sung as a solo. Now Iī is not *Introit* but *Item*, for one of a series: thus, Iī DE RESURR̄ DNĪ And the *R* is not for the ecclesiastical *responsorium*[1] but is a cue meaning *responsio* (or *respondeant?*). On page 28, Dr Carghill would date the *Visitatio* in the *Regularis Concordia* (ca. 980) after the Conquest on the following grounds: 'But as the rite therein described is concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, which was apparently not known in England prior to the Conquest, it is highly likely that this rite was inserted by some monk who wished to give it the authority of St Ethelwold.' The source indicated in a footnote as the basis for this most revolutionary suggestion is John Bumpus, *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms!* On page 35, Dr Carghill speaks of the St Gall Christmas trope. What is his authority for this statement? Young, *Officium Pastorum* (*cit. supra*), p. 300, footnote 1, comments on the absence of this trope from the St Gall *troparia* as *noteworthy*. In chapter IV, to prove the contamination of litergy, he cites as evidence the *Daniel* of Beauvais and the plays of Hilarius. In this he is correct and to these he might have added the Benediktbeuern plays. But in the *Daniel* of Beauvais we have a school play; in Hilarius, a clear case of a wandering scholar, to which group (*Vaganten*) the Benediktbeuern plays almost surely belong; and all of them are one hundred and fifty years or more beyond the *Visitatio* in its earliest stage. When on page 53 he men-

[1] For illustration of normal manner of singing a *responsory*, a matter in which Carghill is correct, see Young, *Officium Pastorum* (*cit. supra*), 342–344; and for discussion of the place and method of singing the chant see Wagner (*cit. supra*), chapter VIII.

tions the Winchester *Sepulchrum* as the only surviving specimen of 'liturgical drama' in England, he has apparently forgotten the Shrewbury Fragments. Again, who still holds that the Chester Resurrection play, or any of the plays in the vernacular cycles, is derived *directly* from liturgical drama? On page 98, in attempting to convict Sepet of making an 'inexplicable blunder,' he calls the prophets at the close of *Le Mystère d'Adam*, prophets of doom or judgment and not of the coming of Christ. But Paul Studer in his introduction to this play (1918), pp. xix and xxxi, emphasizes that *Adam* is incomplete and that 'either deliberately or through an oversight, a copyist has inserted immediately after it the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement*, which has been shown to belong to another work and is written in another dialect.'

The present reviewer is quoted once (p. 64); then as an illustration of a typical evolutionist: 'There have been extremists, evolutionists *par excellence*; these latter are too numerous to call by roll, hence we shall have to be satisfied with example . . . Finally, Professor G. R. Coffman, implicitly accepting the growth theory for the mysteries, seeks and finds (so he thinks) a liturgy from which the miracle plays likewise grew (*A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play, passim*).' Now this happens to be probably the most unfortunate illustration he could have selected for his purpose. In the first place, the preface to this study expresses the belief that circumstances and conditions of the eleventh century explain the origin of the miracle play, not only as so its type but also as to its form and spirit (cf. also, *A New Approach to Mediaeval Latin Drama* [*cit. supra*], *passim*). In the second place, a section of chapter II is devoted to an analysis and rejection of the theory of evolution as applied to the miracle play. In the third place, the saints' play is projected against the cultural background of the eleventh century. And finally — here the irony — there is advanced as a theory for the possible origin of the miracle play that of the contamination of the liturgy of St Nicholas' feast day by humanistic monks (*op. cit*, p. 51ff. For article in refutation of this theory see Young, *Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play, cit. supra.*) To point a moral here, the reviewer is convinced that in literary matters, when we substitute wherever possible for 'growth,' 'evolution,' and allied biological terms, such words or phrases as 'individual creation,' 'imitation,' 'adaptation,' 'literary fashion or convention,' and 'literary tradition,' we shall gain immeasurably in critical soundness and in clarity. Literature is not an organic growth nor something to be biologically propagated. It is an artistic product of individual minds; and its increase or decline in volume and variety is best characterized by the terms suggested above. Such a terminology would suggest at once the fallacy of applying the term 'evolution' to the Towneley cycle (chapter VII) but would indicate a logical reason for connecting the plays with a literary tradition.

Though it would leave a place for the individual author in the Towneley cycle, Dr Carghill must remove the strictures imposed by Miss Foster ['Was Gilbert Pilkington the Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*,' *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 124–136] before we can accept Gilbert Pilkington, as he desires. It is this indisputable literary tradition which renders impossible the naïve theory of creation and compilation for English vernacular plays, formulated by Dr Carghill (chapters IV and VII).

In final estimate, then, one is forced to observe that this book ignores the great body of recognized work already done in this field and that its main conclusions rest on discredited or unsupported conjectures. Furthermore, it is based on the following unjustified assumptions: (1) that there has been no critical examination of Sepet's theory; (2) that this theory is still accepted *in toto* as formulated by him; (3) that minstrels descended from the mimes and that monks of their own initiative wrote only uncontaminated devotional literature; (4) and that there is no essential historical continuity through the centuries for mediaeval religious drama, both Latin and vernacular. To put the case directly, this study does not justify itself either constructively or destructively.

Large tasks suggested by this book are a study of mediaeval music in relation to the origin and the early stages of religious drama, a comprehensive consideration of the place of secular influences in the shaping of mediaeval religious drama, and a further consideration of Byzantine and other Oriental influences.

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OLGA DOBIACHE-ROJDESTVENSKY, *Les Poésies des Goliards, Groupées et Traduites avec le Texte Latin en Regard.* (*Les Textes du Christianisme* IX) Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1931. Paper. pp. 272.

THIS volume, besides providing a convenient anthology of texts and translations from the secular Latin poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, presents a scholarly résumé of knowledge in a field which has, since its first exploration by Mone, Wright, Dumeril, and Grimm, proved increasingly attractive to the student of mediaeval life and letters. The author has not limited her view to poems which are ascribed in manuscripts to the mythical Philistine Archbishop Golias or to those which actually embody the Goliardic idea. She rather follows the tradition, now well established, of grouping together as the products of a common inspiration, a wide variety of verse — satiric, bacchanalian, or erotic — written in non-classical Latin measures and circulated throughout Europe by academic and ecclesiastical wanderers of every sort. Save for an abundance of fragmentary quotation,

only thirty-one poems are included and not all of these in complete form. Yet the range of the literature is well represented. The texts are grouped under the following headings: Le Pape et la Cour de Rome; L'Evêque; Le Curé; Le Moine; Le Monde Chrétien; L'Ecole et la Vie; La Nature et L'Amour. From the standpoint of purely poetic interest a disproportionate amount of space is given to anti-ecclesiastical satire. Except for the memorable *Confessio Goliae* and the vagabond narratives of Hugo of Orleans, the most precious expressions of the school are the anonymous lyrics, and anthologies like those of Symonds and Waddell convey a better idea of what deserves to survive than this more historically balanced collection.

By way of compensation, the present work gives in condensed yet readable form a really scientific account of the facts regarding this branch of mediaeval literature, together with abundant guidance to those who wish to carry the study into detail. The origin and exact significance of the terms Golias, Goliard, are correctly stated. The part played in the movement by known individuals is presented in a clear and well-documented discussion. There is, in addition to the data given in connection with the individual texts, a valuable list of Goliardic manuscripts and a chronologically arranged bibliography (the best now available) of special studies on the subject. The introductions to the several groups of poems treat very briefly of the relevant aspects of mediaeval society. Mme Dobiache-Rojdestvensky is inclined to discount the importance of the Goliardic poems as historical sources — a point of view for which she is commended in the notice prefixed to the volume by Ferdinand Lot.

The concluding chapter emphasizes the fact that Goliardic literature, while it is an authentic expression of irresponsible and vagabonding academic youth, was initiated and largely maintained by poets of high distinction, by famous masters rather than obscure scholars. It represents a pagan reaction against the dominance of ascetic ideals — a reaction which set in naturally and inevitably when once the mediaeval mind had embarked with Abelard on untravelled courses of speculation. Flourishing unchecked in the atmosphere of relative freedom characteristic of the academic and ecclesiastical world in the century following the death of the beloved master, the Goliardic spirit fell a martyr to the intolerance and repression of a later epoch. University life, disorganized and irregular, but vitalized by enthusiastic discipleship, became by the end of the thirteenth century cold and regimented. The wayward elements in the learned rabble were looked on with severer eyes; the more sober could no longer indulge in a relaxed geniality. The family of Golias accordingly became a sect, proscribed in the councils of the church, and abandoned by the genius which had once illumined it.

This generalization is interesting and may be sound. In considering, how-

ever, the decline of secular Latin writing in accentual meters, we may well ask how far it was due simply to the rise of a corresponding poetry in the vernacular. The looser satirical and lyric verse in the national literatures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must often have been written by individuals of a type identical with the older Goliards. It certainly inherits their traditions and is addressed to the similar interests. François Villon is mentioned by Lot as 'le dernier des Goliards, le plus grand de tous, le seul grand.' But the Scottish Dunbar and the English Skelton are also in a sense Goliards, and there is no need, despite the unquestionable social changes, of assuming any real break in the tradition of learned minstrelsy from the twelfth century to the sixteenth.

A word may be added regarding the French translations. They are line for line renderings in rather literal prose. The difficulties in some of the originals make such interpretations very useful. An exceptional literary sally is to be found in the French version of the lines from the *Confessio:*

> 'Si ponas Hippolytum hodie Papiae,
> non erit Hippolytus in sequenti die:
> Veneris in thalamos ducunt omnes viae,
> non est in tot turribus turris Alethiae.'

The translation reads, with allusion to the *Phèdre*, 'Parmi tant de tours, pas une pour Aricie.' The alteration of the stock expression 'tower of truth' is unwarranted, and it obscures the reminiscence of Theodulus, whose *Ecloga* contributed the names Pseustis and Alethia to the mediaeval pantheon of allegory.

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G. K. Loukomski, *Kiev, Ville Sainte de Russie.* Paris: J. Danguin, 1929. Paper. Pp. xv+119. Frs. 225.

Apart from the unfortunate fact that there is no satisfactory manual of the subject in English, the study of Russian architecture and iconography has been singularly facilitated and encouraged by the existence of such complete basic works as Tolstoi-Kondakov's *Russian Antiquities* and the more recent and luxurious *History of Russian Art* prepared under the supervision of Igor Grabar. Scholars desirous of making known the essential elements of early Russian artistic development have thus seldom been obliged to pass outside the limits set by these authoritative sources. Such studies as L. Réau's *L'Art Russe des Origines à Pierre le Grand* (Paris, 1921) and, more recently, V. Nikolski's *Istoriya Russkovo Iskusstva* (Berlin, 1923) accordingly follow in large measure the path thus traced. Mr. Loukomski's monograph, however, occupies a somewhat exceptional position, in view of the recognized architectural competence of the author and his experience after

the Revolution as Chairman of the Committee entrusted with the detailed examination of the architectural monuments in Kiev. The author is not less qualified as a student than as an artist; in addition to a large number of photographs, Mr Loukomski has enhanced the artistic merit of his treatise by including reproductions of a series of his own aquarelles and sketches which ably reflect the characteristic charm of Ukrainian baroque. The monograph is introduced by a suggestive preface from the pen of Professor Diehl.

The early artistic life of Kiev under Christian inspiration was not a long one. The first missionaries to Kiev appear to have been sent by Photius after the Varangian raid upon Constantinople in 860. It is by no means clear, however, to what extent Christianity penetrated Kiev at this early date. In any case, the first church mentioned by the sources as existing in Kiev is that of St Elias, of which the location is unknown. This church is noted in the *Primary Chronicle* under 945 in a passage which would seem to indicate that the faith was first introduced by Varangians who had come into contact with it in Constantinople. The Princess Olga, herself of Scandinavian extraction, whose domestic priest is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Caer.* II, 15; ed. Bonn, p. 598) on the occasion of her visit to the Greek capital in 957, was accordingly subject to Christian influences at home before her official conversion under Greek auspices. Yet the meeting-places of the Christian minority in Kiev before Vladimir's day must have been but humble chapels. The first ambitious churchly edifice constructed by Vladimir himself was that dedicated to the Virgin of the Tithe (*Desyatinnaya*), begun in 989 and finished *ca.* 995. He likewise constructed a church dedicated to St Basil of which the exact location is uncertain. It is unlikely, however, that either of these churches long preserved its original aspect in view of the destruction of the churches in Kiev during the conflagration of 1017. In fact, the chief monument among the churches of Kiev and (despite its baroque accessories) one of the greatest archaeological treasures in all Russia is the Cathedral of St Sophia, begun by Yaroslav in 1017 along with other ecclesiastical edifices of which only fragments survive. Mr Loukomski rightly stresses the evidence that St Sophia was started in 1017 and not in 1037, as stated in the *Primary Chronicle;* the disastrous fire of the former year was doubtless a motive in its conception. The two other most noteworthy mediaeval churches in Kiev are the Cathedral of St Michael, founded in 1108, and the Church of St Cyril, dating from 1139. The latter is the only mediaeval church in the city not disfigured by later architectural appendages. For example, the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Crypt Monastery, though dating from 1089, has been so frequently rebuilt and enlarged as to possess practically no mediaeval features whatever. The whole city was eventually laid waste by the Tatars in 1240, and work of re-

construction on the orthodox churches was not undertaken until the early sixteenth century. Direct artistic contact with Constantinople and the Near East thus lasted somewhat less than four hundred years.

After an extremely superficial introductory chapter on the historical rôle of Kiev, Mr Loukomski takes up the origins of South Russian ecclesiastical architecture, appropriately dwelling on the evidences of Armenian and Georgian influence upon early Ukrainian construction in the light of the researches of Strzygowski, Diehl, Schmidt, and Milyeyev. This influence was, in all likelihood, transmitted less through Byzantium than through Tmutorakan, the flourishing Russian outpost on the strait of Kerch. One of the chief evidences of Caucasian influence is the similarity of the floor plan of St Sophia in Kiev to that of the church at Mokvi, in Abkhazia, while the method of foundation construction in the case of the *Desyatinnaya* is more Caucasian than Byzantine. Indeed, the measurements of various early Kievan churches undertaken in 1918–1919 by Mr Loukomski and various collaborators confirm the thesis that the eleventh and twelfth century churches of Southern Russia are not exclusively the product of Byzantine influence, despite certain coincidences in plan, detail, and masonry. A further departure from Byzantine practice is the simultaneous use in St Sophia of both mosaic and fresco and a marked independence as well in choice of subjects as in the artistic interpretation of the Liturgy not only in this cathedral but in other churches of the period. Mr Loukomski's analysis of the mural decorations in St Sophia, while not as complete as that supplied by Tolstoi-Kondakov (I, 116 ff.), is notwithstanding the best description now available to students unacquainted with Russian. Unfortunately, the author makes no detailed mention of the unique Byzantine frescoes of hunting and hippodrome scenes which adorn the walls of the staircases of St Sophia (Tolstoi-Kondakov I, 147–169).

Among the mediaeval churches of Kiev, apart from St Sophia, Mr Loukomski concentrates his attention on St Michael's and St Cyril's, but without describing the important mosaic of the Eucharist in the former. His discussion of the frescoes in St Cyril's is, on the other hand, of special value, since it supplements the cursory treatment in Tolstoi-Kondakov (I, 163–166) and Réau (p. 109). In view of their richness and diversity of subject-matter, as well as of the wall and arch space covered, these frescoes possess considerable artistic and historical interest.

Mr Loukomski's concluding chapters on Ukrainian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though falling outside the limits of our chronological interest, deserve mention as an appreciative and accurate treatment of this relatively unfamiliar phase of Eastern European art. The photographs, water-colors, and sketches in this section of the book are of particular merit.

Apart from a trifling number of textual inaccuracies which are of comparatively slight importance to art students, I note one error in location: the beautiful church of the Virgin Intercessor, one of the greatest creations of Russian artistic genius, built by Andrei Bogolyubski in 1165, is situated, not 'à Nerli,' but at the confluence of the river Nerl with the Klyazma a short distance east of Vladimir. Mr Loukomski's book is a credit alike to author and publisher, and a precious acquisition for any lover of Russian art.

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Amato Masnovo, *Da Guglielmo d'Auvergne a San Tomaso d'Aquino.* Vol. I. *Guglielmo d'Auvergne e l'Ascesa verso Dio.* Milano: Università Cattolica, 1930. Pp. viii+283.

Dr Masnovo states in the preface of this book: 'Modern historiography of the Middle Ages has taken little pains to describe fully the lively contrasts of doctrines and their successive developments.' To fill this gap, he set himself 'to put in due relief these contrasts and this process of development of doctrines from the time of William of Auvergne to Thomas Aquinas.' To trace the history of this development which covers the first seventy years of the thirteenth century and in which we meet the greatest mediaeval philosophers, 'the usual monographic method is unsuitable'; for convenience, however, the author has set his study, which is essentially comparative, upon a monographic framework that supplies the needed historical background.

The central figure of this first volume, soon to be followed by others, is William of Auvergne, the learned and witty bishop of Paris (1228–1249), 'who loved epigrams and good wine without ceasing to be a God-fearing man and without ever abdicating his right to think with his own head.' He seems to have been more responsible than the Papal Legate for the failure to pacify the students of Paris after the famous riots of 1229, and for their consequent strike and emigration to other 'studia.' It also seems that William's anti-Aristotelian convictions had something to do with the policy adopted by him on that occasion, as well as in the appointment of Roland of Cremona, the first Dominican friar to hold a chair in the university, which took place during the exodus of the students. On this point, however, Masnovo's assumption seems to be wrong, for Mandonnet has given the evidence that the appointment took place before that time. The Dominicans in this early period had not yet espoused the cause of Aristotelianism.

Dr Masnovo's book contains a learned and detailed exposition of William's thinking, especially on the problem of the existence of God, analyzed in his treatise *De Primo Principio* or *De Trinitate.* This survey leads Dr Masnovo to the conclusion that the judgment passed upon William's teach-

ing on this doctrine, as well as on his whole philosophical system, by various scholars who have written monographs and essays on his philosophy, such as Werner, Valois, Guttman, Baumgartner, von Bülow, and Schindele, are inaccurate and require revision. William is usually described as an eclectic thinker lacking consistency; an opponent of Aristotelianism and at the same time borrowing from Aristotle important principles and theories; a follower of the ontologism of Anselm and of extreme realism. On the contrary, according to Dr Masnovo, the presumed accord of William with Aristotle on important points, such as the definition of the soul, is only verbal, apparent, but not real. In spite of a certain similarity in the terminology of William and that of Anselm's *Prologium*, William's argument has nothing in common with the famous 'id quod maius cogitari nequit' of Anselm. No less mistaken is the classification of William as an extreme realist. And as for William's ecleticism, it seems that it has been over-emphasized, that it is much less inconsistent than it is assumed to be, and that from this point of view William of Auvergne fares better if compared, for instance, to Alexander of Hales. Of the two, William is a more original thinker and deserves to be better known. For Alexander, in spite of the glory bestowed upon him by the Franciscans, represents essentially the old philosophical school with all its narrow traditions; while William, notwithstanding his conservativism, was on many points an innovator and a precursor of the following generation of thinkers. The misfortune of D'Auvergne was that he 'caruit iliade.' The Iliad of mediaeval philosophers was usually the work of the religious order to which they belonged. But a poor secular priest, even if he was bishop of Paris, did not have behind him a religious order to sing his praises and did not leave after him any one to provide for his name and his glory.

William of Auvergne was not without influence in the philosophical systematization of Thomas Aquinas. A direct influence of his writings is to be found much later in the works of David Hume who while in France became acquainted with the published treatises of the mediaeval thinker and derived from them some of his 'original views,' though without mentioning his name. Dr Masnovo's analysis of D'Auvergne William's system is on the main convincing. The attentive reader, however, sometimes wonders whether the interpretation of certain rather obscure and involved passages of the text, explained by Dr Masnovo in the light of later philosophical elaborations, rather than at their face value, do not add to William's thought something that is not really there, especially when this thought is paraphrased into modern philosophical terminology. After all, Dr Masnovo does not deny that William's system lacks consistency and his theories show here and there evident contradictions. But notwithstanding some hesitation in accepting all the conclusions of this book, no one can fail to appreciate its

scholarly value. It is undoubtedly one of the most useful contributions to the history of mediaeval philosophy among those published during these last years.

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Charles G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xlix+214. $5.00.

This is a superb piece of work. As the sub-title indicates, it contains 'The Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* in an English Version with Introductory Essay and Commentary.' The introduction is illuminatingly erudite; the translation is excellent; the notes are succinct, but amply informative. This work is also timely, considering the present revival of humanistic discussion, and very significant, inasmuch as Boccaccio reveals in those two books in defense of poetry (the first thirteen books concern the actual genealogy), perhaps more than anywhere else, the humanistic trend which, in the mind of this pioneer, was asserting itself over his orthodox, mediaeval background.

Boccaccio reveals, moreover, in his characteristic style, at times most vigorous, at others repetitive and prolix, his own potent personality and his fervent enthusiasm for pagan poetry, for beauty, and for learning. His argumentation is a polemic, full of virulent invective in Book xiv; in Book xv, he starts out in a tone of humble apology, but soon shifts to all-demolishing diatribe. His quarrel is a very important chapter in the quarrel waged at all times by learning and the appreciation of beauty, which are ever in the minority, against ignorance, which is always overwhelming and naturally despises what it cannot understand.

Very wisely Professor Osgood decided, in his translation, in favor of current, not archaic English, excluding, for instance, the use of the second person singular, which is now so awkward. In one place only does he lapse into the 'thou' form (p. 47). His translation is so consistently apt and felicitous, that one hesitates to disagree with him even in a few minor instances. 'Office buildings,' however, presumably for *fori* (p. 32), is too modern and too American. There are no office buildings in Italy today, let alone in Boccaccio's time. 'Gentle' for *nobilis* (p. 44) might be pedantically questioned; *nocturna certamina* means not merely 'at night' (p. 129), but 'nocturnal bouts.' (The salacious flavor is in good Decameronic style.)

The typographically perfect book has probably never been published. Cavillous though it may seem, therefore, the conscience of this reviewer forces him to pluck even in this splendid volume the following little slips. In quotations from a foreign language, the syllabication of that language, not the English, should be used. (Printers always make this mistake.)

Hence, not *ver-amente* (p. xlviii, note) but *vera-mente;* not *ration-abilium* (p. 160) but *ratio-nabilium.* The following words appear to be incorrect: *opere volgare* (p. vii) for *opere volgari; Arragon* (p. 55) for *Aragon;* piu (p. 158) for più; *Bulletino* (p. 188) for *Bullettino; Mathematiche* (p. 188) for *Matematiche; Sulmone* (p. 190) for *Sulmona.* Coluccio's surname is usually given as Salutati, not Salutato (pp. xliii, xlv, 151, 191, 195); *Giacopo* (p. 51) should be *Jacopo,* which is correctly spelled elsewhere (p. 166). Geographical names might well be modernized, hence not *Brundisium* (pp. 27, 55, 89), but *Brindisi;* not *Luna* (p. 30 — though *Luna* is correct in the note), but *Luni.*

In the notes, there are two tiny typographical inaccuracies: the note to 14.1 is omitted (p. 147); the number to note 6 (p. 188) should be deleted. It is assumed that the commentator intended these notes to be very brief, otherwise several additional echoes of the *Divine Comedy* might have been mentioned, such as a reference to *Purg.* IX, 24 and *Par.* XXIX, 67, — *concistoro* and *concistorio* for 'consistory' (p. 14), etc. The note on Apelles (p. 155) might possibly have mentioned the fact that, in Boccaccio's time, Lucian's works, which speak of Apelles, had not yet been imported into Italy; the note to Boccaccio as a misogynist (p. 197) might have referred to his famous *Corbaccio.*

Though the bibliography that Professor Osgood made use of is very extensive, one misses two or three works that might prove useful: G. Traversari, *Bibliografia boccaccesca,* Città di Castello, 1907, (incidentally, the second volume of this book, though sorely needed, is not likely ever to be compiled); and G. Pansa, *Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona,* Sulmona, 1912, an invaluable book on early Italian humanism. In it we find, for example, two curious fragments of pertinent information: that (p. 159) Guglielino Maramaldo probably wrote a *Genealogy of the Gods* in imitation of Boccaccio, a book which, unfortunately, is no longer extant, and that (p. 182) it was probably Boccaccio who introduced Pizzinghe (see Osgood, p. 188, last note, and p. 189, note 7) to Quatrario. As to the reference to Vergil's house near Mantua (p. 182, top), has not Professor E. K. Rand recently published a study on the subject?[1] Probably this study came out too recently to be consulted.

It seems all too petty, however, even to call attention to such small items in view of Professor Osgood's magnificent job, to which he brought such a splendidly solid background of mediaeval and modern erudition and such skill in the very difficult fine art of translation. All scholars owe him a vote of gratitude, and all libraries should have this book.

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[1] *In Quest of Vergil's Birthplace* (Cambridge, 1930).

S. Harrison Thomson, ed., *Johannis Wyclif Summa de Ente, Libri Primi Tractatus Primus et Secundus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxvi+119. $3.50.

The first two tractates of the twelve which make up the *Summa de Ente* are presented by Dr Thomson for the first time in print. The first, *De Ente in Communi*, is an important addition to the long sequence of discussions of the relation of the categories of logic to the concepts of metaphysics (to which Books iv, vii, and x of the *Metaphysics* and the innumerable mediaeval treatises *De Ente et Essentia* belong). The second, *De Ente Primo in Communi*, proceeds from the transcendentals to the first being, that is, to the source of truth, goodness, and being, in the manner of mediaeval treatises, common in the Augustinian tradition, on the nature of God. Despite its late place in those sequences, the arguments are handled with economy, understanding, and frequently, great originality.

Dr Thomson presents a carefully edited text which has obviously profited by all the devices of the palaeographer and editor: all variant readings are indicated clearly and the pagination of both manuscripts is given. But for all his care with the materials of editing, he has neglected one means which might have been employed to secure a good text, that is, the content of the work. Frequently his readings, though well-authenticated, make no sense, or the better reading is in the footnote; frequently the reader must conjecturally rearrange punctuation or ignore an incorrect reference to Aristotle. For a philosopher, the text will make very uncomfortable reading.

In many cases, the source of these difficulties is clear enough. Instances of each variety can, therefore, be cited readily, and often the trouble can be indicated. First, a doubt arises concerning the relative reliability of the two manuscripts with which Dr Thomson is working. Manuscript *A* is made the basis of the text; *B* is criticized for its glaring mistakes and frequent omissions, the majority of its variant readings being attributed to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the scribe. Yet the editor's confidence (p. xv) that the footnotes make the inferiority of *B* to *A* 'only too obvious' is not corroborated by examination of the volume. There is evidence of carelessness in *B*, but the errors are rather those of a man who understands what he is copying. On the other hand, this edition offers excellent grounds for the belief of Loserth and Dziewicki that the scribe of *A* did not understand the meaning of the text. In many places where the argument is close or sophistical, Dr Thomson has preferred the reading of *B;* it is easy to enumerate other places where a like course should have been followed. Thus in Tractate ii, cap. 2 (p. 72, l. 24–p. 73, l. 4) the text reads,

'Constat enim quod condicionalis et disjunctiva supraposita sunt necessarie et neutra negativa, et econtra, hujusmodi proposiciones sunt formaliter inpossibiles.

"Si deus potest esse ipse non potest esse," "tu es asinus" vel "nulla veritas est" et tamen negativa est affirmativa, igitur non solum affirmativa est inpossibilis.'

Wyclif is arguing against those who hold that only negative propositions are necessary, that affirmative propositions are formally impossible. The text as it stands, however, is nonsense. It is remedied easily by changing the comma after *negativa*, in the second line, to a semicolon, and the period after *impossibles* to a colon, so that *proposiciones* is made to refer to the propositions which follow and not to those mentioned in the first clause (propositions can not be necessary and formally impossible at the same time). Then the statement *negativa est affirmativa* is nonsense; the reading of *B* in the footnote is obviously correct — *neutra est affirmativa* — for Wyclif has answered his opponents by exhibiting, first, two propositions which are necessary, though neither is negative; second, two propositions which are impossible, though neither is affirmative. Moreover, '*tu es asinus*' *vel* '*nulla veritas est*' is not two sentences; it is the negative disjunctive proposition, one of the *proposiciones hujusmodi*, and should be punctuated as one sentence. This passage, moreover, sheds some light on an earlier one which is unintelligible as it stands, apparently through no fault of the text. On page 71, Wyclif had purposed to confirm an argument by three considerations. First, by the truth of a conditional proposition; third, by the necessary truth of two negative propositions; but the second reads 'quod signatum primarium hujus distinctive (!) "tu es" vel "tu non es" est absolute necessarium.' Obviously *distinctive* should read *disjunctive*, though there is no note to indicate that either manuscript has that reading. Again, '*tu es*' *vel* '*tu non es*' is the disjunctive proposition in question, and it should be punctuated as a single proposition. And if this interpretation needed any textual support, it might be added that one would search in vain otherwise for the *condicionalis et disjunctiva supraposita* referred to on page 72 (l. 25). That, however, is not the end of the confusion of the passage. The first confirmation reads: 'Primo per hoc quod veritas hujus condicionalis. Si septem sunt tria et quattuor summa (!) est eterna . . .' Both manuscripts read *sunt* instead of *summa;* as emended the passage is meaningless. It should read 'Primo per hoc quod veritas hujus condicionalis: "Si septem sunt, tria et quattuor sunt," est eterna . . . ' Similarly, the *veritates negative* referred to (p. 71, ll. 27–28) are the two propositions which follow (ll. 28–30); they should be in inverted commas for clarity, particularly since the disjunctive proposition above is so marked off.

These emendations suggested by pages 71–73 are a sample of the uncertainties of the text. To return, however, to the comparison of the readings of *B* with those of *A*, on page 80 (l. 29) the text reads: 'cum genus cause materialis sit melius'; but if one should inquire what the material cause is better than, one would find that it is better than the material cause; more-

over, Wyclif has said that it is useless to seek God among material causes: *materialis* must read (with *B*) *formalis*. Again, on page 81 (ll. 18–19), the text reads: 'Ex istis patet quod non sit possibile multitudinem esse nisi reducatur ad multitudinem principiantem . . . ' This is meaningless in the Aristotelian philosophy (indeed one would have had to read no more than this very treatise to learn that, since Wyclif says on page 101, lines 17–18: 'inpossibile igitur est totam universitatem sensibilem reduci ad multa principia'). As usual, the reading of *B* — *actum* for *multitudinem* — makes sense, but in this case it seems to be a correction of some one trying to make sense of a meaningless reading. The sentence itself gives a clue to its probable history: it is made up of three clauses of which that quoted is the first; the second shows that order is impossible without a first principle of that order; the third shows that potentiality is impossible unless it is reduced to a prior actuality; the first should show that multitude is impossible unless it is reduced to a principle from which the multitude arose. Probably, therefore. it read originally: 'non sit possibile multitudinem esse nisi reducatur ad multitudinem principians.' A grammatically-minded scribe (either the scribe *of A* or one preceding in his tradition) might have remarked that *multitudinem* and *principians* did not agree and substituted *principiantem*. Then a philosophically-minded scribe (*B* or a predecessor) might have remarked that the reading made no sense and then probably substituted *actum* for *multitudinem*. Whatever the conjectural history of the changes, the reading of *A* is impossible, that of *B* possible, though not perfectly satisfactory. Again, it is difficult to know what 'Ideo fere (!) vocatur genus materia' (p. 50, l. 23) could mean, but since genus was called matter to its species very frequently in mediaeval discussions, the footnote reading of *B* — *sepe* for *fere* — is obviously correct. Again, the text runs (p. 59, ll. 24–28),

> 'Tercio patet quod non obest enti (!) univocari quoad aliqua que illis inexistunt' quamvis quoad alia sint multum equivoca vel analoga, ut esse album, simile, usum (!)' durans vel compositum competit tam substancie quam quantitati satis univoce.'

Unless *enti* is read *encia* (with *B*) there is no reason why *illis* and *sint* should be plural. And *usum* could not be predicated univocally, though analogically, of substance and of quantity, whereas *visum* (the reading of *B*, relegated to a footnote) could be. Again, the passage (p. 53, ll. 21–23) which follows is stated as a sophism: 'Hec omnis noticia vel sciencia est cogniti vel scibilis sciencia, quamvis sit ad aliquid capiens suam speciem et condiciones ab objecto,' and Wyclif thanks God that he has been liberated from that opinion. Yet as it stands Wyclif would hold that it is a true proposition (though there would be no reason in this form for *quamvis* as conjunction to the subordinate clause); obviously *nec* (the reading of *B*) must be substituted for *hec*.

These few instances are only some of the places in which the reading followed, that of *A*, is impossible. The list could be lengthened considerably, and if one were to add to it the places in which the reading of *B* is preferable, though *A* is not impossible, it is probable that the greater number of the *B* readings would be raised from the footnotes to the text. Rather more important, however, than the relative value of the two manuscripts are the confusions, usually accentuated by strange punctuation, which are permitted to stand unresolved, even when one of the manuscripts offers the materials for their solution. Thus the sentence (p. 44, ll. 3–6): 'Et ad illum sensum dicitur aliquid, id est aliquod, quod est transcendens,' is open to two interpretations, neither of which is possible in the above punctuation; as it stands it makes philosophical nonsense. Scribe *A* seems to have intended: 'Et ad illum sensum dicitur aliquid (id est, aliquod quod est) transcendens . . . ' The reading of *B* makes it seem that the editor and the scribe of *A* are conspiring to give grammatical respectability to a logical distinction and a bit of etymology. His version would read: 'Et ad istum sensum dicitur, "aliquid, id est aliquod quid, est transcendens" . . . ' that is, *aliquid* is a transcendental (see below for the editor's confusions concerning this term) because it is a *being* or *something which is* (*ens*) in such wise that it is not *something which is not*, that is, it is *aliquod quid*, some quiddity, or 'some what.' The choice, in any case, is between these two readings; the one which appears in the text can not stand. And incidentally, on the same page (p. 44, l. 8) the word *verbum* appears with no variant reading noted; even without manuscript authority, however, it must read *unum*. The statement is that it is absolutely necessary to call God, and especially God the Father, *verbum*, but the reason given — *cum non est in eo est et non* — is the *indivisio affirmacionis et negacionis* given a few lines above as the definition of *unum*. Moreover, the discussion is of the transcendentals *unum*, *verum*, and *bonum; verbum* has no place in the list, just as it makes no sense in the sentence.

Sometimes the transformation to intelligibility is effected by a change in punctuation alone. For example, some device should be used in the expression (p. 1, ll. 15–16): 'cum cognicio et sciencia, si res est, sit prima possibilis,' to make clear that the *si res est* is the *sciencia* in question; the clause could be enclosed in inverted commas. Sometimes, however, neither punctuation nor the variant reading will save the sense; occasionally (as in the case of *verbum* above) the context will supply the hint, but there remain passages which give only vague indications of what their true form should have been. The context, however, makes clear that 'Supponitur autem pro re quando distincte intenditur illam rem affirmari vel negari de apposito (!), ut negacio (!) intendit per hoc: punctus multiplicatur ubique quod singularis punctus, set communis multiplicatur' (p. 23, ll. 17–20), is nonsense.

No variant reading is suggested for *apposito*, but it must be *opposito*. *Nemo* (the reading of *B*) should be substituted for *negacio*. Again, the expression *postem et proposicionem* (p. 37, l. 28) can not stand; it is difficult to be sure what the reading should have been, but honesty in editing would have required at least that some device be used to indicate that this reading is meaningless; one possibility is that *postem* may be an abbreviation for *positionem*, a current translation of the Aristotelian θέσις. Again (p. 95, l. 24) *mtalis predicacio* must be *materialis predicacio*: indeed the expression reappears in this form on page 98, line 8.

These confusions and others like them indicate that the editor is unfamiliar with Aristotle and the tradition of logical discussions in the Middle Ages. This is unmistakably apparent in his treatment of quotations. He says (p. xix), 'In some cases it is possible to give the indication to the Bekker 1831 folio. As we should expect, occasional references are vague, or so paraphrased as to be unrecognizable in the original Greek.' Why this should have been expected is not clear: Wyclif's citations of Aristotle are neat and precise; unlike many of his contemporaries, he usually has one passage in mind, and his indications of it are recognizable; finally, the Latin versions he used are recognizable translations of the Greek. Even more, he uses tags and phrases of traditional distinctions which might have been traced to their source in Aristotle; Dr Thomson, however, attempts to identify only the passages in which the author quotes a specific book of a specific work, and with distressing frequency his identification is wrong. Thus, on page 31 (ll. 24–29) Wyclif quotes Aristotle as saying in the *Categories* that a proposition is true if the thing which it signifies primarily is, false if it signifies primarily a thing which is not; this is referred by footnote to *Tract.* I, cap. v (2^a) which is concerned with the enumeration of the categories (!) instead of to *Tract* III, cap. xii (13^b 26–33), where Aristotle makes precisely the statement Wyclif attributes to him. Again Aristotle is quoted (p. 62, ll. 20–21) as saying in the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας that nouns (*nomina*) can be imposed on things *ad placitum;* the editor corrects this reference by citing Chapter I of the *Categories*, where equivocal, univocal, and derivative words are discussed, but there is nothing there, relative to Wyclif's statement. Wyclif had in mind Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας cap. ii (16^a 19), where Aristotle does say: 'nomen igitur est vox significativa secundum placitum.' Again, on page 11 (ll. 7–8) Wyclif quotes Aristotle: 'quicquid enim hoc (?) didiscerit cognoscit prius in communi ex primo *Posteriorum.*' This is referred to *Post.* I cap. viii (75^b) evidently for no better reason than that that chapter has the heading in the Junta edition: *Demonstrationem non constare ex communibus* (which, if it had any relevance, would negate the point of the quotation); fortunately it is a question of learning, not of demonstration, and the reference is to the famous opening lines of Part I of the *Posterior Analytics:*

'omnis doctrina et omnis disciplina discursiva ex praeexistente fit in cognitione.' Again, on page 46 (l.7), Aristotle is quoted in support of the position that second substances are predicated of their singulars and are wherever they are and eternal and incorruptible; the footnote refers to *Post.* I, cap. vii (which shows that the conclusion of a demonstration is perpetual) instead of *Post.* I, cap. iv, where the subject is discussed (particularly 73^b 25–35). And incidentally the word *supple* (p. 46, l. 6) seems to be a copyist's or a commentator's note; in any event it has no place in the text. But lest the list of instances grow too long, it may be stated briefly that the following references are similarly incorrect: notes 1 and 2 of page 59, note 1 of page 60, note 2 of page 86. Note 1 of page 96, note 1 of page 97, and note 1 of page 106 refer to the Latin translation but not to the Greek. The reference to the *De Priori* (p. 53, ll. 1–2) should be to the *Categories* and not to the *Metaphysics:* there is nothing in the chapter on priority and posteriority in the *Metaphysics* relevant to Wyclif's argument, while the *Categories* are precisely relevant (to say nothing of the fact that the title commonly refers to the treatise in the *Categories*). This instance, indeed, may be used as an example of the precision with which Wyclif quotes; his argument is: 'Si igitur naturaliter "a" signat hominem esse quam istum hominem esse est dare gradum significationis.' His citation of Aristotle is for a *regula* by which this may be shown to be so; and indeed Aristotle says, under the discussion of the last type of priority: 'Esse namque hominem, secundum essentiae consequentiam, ad veram de se convertitur orationem.' There is usually no need to cite whole chapters to locate the passage Wyclif has in mind; it is generally a phrase or a few sentences. One need not therefore list the footnotes in which Dr Thomson cites two or three folios or an entire chapter, when he might have referred more economically. Finally, the citation of of Grosseteste (p. 104, n. 2), which Dr Thomson was unable to examine, is ambiguous as it stands: *Summa super VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis cum expositione Sancte Thomae;* Thomas did not write a commentary on Grosseteste, but his *Expositio super libros Physicorum Aristotelis* was frequently printed with the *Summa* of Grosseteste.

Such a variety of slips can be taken as evidence that the editor has read his text without understanding it too clearly and without knowing the literature of which it is a part. The text is, indeed, preceded by a sixteen page statement of its *Argument*, which confirms the inference by presenting a grim parody of the subtle dialectic of Wyclif. In the *Argument*, one has the diagnosis of the confusions of the text. Thus the first tractate, *De Ente in Communi*, is naturally concerned with the transcendentals. The editor has trouble with the word *transcendens;* it seems to have a post-Kantian or at least a mystico-metaphysical connotation for him (as *passion* seems to have a romantic connotation); when rendered at all *transcendens* appears as

universal! These transcendentals, however, are logical transcendentals; they are terms which fall under no category, but accord with all ten of the categories; nothing is found in the nature of things of which they can not be predicated. Wyclif is concerned with the six transcendentals: *res*, *ens*, *verum*, *bonum*, *aliquid*, *unum* (frequently called *reubau* from their initial letters). Clearly, then, if Dr Thomson wishes to follow his tendency to capitalize Being, he should capitalize Something and Thing as well as the other three, since they are predicated convertibly of each other.

The best illustration of the confusions of the *Argument* can be given by paraphrasing some passages of the treatise and contrasting them with the *Argument*. On pages 43–44, Wyclif sums up the relations of the transcendentals to each other. The six transcendentals, he says, are the same in fact: *that which is*, *thing*, and *something* are one analogically, and they are the basis of three passions, namely, *one*, *true*, and *good*. He then proceeds to show the relation of the remaining five transcendentals to that which is (*ens*). *That which is* is most simple of apprehension; it can be added to in two ways (1) by specifying subjective parts (that is, the logical differentiations which fall under it), as rational, the differentia of man, is added to the species animal; (2) by adding quidditative parts, that is, as a whole universal may be added to that which is. (Incidentally *transcendentis* — p. 43, l. 8 — should read *transcendente*). *Something* adds to that which is in the first way but not in the second, that is, as any predicate adds to that which is. Conceived privatively, that which is is *one*, unity being a passion which that which is has from the unity of God, particularly God the Father. In the second way, that which is is conceived as knowable by the intellect, or as *thing* (*res* being derived from *reor* or *ratum*); its passion, the *true*, corresponds to the Son. Finally, since that which is can not be unless it has a beauty of order, it has the third passion, *good*, corresponding to the Holy Spirit. The argument is closely packed and full of the tradition of the discussion in which the distinctions had long been made; needless to say it is therefore technical and difficult. Following is Dr Thomson's paraphrase of the two pages (p. xxvi),

'As Being is the most simple possible concept it serves as the basis of additional differences or species. But these new or additional parts can be only subjective, they cannot be quiditative [*sic*]. Unity, that is, the lack of division by the logical processes of affirmation and negation, is a passion of Being by which anything is said to be one. The universal (*transcendens*) has the passion of unity from the unity of God the Father, the passion of truth from the Son and the passion of order or goodness from the Holy Spirit.'

Apart from the fact that such a statement takes all the logical significance from the position, it contains several misstatements. Properly speaking, the five transcendentals are not species of *ens* (they are predicated convertibly

of it), and therefore they have no proper differentiae under it. In the second place, Wyclif does not say that the parts must be subjective, that they can not be quidditative: he says that these are the two ways in which something can be superadded to that which is — the first gives *aliquid;* the second is not impossible, it is the *secundo modo* referred to on page 44 (l. 9), and yields *res*. The rest of the statement is as adequate as a verbal statement without the backbone of the distinction can be.

Or again, Wyclif takes as his first principle that that which is is (*ens esse*). (This incidentally is closely associated with the definition of truth in the Aristotelian tradition: the definition of *ens* is *id quod est;* that of truth is the affirmation *id quod est esse* or the negation *id quod non est non esse*). This principle can not be proved nor ignored by any knowing being; *that which is* is the minimum that can be known of anything, and therefore the first possible knowledge. But it occurs to Wyclif that Aristotelians will object (objection 3, p. 3, ll. 2 ff) that the first principle is that which is known *per se* first, and that principle is the principle of contradiction — *nichil simul esse et non esse*. He replies (p. 9, ll. 16 ff) that the being of that which is (*ens esse*) is better known than that negative principle, for the negation itself is something which is, and moreover it is assented to only because it states the contradiction between being and not being, the knowledge of which presupposes the knowledge and definition of being. This is an excellently stated argument in Wyclif; it appears in the *Introduction* as follows (pp. xx–xxi),

> 'Let us suppose Being to exist. No knowing subject can know that anything is without having a knowledge of the existence of the transcendent of the Being of that thing, that is, Being. . . . If it further be objected to our definition, i.e. the identity of Knowledge and Being, that a negation may be known before an affirmation and may thus be the principle of knowledge, it is replied: *non sequitur*. A negation may have Being, but it is only by contrariety, *propter repugnanciam*, which presupposes a knowledge of the positive Being.'

The details need not be analysed to show that a fine logical distinction has been made into arrant nonsense, but it must be protested that the relation of *ens* to *esse* is not the relation of *being* to *existence*, as Wyclif himself makes abundantly clear.

The *Argument* of Tractate II mangles Wyclif's doctrine as badly as that of Tractate I. On page 79 (ll. 4 ff), for example, Wyclif gives an accurate statement of the Anselmian argument for the existence of God. He has arrived at a nominal description of God: *that than which a better can not be*, which recalls him to the argument of Anselm (though Anselm, without Wyclif's preliminary arguments, would have said *that than which a better can not be conceived*). Anselm inquired, Wyclif points out, whether God is in intellect alone or in fact as well as in intellect. His argument is that if God

were only in intellect, then that which is in fact as well as in intellect would be better, and therefore by definition God is in fact. In the Introduction (p. xxx) the argument is transformed to *Anselm equates God and the highest good, and shows how it is better that this good exist both actually* (in re) *and in our understanding.*

In a word, finally, this edition is one more illustration of the truth that palaeography and philology are not sufficient equipment for the editing of philosophical texts. There is evidence that Dr Thomson expended every care on the preparation of his edition, but it is equally clear that he had neither an understanding of what Wyclif is saying nor an acquaintance with the literature in which Wyclif was steeped. That he should have prepared so good a text under the circumstances is testimony to his diligence. But there should be in his work warning for future editors: he himself promises, in his *Introduction*, further editions of the *Tractates* of Wyclif. It is to be hoped that he will repeat his service to the learned world by bringing out more of Wyclif; but it is further to be hoped that he will recognize that it is not impossible to find the means by which to insure that his text make sense.

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R. Trautmann, *Die Altrussische Nestorchronik in Übersetzung herausgegeben.* Leipzig: Markert & Peters, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxii+302, and 1 map.

It has been a matter of regret that, since the death of A. A. Shakhmatov, for years the chief investigator of Russian annalistic literature, Slavic philologists have devoted comparatively little attention to this extremely fruitful field and have failed to take any steps toward either confirming or refuting the numerous highly subjective hypotheses for which Shakhmatov's dominant reputation has long secured at least tacit acceptance. The only scholar of recognized standing to protest against Shakhmatov's 'Unmenge von Redaktionen' and 'ausschweifende Kombinationen' has heretofore been that Nestor of Slavic philologists, Professor Alexander Brückner, who has repeatedly raised his voice against the 'echt nihilistische Zerstörung' of the text of the *Primary Chronicle* (conventionally referred to as the *Povest Vremennych Let*) which Shakhmatov's theory has entailed. This great literary monument, composed (as far as internal evidence indicates) toward the end of the eleventh century and brought to a close by its compiler shortly after 1113, appears in two basic redactions, of which the earliest representatives are one text of 1377 (the Laurentian) and another of *ca.* 1450 (the Hypatian). It also figures in various modified and frequently abbreviated aspects as a component of numerous local annals in manuscripts of diverse age and provenience, in one of which (the so-called *Sinodalnaya*), the earliest hand

goes back to the early thirteenth century. It is probable that we have no text or redaction which presents the *Primary Chronicle* precisely as the original compiler prepared it. Discrepancies are evident in both the Laurentian and the Hypatian redactions, and this fact, together with the divergencies between these basic texts and the other aspects in which the *Povest* occurs, led Shakhmatov and other investigators to the assumption that it is derived from various earlier annalistic works which Shakhmatov endeavored to reconstruct. The authorship of the *Povest* was long attributed to Nestor, a monk of the historic Crypt Monastery at Kiev toward the close of the eleventh century. The *Povest* itself, however, contains certain statements which make the Nestorian authorship at least highly improbable. In view of the extremely complex problems thus associated with the *Primary Chronicle*, which is an historical source of inestimable value, it is particularly gratifying that the Soviet Academy of Sciences should have brought out diplomatic reproductions of the Laurentian and Hypatian texts, to which Professor Trautmann has now added a German translation which will doubtless prove a valuable tool in the hands of every student of early Russian literature and history, entirely superseding the French translation of L. Leger (Paris, 1884).[1]

In his able introduction, Professor Trautmann fortunately maintains an attitude of reserve toward the theories of his Russian predecessors, and regards the *Povest* 'in der uns überlieferten Gesamtgestalt als einheitliche, von einer bestimmten Persönlichkeit gewollte Schöpfung,' though he admits that a considerable variety of sources has been woven into the text. The justice of this admission is apparent even to the cursory reader, in view of readily discernible selections from Greek chronicles, items of local folklore, excerpts from official documents, quotations from sermons and saints' lives, and even bits of personal narrative which supplement such observations as the compiler was able to collect himself during the half-century in which his contact with official life in Kiev appears to have been intimate. Professor Trautmann is at one with practically all other students of the *Povest* in refusing to admit the colophon in the Laurentian text under 1116 as proof that Silvester, Prior of St Michael's, was the author; all this colophon indicates is that Silvester made a copy in 1116 and therefore that the textual tradition of the Laurentian codex to that point represents substantially the state of the text at that juncture (except for the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomach interpolated under 1096, and possibly a few other items of less importance). The translator is equally reserved with regard to the author-

[1] Professor Trautmann's text, together with my own translation of the *Primary Chronicle* and extensive introduction (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930) together present for the first time in any western language an inclusive summary of the problems connected with this source.

ship of Nestor. I agree with Trautmann that Nestor's connection with the *Chronicle* 'ist deutlich nicht zu erweisen,' but cannot follow him in the opinion that 'auch nichts Entscheidendes dagegen spricht.' If the *Povest* is accepted as an 'einheitliche Schöpfung,' it is practically impossible not to identify the author of the sections treating the Crypt Monastery and St Theodosius with the compiler himself. The writer of these sections states categorically under 1051 that he joined the monastery at the age of seventeen while Theodosius was still prior. Nestor, on the contrary, in his own *Life of Theodosius*, admits that he did not know Theodosius personally, but was admitted to the order by Stephen, who succeeded the great Prior in 1074. The discrepancy between these two statements cannot be reconciled without recourse to hypotheses which Trautmann himself would evidently be the last to approve in view of his pointed remark that 'die Annahme von Zwischenformen und das Zerschlagen [der *Chronik*] in hundert oder auch in tausend Stücke ist lediglich von der Spielleidenschaft und dem Temperament des Forschers abhängig.'

With propriety, Professor Trautmann notes the reaction of nascent nationalism toward deprecation and even concealment of the numerous contacts between the principality of Kiev and the Catholic west. Marriages with Polish or Hungarian princes are occasionally mentioned, but the unhappy union of Vsevolod's daughter Eupraxia-Adelheid with Henry IV, the marriage of Anna Yaroslavna with Henry I of France, the Swedish origin of Yaroslav's wife Ingigerðr-Irene, and the various imperial and papal embassies are passed over by the Chronicler in utter silence. Records of early relations with Scandinavia, some of the details of which are happily preserved in the Norse Sagas, are reduced to a minimum. A notable section of the Introduction is also devoted by Professor Trautmann to an appreciation of the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomach; while not impossible, it is by no means as certain as Professor Trautmann indicates that the scribe of the Laurentian codex was responsible for its interpolation.

In view of the numerous errors in the Laurentian redaction, Professor Trautman is entirely justified in pursuing an eclectic policy on the basis of the variants in the Hypatian, Radziwill, Academičeski, and Troitzki codices. This procedure must, however, be employed with judgment, as one example will indicate. *Laur.* col. 142 (*ad* 1016) reads: 'i by togda Jaroslav Nověgorodě let 28 (Yaroslav had then been in Novgorod 28 years).' Trautmann prefers the reading of *HRA:* 'bě že togda Jaroslav lět 28 (damals war Jaroslav 28 Jahre alt).' As the *Povest* notes under 1054, Yaroslav died in that year at the age of 76; he was therefore born in 978, and was thus 38 years old (not 28) in 1016. The figure 28 actually refers to the length of his sojourn in Novgorod, to which he was transferred (at an early age, to be sure) from Rostov after the death of his oldest half-brother Vysheslav. *L*

is therefore right, and *HRA* wrong. I note also what is doubtless a printer's error, the repeated use of *Indikationsjahr* for *Indiktionsjahr*, as well as the erroneous statement (p. 239) that 'die Thronbesteigung Kaiser Michaels III erfolgte 860'; Michael actually came to the throne January 21, 842. On the whole, Professor Trautmann's translation testifies to his remarkably careful study and accurate knowledge of the text; I regret, however, that he contented himself with only brief comments on the theories of Shakhmatov and Istrin, which must be subjected to the most rigid verification before it can be claimed that our knowledge of the *Povest* is registering any appreciable progress.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Deutschen Bilderhandschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts-Bibliothek.* Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1927. Cloth. Pp. vii+118.

H. Wegener, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Deutschen Handschriften bis 1500.* Band v, Miniaturhandschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek (Berlin). Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1928. Pp. vii+182.

After Adolf von Oechelhäuser had treated the manuscripts of the early Middle Ages and two important later manuscripts of the Heidelberg University Library, *Der wälsche Gast* (*Pal. Germ. 389*), and 'Die grosse Heidelberger (Manesse'sche) Liederhandschrift' (*Pal. Germ. 848*), in the two parts of his *Miniaturen der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg*, Hans Wegener has now undertaken a descriptive catalogue of the 78 remaining German illuminated manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca Palatina* from the beginning of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Of these only the two *Geomantiebücher* can be considered splendid examples of manuscript illumination comparable to French codices of the same period. The earlier of these two, (*Pal. Germ. 832*), of Bavarian origin, *ca.* 1490, has a fine astronomical chart and a large number of miniatures; the later, (*Pal. Germ. 833*), is a copy of the earlier manuscript, made at the command of Pfalzgraf Otto Heinrich by Albrecht Glockendon the Younger in 1557. A small number of the other manuscripts were also prepared by special command, but most of them are merely examples of the bourgeois art of the time; in part, however, of careful workmanship and rather high artistic quality. Very well represented are the courtepics of the Middle Ages; *Flore und Blancheflor*, *Lanzelot*, *Parzival*, *Tristan*, the *Eneide* of Heinrich von Veldeke, the *Renner* of Hugo von Trimberg; ecclesiastical works are less common, books of prayers altogether lacking.

The compiler's treatment of these manuscripts is exemplary. Compelled to avoid detailed description because of the large number of illustrations,

he has, nevertheless, included all the material of iconographic importance. He has given exact information as to the manner of representation employed by the various illustrators, using a simplified terminology of his own manufacture; and most important of all, on the basis of the style of the illustrations, the dialect of the text, and the costume of the figures, he has tried to arrange the manuscripts according to provenience and chronology. Doubtless minor revisions of his arrangement may have to be undertaken by scholars from time to time. Without challenging any of his results, in this brief review, we may commend him for his rather original method of procedure in cataloging illuminated manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, and praise his publishers for the handsome reproductions and the clearly typed text of this imposing volume, which is, in every respect, worthy of the important matter it presents.

Employing the same method and manner of presentation as in his earlier volume on the Heidelberg manuscripts, Wegener also treats the miniatures and initials of the German manuscripts of the Prussian State Library of Berlin up to 1500. Most of these belong to the fifteenth, a few to the fourteenth and three to the thirteenth century. As most of these manuscripts were assembled in Berlin during the nineteenth century, the collection is not only rich but extremely varied, representing almost all of the German speaking territory between Flanders, Switzerland, Styria, and the Baltic provinces. This circumstance makes determination of the provenience of the manuscripts extremely difficult, and renders necessary a division of them into two large groups. Of these, the first treats the upper and middle German manuscripts, the second, the low German and Dutch. The dividing line, drawn approximately between Mainz and Leipzig, is determined less by dialectic than by stylistic considerations. Within these groups the arrangement of manuscripts is primarily chronological, only secondarily local.

As Hermann Degering has prepared a *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* in three volumes from the literary and philological point of view, Wegener can restrict himself in his descriptive catalogue to the illustrations of the manuscripts, the initials, and miniatures. These are treated in the same original and masterful manner which he established as his method in his earlier work on the late manuscripts of the Heidelberg Library. There are brief indications on individual pictures, pertinent comments on the style and technique of the different illustrators, who are represented by their most typical rather than by their most artistic performances. The reproductions are numerous and excellent. The work takes its important place as one of the six contemplated volumes, which are to catalogue all of the occidental manuscripts of the

Berlin Library, and as a valuable contribution to the still unwritten history of book illustration in the fifteenth century.

Arthur Burkhard,
Harvard University

Wilhelm Weinberger, *Wegweiser durch die Sammlungen altphilologischer Handschriften (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. ccix, Abh. 4). Vienna Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1930. Paper. Pp. 136.

In 1902, with the encouragement of August Engelbrecht, Professor Weinberger prepared, for the special needs of editors in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, a most useful *Catalogus Catalogorum*, which contained a list of the catalogues of all modern libraries of any note that contain manuscripts. Hitherto the most serviceable list of this sort was contained in the *Catalogue alphabétique des livres imprimés mis à la disposition des lecteurs dans la salle de travail du département des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, compiled by M. Omont and blessed by many a worker in the Bibliothéque Nationale. The present affair is intended primarily for the classical scholar, as Professor Weinberger's first volume was intended for editors of patristic texts. In both cases the achievement far outran the title. A library containing works of the Fathers generally has at least a few works of the Pagans, and where the latter are found, the former will be even more abundant. The *Wegweiser* has other features, too. It opens with an introduction in which much is said in brief space on the transmission of Classical works both Greek and Latin. A general bibliography is succeeded by the main body of the work, a list of names of places, not only of libraries, but of scholars and collectors. In every case where the information is available, the name is followed by a list of the places or of the owners whence manuscripts came to the library in question. Thus there are 84 such entries under the Staatsbibliothek of Munich, and over 250 under the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Nor do private libraries, including those in our own country, fail to be thus analyzed. Under the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York, 23 sources are mentioned, and four of those whence the treasures of G. A. Plimpton, Esq. are derived. Bibliographical notes are constantly tucked in, and cross-references are numerous. I look for Oswego and find it, with the appropriate reference to the Pierpont Morgan Library. No word is wasted in this book. A modest compass suffices for an amazing amount of information. No scholar who works at all with manuscripts can afford to be without this estimable work.

E. K. Rand,
Harvard University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

H. E. Allen, ed., *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth Pp. lxiv+180. $2.50.

P. S. Allen, *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. viii+341. $4.00.

H. Balzli, ed., *Vokabularien im Cod. Salernitanus der Breslauer Stadtbibliothek (No. 1302) und in einer Münchener Hs. (Lat. 4622), beide aus dem XIIten Jhdt. (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin,* Heft 21). Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1931. Paper. Pp. 64.

E. S. Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea, a Biography.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 391. $5.00.

C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century.* Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vi+190. £0/10/6.

G. Cohen, *Chrétien de Troyes et son Oeuvre.* Paris: Boivin, 1931. Paper. Pp. 513. Frs. 60.

G. Cohen, *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age;* II, *Le Théâtre Profane.* Paris: Boivin, 1931. Paper. Pp. 107+lx plates. Frs. 25.

M. D. Diederich, *Vergil in the Works of St Ambrose (Catholic University Patristic Studies,* XXIX). Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. xiii+130. $3.00.

W. J. Entwistle, ed., *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies.* Vol. I. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+194. $2.25.

J. Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xviii +137. $5.00.

H. G. Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients from Ancient Sources.* London: W. Reeves, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xi+185. £0/15/6.

M. M. Getty, *The Life of the Northern Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of St Augustine (Catholic University Patristic Studies,* XXXIII). Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+158. $3.00.

F. Ghisalberti, *Le Chiose Virgiliane di Benvenuto da Imola.* Mantua: Reale Accademia Virgiliana, 1930. Paper. Pp. 77.

I. Gollancz, ed., *A Good Short Debate Between Winner and Waster (1352).* London: Oxford University Press, 1931. Paper.

M. Grabmann, *Der Lateinische Averroismus des 13ten Jhdts. und seine Stellung zur Christlichen Weltanschauung. (Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.,* 1931, Heft 2.) Munich, 1931. Paper. Pp. 86.

M. Grabmann, *Die Werke des hl. Thomas von Aquin, eine literarhistorische Untersuchung und Einführung* (2te vermehrte Aufl.). Münster: Aschendorff, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+372. RM. 19.40.

F. Güterbock, ed., *Ottonis Morenae et Continuatorum Historia Frederici I (Mon. Germ. Hist.,* n.s., tom./VII). Berlin: Weidmann, 1931. Paper. Pp. xlv+244. RM. 18.

F. A. Heinichen *et al., Lateinisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch,* Ausgabe mit Berücksichtigung ausgewählter mittellateinischer Schriftsteller (10te Aufl. des ursprüngl. Werkes). Leipzig: Teubner, 1931. Cloth. Pp. li+646. RM. 14.

W. Heuser and F. A. Foster, edd., *The Northern Passion (Supplement).* London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. x+142. £0/7/6.

E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of Chemistry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+314. $2.50.

W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England: Bibliotheken und Archive in London*, I, *Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreibungen:* II, *Texte* (*Abh. der Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist., Kl., n. F., XXV, 1–2). Berlin: Weidmann, 1930–1931. Paper. Pp. 658.

M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Pt. II, pp. 161–320. New York: Macmillan (Cambridge University Press), 1931. Paper. $4.25.

P. J. Ketrick, *The Relation of Golagros and Gawane to the Old-French Perceval* (diss.). Washington: Catholic University of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. 131.

G. P. Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lviii+247. $4.00.

G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Staates*. Berlin: Ebering, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 145.

C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 241. $6.00.

J. Olrik and H. Roeder, recognov. et edd., *Saxonis Gesta Danorum primum a C. Knabe et P. Herrmann recensita*. Vol. I (Text). Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1931. Cloth. Pp. li+609.

J. J. Parry, ed., *A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Years 1922–1929*. Vol. I. New York: Modern Language Association, 1931. Paper. Pp. iii+59.

A. Pelzer, ed., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codd. MSS Recensiti Iussu Pii XI P.M.: Codd. Vaticani Latini*, II, 1 (Codd. *679–1134*). Rome: Vatican Library, 1931. Paper. Pp. xxxi+775.

H. Pirenne, A Renaudet, E. Perroy, M. Handelsman, L. Halphen, *La Fin du Moyen-Age* (*L'Annonce des Temps Nouveaux, 1453–1492*). Paris: Alcan, 1931. Paper. Pp. 324. Frs. 35.

R. Priebsch, ed., *Johan ûz dem Virgiere, eine spätmhd. Ritterdichtung nach flämischer Quelle nebst dem Faksimileabdruck des flämischen Volksbuchs Joncker Jan wt den Vergière* (*Germ. Bibl.*, Abt. II, 32). Heidelberg: Wimter, 1931. Paper. Pp. 144+56 in facsimile. RM. 10.

P. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise* (édit. définitive). Paris: Fischbacher, 1931. Paper. Pp. li+577. Frs. 50.

P. Sabatier, ed., *Le Speculum Perfectionis*, II, *Etude critique avec Introduction par A. G. Little*. Manchester, Eng.; Manchester University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxxvi+278.

L. F. Salzmann, *English Trade in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+456. $4.50.

H. A. Sanders, ed., *Beati in Apocalipsin Libri XII* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, VII). Rome: American Academy, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxiv+657.

E. Studer, *Russisches in der Thidreksaga* (*Sprache u. Dichtung*, Heft 46) Bern: P. Haupt, 1931. Paper. Pp. 119. Frs. Sw. 4.80.

R. Thurneysen, *Irisches Recht:* I. *Dire, ein altirischer Rechstext;* II, *Zu den unteren Ständen in Irland* (*Abh. der Preuss. Akad, der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1931, 2). Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931. Paper. Pp. 90. RM. 19.

C. H. Turner, ed., *The Oldest MS. of the Vulgate Gospels, Deciphered and Edited with an Introduction and Appendix*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lxiii +218. $7.00.

T. Walton, ed., *Le Doctrinal du Temps Present de Pierre Michaut* (*1466*). Paris: E. Droz, 1931. Paper. Pp. cii+217.

S. D. Wingate, *The Mediaeval Latin Versions of the Aristotelian Corpus, with Special Reference to the Biological Works*. London: The Courier Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. 136.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The following articles are scheduled for early appearance in *Speculum:*

K. J. Conant, 'The Apse at Cluny.'

A. G. Baugh, 'Osbert of Claire and the Middle English *Saint Anne* in Rime Royal.'

Dino Bigongiari, 'Notes on the Text of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua.'

Marjorie Carpenter, 'The Paper that Romanos Swallowed.'

C. W. David, 'The Authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi.*'

R. W. Lloyd, 'Cluny Epigraphy.'

J. H. Mozley, 'The Minor Poems of Nigel Wireker.'

Gaines Post, 'Masters' Salaries and Student-Fees in the Mediaeval Universities.'

H. G. Richardson, 'A Norman Lawsuit.'

Olga Dobiache-Rodjestvenski, 'Trois Manuscrits Commandés par Adalhard.'

Lynn Thorndike, 'Calculator.'

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